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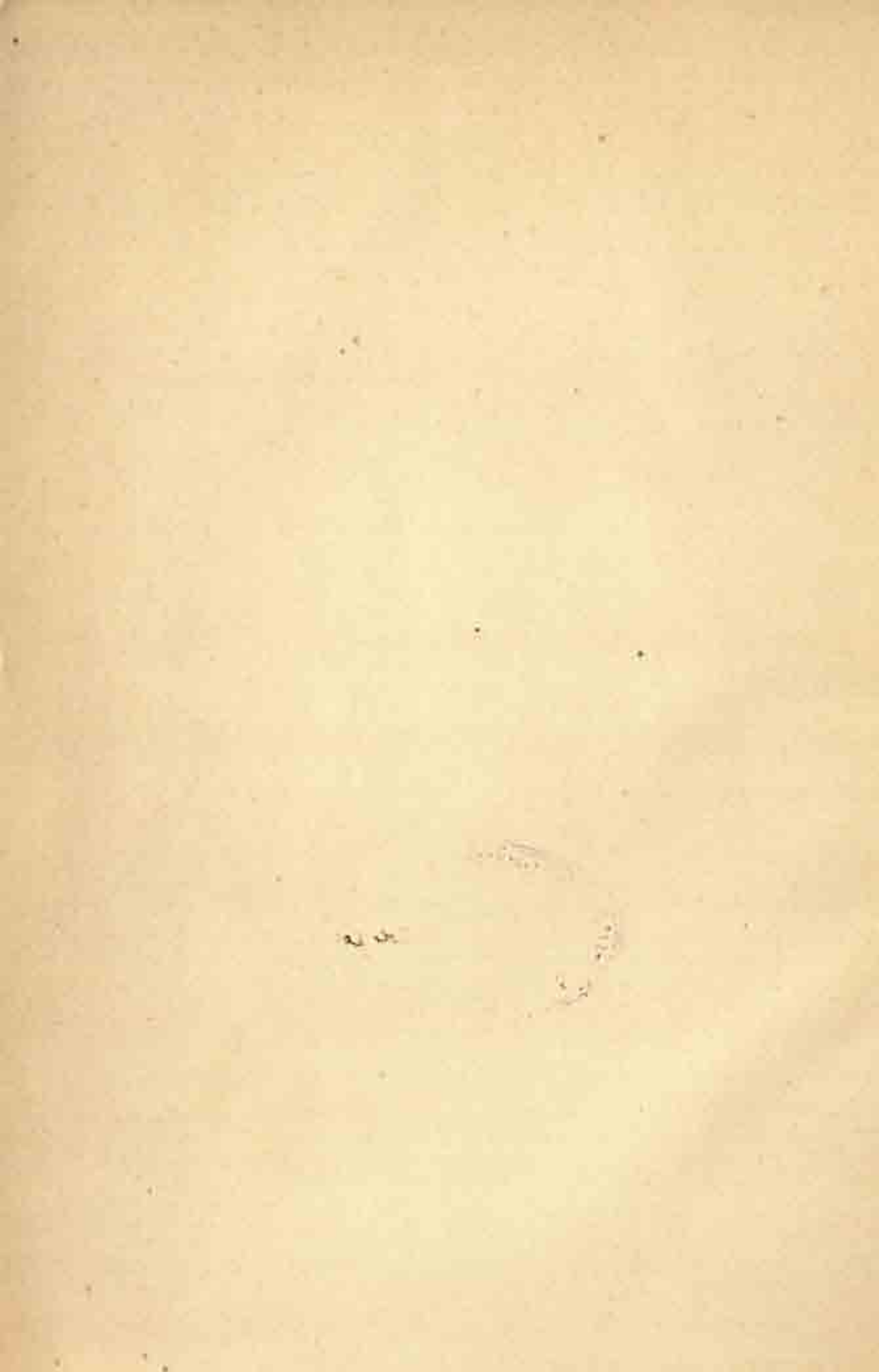
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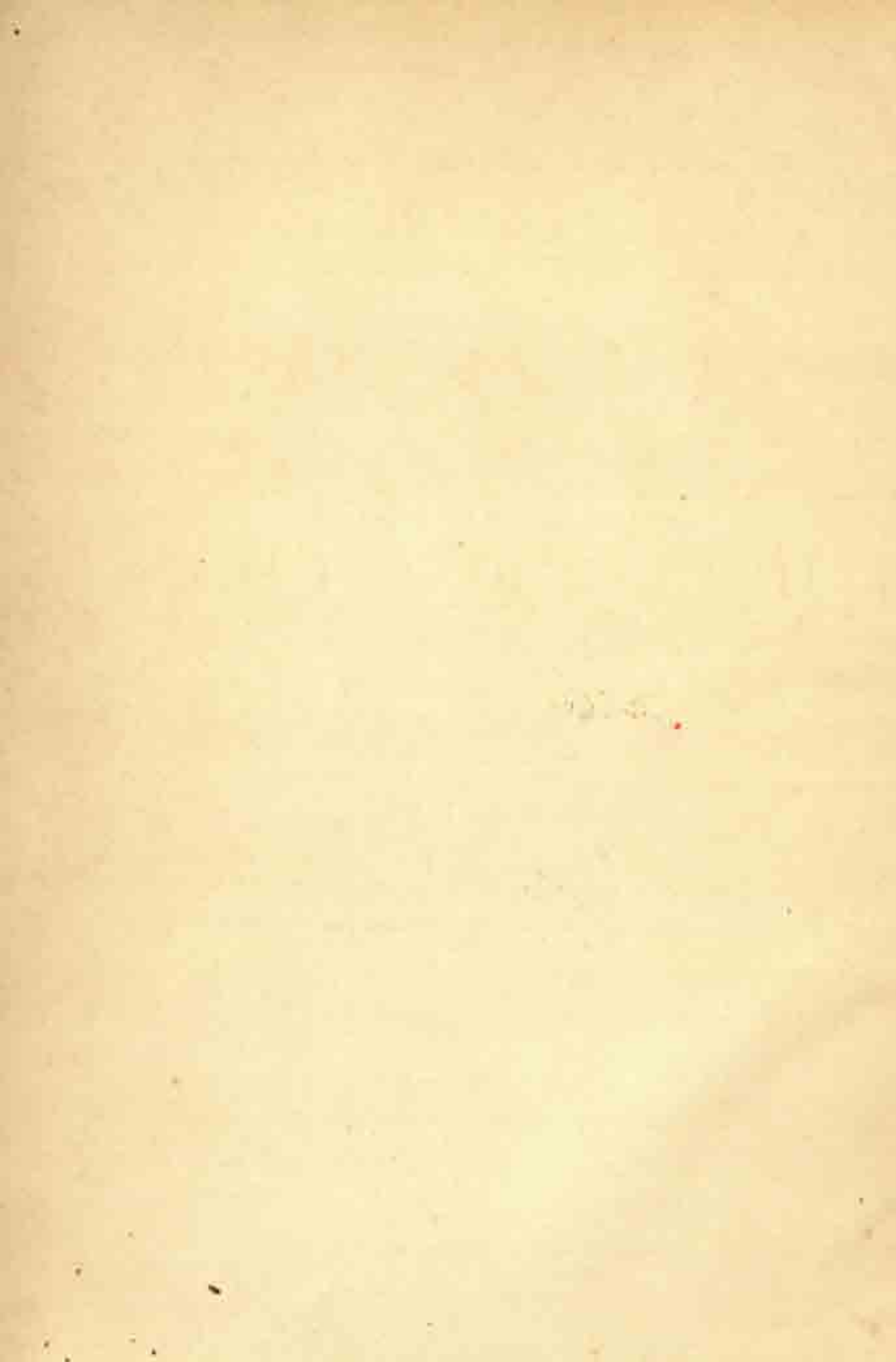




THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES







The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES

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J. H. S.

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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.



4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.



25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1894, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22, ALBEMARLE STREET

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.

- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within three months of their coming into the Library.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

---

*The Library Committee.*

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---

SESSION 1894—1895.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 P.M. on the following days :—

1894.

Monday, October 15.

1895.

Monday, February 18.

Monday, April 8.

Monday, June 17 (*Annual*).

It is the intention of the Council to hold two other General Meetings in the course of the Session, at dates hereafter to be announced.

The Council will meet at 4.30 p.m. on each of the above days.



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 Bulwer, Sir Henry, K.C.B., 11 *South Street, Park Lane, W.*  
 \* Burn, Rev. Robert, *Trinity College, Cambridge*  
 Burnet, Prof. J., 1, *Alexandra Place, St. Andrews, N.B.*  
 Bury, Prof. J. B., *Trinity College, Dublin*  
 Burge, Hubert M., *University College, Oxford*  
 Burgh, W. de, *Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, E.*  
 Butcher, Prof. S. H., LL.D., *The University, Edinburgh*  
 † Bute, The Marquis of, K.T., *St. John's Lodge, Regent's Park, N.W.*  
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 \* Butler, The Rev. H. M., D.D., *Master of Trinity College, Cambridge*  
 Buxton, F. W., 42, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*  
 Buxton, Mrs. Alfred, 5, *Hyde Park Street, W.*  
 Bywater, Prof. Ingram (V.P.), 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*  
 † Bywater, Mrs., 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*  
 Calvert, Rev. Thomas, 121, *Hopton Road, Streatham, S.W.*

- Calvocoressi, L. M., *Messrs. Ralli Bros., Mellor's Buildings, Exchange Street East Liverpool.*
- Cameron, Dr. James, *Registrar of the University, Capetown.*
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- Case, Miss Janet, *Heath Brown Cottage, Hampstead, S.W.*
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- Cave, Lawrence T., 13, *Lowndes Square, S.W.*
- Chambers, C. Gore, *Hertford House, De Parry's Avenue, Bedford.*
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- Chance, Frederick, 51, *Prince's Gate, S.W.*
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- Cheetham, J. Frederick, *Eastwood, Staleybridge.*
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- Christian, J. Henry, 18, *Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.*
- Christian, Rev. G., *Redgate, Uppingham.*
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- †Clark, Rev. W. Gilchrist, 9, *St. Edmund's Road, Gateshead-on-Tyne.*
- †Clarke, Hyde, 32, *St. George's Square, S.W.*
- Clarke, Joseph Thacher, 3, *College Road, Harrow, N.W.*
- Clauson, A. C., 12, *Park Place Villas, Paddington, W.*
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- Clay, C. F., 38, *Great Ormond Street, W.C.*
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- Cobbold, Felix T., *The Lodge, Felixstowe, Suffolk.*
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- Cohen, Mrs., 3, *Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.*
- Colby, Rev. Dr., 12, *Hillsborough Terrace, Ilfracombe.*
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- Courtenay, Miss, 54, *Brompton Square, S.W.*
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- Cowper, The Right Hon. Earl, K.G., *Panshanger, Hertford.*
- Craik, George Lillie, 2, *West Halkin Street, S.W.*



- Crawley, Alfred Ernest, *St. John's School, Leatherhead*.  
 Crawley, C., 3, *Regent Street, S.W.*  
 Creadson, Wilson.  
 Crosfield, Miss Margaret C., *Undercroft, Reigate*.  
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 Cust, Miss Beatrice, 13, *Eccleston Square, S.W.*  
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 De Saumarez, Lord, *Shrubland Park, Coddleshall, Suffolk*.  
 \* Dilke, The Right Hon. Sir Charles W., Bart., M.P., 76, *Sloane St., S.W.*  
 Dill, S., *Montpelier, Malone Road, Belfast*.  
 Dimsdale, M. S., *King's College, Cambridge*.  
 Dobson, Miss, 77, *Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W.*  
 Donaldson, James, LL.D., *Principal of The University, St. Andrews*.  
 Donaldson, Rev. S. A., *Eton College, Windsor*.  
 Dragoumis, M. Etienne, *Athens, Greece*.  
 Drisler, Prof. Henry, *Columbia College, New York, U.S.A.*  
 Drummond, Allan, 7, *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.*  
 Duchâtaux, M. V., 12, *Rue de l'Echauderie, à Reims*.  
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 Duke, Roger, 8, *Neville Terrace, Onslow Gardens, S.W.*  
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 Durham, The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of, *Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland*.  
 Dyer, Louis (Council), 68, *Banbury Road, Oxford*.  
 Earl, Mrs. A. G., *Ferox Hall, Tonbridge*.  
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 Egerton, Mrs. Hugh, 11, *Title Street, Chelsea, S.W.*  
 † Egerton, Edmund H., C.B., H.B.M. Minister, *British Legation, Athens, Greece*.  
 Egerton, Miss M., *Whitwich Hall, York*.  
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 Ely, Talfourd (Council), 73, *Parliament Hill Road, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Emens, Edgar A., *Syracuse University, New York*.  
 Erichsen, Miss Nelly, *Grove Cottage, Upper Tooting, S.W.*  
 Eumorfopoulou, A., 1, *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*  
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 Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., *Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead*.  
 Evans, Lady (Council), *Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead*.  
 Eve, H. W., 37, *Gordon Square, W.C.*  
 Ewart, Miss Mary A., 68, *Albert Hall Mansions, S.W.*  
 Farnell, L. R., *Exeter College, Oxford*.  
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 Farrow, Frederic R., 2, *New Court, Carey Street, W.C.*  
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- Fowler, Harold N., Ph.D., *Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.*
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- †Furley, J. S., 10, *College Street, Winchester.*
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- \*†Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D. (V.P.), 12, *Canterbury Road, Oxford.*
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- Hadow, W. H., *Worcester College, Oxford.*
- Haig, James R., *Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.*
- Haigh, A. E., 2, *Crick Road, Oxford.*
- Hales, Rev. C. T., *Aysgarth School, Neuton-le-Willows, R.S.O. Yorks.*
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- Hall, Rev. F. J., *Wymondley House, Stevenage, Herts.*



- Hall-Dare, Francis, 10, *Bury Street, St. James's, S.W.*  
 Hall, F. W., *Westminster School, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*  
 Hallam, G. H., *The Park, Harrow, N.W.*  
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 Hardinge, Miss.  
 Hardwich, J. M., *St. John's College, Cambridge.*  
 \* Harrison, Charles, 29, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*  
 Harrison, Miss F., Bayford, 22, *Gratton Road, W.*  
 † Harrison, Miss J. E. (Council), 13, *Barkston Mansions, Euri's Court, S.W.*  
 Harrower, Prof. John, *The University, Aberdeen.*  
 Hartshorne, B. F., 41, *Elm Park Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*  
 Husham, S., *The School, Uppingham.*  
 Haussoullier, B., 89, *Rue de Rennes, Paris.*  
 † Haverfield, F. J., *Christ Church, Oxford.*  
 Hawes, Miss E. P., 89, *Oxford Terrace, W.*  
 † Hay, C. A., 127, *Harley Street, W.*  
 Hay, A. T., *The College, Brighton.*  
 † Haynes, Miss Lucy, 7, *Thornton Hill, Wimbledon.*  
 Hayter, Angelo G. K., 74, *Adelaide Road, N.W.*  
 Headlam, Rev. A. C., *All Souls' College, Oxford.*  
 Headlam, C. J. S., *Trinity Hall, Cambridge.*  
 Headlam, J. W. (Council), 6, *Eldon Road, Kensington, W.*  
 Headlam, W. G., *King's College, Cambridge.*  
 Heard, Rev. W. A., *Fettes College, Edinburgh.*  
 † Heathcote, W. E., 114, *Ebury Street, S.W.*  
 Heberden, C. B., *Brasenose College, Oxford.*  
 Hedgecock, Mrs. Harrison, 21, *Caversham Road, N.W.*  
 Hereford, The Lord Bishop of, *The Palace, Hereford.*  
 Herschell, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 46, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*  
 Heydemann, Dr. Heinrich, *The University, Halle.*  
 Heyer, G., *The College, Weymouth.*  
 Hicks, John Power, *Clifton Lodge, Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, W.*  
 Hicks, Rev. F. L., 21, *Leaf Square, Pendleton, Manchester.*  
 Higgins, Alfred, 16, *King Street, Portman Square, W.*  
 Hill, George F., 23, *Kempnay Road, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 † Hill, Arthur, *British Vice-Consul, Athens, Greece.*  
 Hirschfeld, Prof. Gustave, Ph.D., *Mittel Tragheim 28, Königsberg, Germany.*  
 Hobhouse, Rev. Walter, *The School House, Durham.*  
 Hodgson, F. C., *Education Department, Whitehall, S.W.*  
 † Hodgson, J. Stewart, 1, *Audley Square, W.*  
 Hogarth, David G. (Council), *Magdalen College, Oxford.*  
 Holden, Rev. H. A., LL.D. (V.P.), 20, *Redcliffe Square, S.W.*  
 Holiday, Henry, *Oak Tree House, Branch Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Holland, Miss Emily, 27, *Homefield Road, Wimbledon.*  
 Hopgood, Harold B., 17, *Whitehall Place, S.W.*  
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 † Hort, Arthur F., *The Mount, Harrow.*  
 Howorth, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., M.P. (Council), 39, *Collingham Place, S.W.*  
 Huddart, Rev. G. A. W., *Kirklington Rectory, Bedale, Yorks.*  
 Hügel, Baron Friedrich von, 4, *Helford Road, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Hughes, Rev. W. Hawker, *Jesus College, Oxford.*  
 Hughes, Miss C., 22, *Albemarle Street, W.*  
 Hulse, Miss Caroline M., *Shipley House, Carlisle.*  
 Hutton, Miss C. A., 18, *Chayne Court, Chelsea, S.W.*  
 Image, Selwyn, 6, *Southampton Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.*  
 Ingram, J. K., LL.D., *Trinity College, Dublin.*  
 Ionides, Alex. A., 1, *Holland Park, W.*  
 Ionides, Luke A.  
 Jackson, Henry, LL.D., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*

- Jackson, Rev. Blomfield, 29, *Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.*  
 Jackson, Rev. W. W., *Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.*  
 James, A. C., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
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 Jenkin, Miss M. L., *Corfax, King Charles Road, Surbiton.*  
 Jenkinson, F. J. H., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*  
 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., 39, *Addison Road, Kensington, W.*  
 Jevons, F. B. (Council), *The Castle, Durham.*  
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 Keep, R. P., Ph.D., *Free Academy, Norwich, Conn., U.S.A.*  
 Keene, Prof. Charles H., 3, *Prospect Place, Cork.*  
 Kelly, Charles Arthur, 30, *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.*  
 Keltie, J. S., *Glendevon House, Compayne Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*  
 Kennedy, Rev. John, *Grammar School, Aldenham, Elstree, Herts.*  
 Kenyon, F. G. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*  
 Ker, Prof. W. P., 95, *Gower Street, W.C.*  
 Kerr, Prof. Alexander, *Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.*  
 Keser, Dr. J., 11, *Harley Street, Cavendish Square, W.*  
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 King, Mrs. Wilson, 19, *Highfield Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.*  
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 Lamb, Mrs. Edmund, *Old Lodge, Salisbury.*  
 Lambros, Spiridion, *Athens.*  
 Lang, Andrew, LL.D., 1, *Marlow Rd., Kensington, W.*  
 \*Lang, R. Hamilton, C.M.G., *Ottoman Bank, 26, Throgmorton St., E.C.*  
 Langhorne, Rev. J., *The Vicarage, Lamberhurst, Kent.*  
 Lathbury, Miss Mary, 19, *Lingfield Road, Wimbledon, S.W.*  
 Lantour, Miss de, 85, *Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W.*  
 Lawford, Frederick le Breton, 65, *Fitzjohns Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.*  
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 Leaf, Herbert, *The Green, Marlborough.*  
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 Legge, Miss, 3, *Keble Road, Oxford.*  
 Lecky, Mrs., 38, *Onslow Gardens, S.W.*  
 Leeper, Alexander, *Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne.*  
 Leichtenstein, Moritz, 46, *Auriol Road, West Kensington, W.*  
 Leigh, Rev. A. Austen, *Provost of King's College, Cambridge.*  
 Leigh, W. Austen, *King's College, Cambridge.*  
 Leighton, Sir Frederick, Bart., P.R.A., *Holland Park Road, W.*  
 Lewis, Harry, 51, *Holland Park, Kensington, W.*  
 †Lewis, Mrs. S. S., *Castle-brus, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.*  
 †Lewis, Prof. T. Hayter, 12, *Kensington Gardens Square, W.*  
 \*Leycester, Mrs. Rufe, 6, *Cheyne Walk, S.W.*  
 \*Liddell, Very Rev. H. G., D.D., *The Wood House, Ascot, Berks.*  
 Lindley, Miss Julia, 10, *Kidbrook Terrace, Shooter's Hill Rd., S.E.*  
 Lindley, William, 10, *Kidbrook Terrace, Shooter's Hill Rd., S.E.*  
 Lingen, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.B., 13, *Wetherby Gardens, S.W.*  
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 Litchfield, R. B., 31, *Kensington Square, W.*



- Lloyd, Miss A.M., *Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.*  
 Lloyd-Roberts, H., i, *Pump Court, Temple, E.C.*  
 †Lock, Rev. W., *Keele College, Oxford.*  
 Lockyer, J. Norman, C.B., F.R.S., 16, *Pew-y-Wern Road, South Kensington, S.W.*  
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 Loring, William, *Education Office, Whitehall, S.W.*  
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 Lupton, J. M., *The College, Marlborough.*  
 Lupton, Miss M., 7 *Earl's Terrace, Kensington, W.*  
 Luxmoore, H. E., *Eton College, Windsor.*  
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 Lyttgoe, A. M., c/o. *Messrs. Baring Bros., 8, Bishopsgate Within, E.C.*  
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 McDaniel, J. H., *Hobart College, Geneva, N.Y.*  
 Macdonald, Miss Louisa, 62, *Gower Street, W.C.*  
 MacEwen, Rev. Alex. Robertson, 25, *Woodside Place, Glasgow.*  
 Macgillivray, J. Pittendrigh, *Ravelston Elms, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.*  
 Mackennal, Miss E. M., *Beechwood, Bowdon, Cheshire.*  
 Mackenzie, Duncan, *Archäologisch Epigraphisches Seminar, The University Vienna.*  
 MacLehose, James J., 61, *St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.*  
 Macmillan, Alexander, 21, *Portland Place, W.*  
 \*Macmillan, George A. (Hon. Sec.), 29, *Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.*  
 Macmillan, Mrs. George A., 19, *Earl's Terrace, Kensington, W.*  
 Macmillan, M. C., 52, *Cadogan Place, S.W.*  
 †Macnaughten, Hugh, *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 Macnaughten, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 3, *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*  
 McPherson, Miss Florence, *Bank House, Maghull, Liverpool.*  
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 Maidstone, The Viscountess, *Hurstmoneaux Place, Hailsham, Norfolk.*  
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## SESSION 1893-94.

THE First General Meeting was held on October 16th, 1893, Professor P. Gardner, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. A. G. Bather read a paper on the bronze fragments of the Acropolis which he had sorted and cleaned, exhibiting drawings of the more important. The ornamental patterns fell into the two classes of geometric and Oriental, which overlapped one another in date and influenced each other in style, the geometric gaining freedom and the Oriental a more proper arrangement of designs. In the smaller votive objects the same distinction was to be drawn, and various minor schools, such as those of Ægina and the Islands, may perhaps be differentiated. Two engraved fragments showed the mixture of the two styles, and corresponded closely to the later examples of geometric pottery. Of relief work, which belonged essentially to the Oriental school, examples were exhibited which were found on the Acropolis and near Eleutherae. Most of these could be brought into close connexion with the 'Argo-Corinthian' reliefs found at Olympia, Dodona, and the Ptoon, and the series thus formed showed the different stages in the development of both technique and mythological types. Other reliefs exhibited betrayed a different origin, and were also to be distinguished in point of style from any bronzes found at Olympia; possibly they were of Athenian origin. The subjects of the chief of these were a winged male figure holding two birds, a boxing match for the prize of a tripod, and some scene in the life of Heracles, possibly the combat with Cynus. The last of these was the most developed in point of style, and showed distinctly the influence of the Melian school of vase painting (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii., pp. 124 and 232).

In the discussion which followed, Mr. A. J. Evans alluded to several of the bronzes in detail as parallel in ornament and general character to examples found elsewhere. The Chairman mentioned a Rhodian Pinax, as illustrating the subject of the bronze with male figure holding two geese. Miss Harrison pointed out that the bronze votive horses found on the Acropolis confirmed other evidence of the cult of Poseidon or Athena as Hippios and Hippias.

Mr. E. F. Benson's promised paper on some points in the cult of Asclepius had unfortunately to be postponed from want of time.

The Second General Meeting took place on November 27th, 1893, Professor L. Campbell, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper 'On a Mycenaean Treasure from Aegina.' The treasure in question had found its way into the London market, and been acquired by the British Museum; but owing to the prohibitive policy of the Greek Government, the vendor was unable to say whence the relics came. Mr. Evans was satisfied that they had been found in Aegina. The most remarkable objects were a gold cup with returning spiral and rosette ornament; an openwork gold pendant representing a kind of Egyptian figure in a lotos-tipped boat, holding two water-birds, which Mr. Evans traced to a familiar subject of Egyptian frescoes in which the fowler is seen standing in a Nile boat, holding the trophies of his chase; four gold openwork ornaments with dogs and apes and pendent discs and owls; a jewel with a lion's head and pendent ducks, apparently suggested by a so-called Egyptian *egis* with the head of the lion-headed goddess Sekhet. Various comparisons with Egyptian, Oriental, and European forms were instituted, bearing on the origin and range of the different types of objects discovered, and on the date of the deposit. It was shown to belong to the very latest Mycenaean period, hitherto almost unrepresented by finds, and it had, therefore, a unique value. Though under strong Oriental influence, the art was quite distinct from the Phoenician; in place of griffins, sacred hawks, and trees we had here such decorative elements as homely acorns, ducks, and owls. The art, in a word, was indigenous to the soil of Greece, and the most characteristic designs here found had their echo in the early cemeteries of Italy and the Caucasus, where 'Javan' (or the Ionian Greeks) early traded with 'Mesech' and 'Tubal.' A variety of concordant data led Mr. Evans to fix 800 B.C. as the approximate date of the deposit, and a very important fact brought to light by the ring-money of the find was that there already existed in Aegina at the time of this deposit a *prae*-Pheidonian standard answering to the Euboic-Attic. In all probability the deposit of the treasure was connected with the Dorian conquest of the island (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii., p. 195).

After the paper, Mr. Evans announced that he had discovered on a series of gems and seals found mainly in Crete and the Peloponnese, some sixty symbols which seemed to belong to a native Greek system of hieroglyphics, distinct from the Egyptian on the one hand, and the so-called Hittite on the other.

The Third General Meeting took place on February 19th, 1894, Professor Jebb, President, in the chair.

Mr. H. Stuart Jones read a paper 'On a Reconstruction of the Chest of Cypselus.' The paper was illustrated by a diagram, executed by Mr. F. Anderson, jun., under Mr. Jones's supervision, showing the chest as conjecturally restored in the dimensions of the original (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiv., p. 30).

Mr. A. S. Murray doubted whether there was any authority for making



the metopes which were suggested in the reconstruction of unequal size, and thought uniformity must be preserved at any cost.

Professor Gardner, while hesitating to criticise offhand so elaborate a paper, thought it a very important contribution to the study of ancient art. In the restoration the services of Mr. Anderson, an artist of early Greek vases who had no equal in England or perhaps elsewhere, had been of special value. The restoration had accordingly not only an intellectual but an artistic interest.

In proposing a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Jones, Professor Jebb said that the paper was of peculiar interest as bringing out the relations between art types and literary sources. Where an artistic representation of a well-known subject differed from that which was familiar in literature, it was a question whether the artist departed deliberately from the written account, or followed the account given by some writer whose works had not come down to us.

The Fourth General Meeting was held on April 9th, 1894, Professor L. Campbell, V.P., in the chair.

Miss Harrison read a summary of the views in regard to the temples on the Acropolis at Athens recently put forward by Professor Furtwängler in his great work on the 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture.'

In the discussion which this summary was intended to initiate, Mr. A. H. Smith, while admitting that he had read only certain parts of the book in question, expressed the view that it was a *reductio ad absurdum* of modern archaeological method. In his opinion, which he illustrated by quotations, the author had attempted to build a huge superstructure of theory upon a very slender basis of fact. It seemed time to protest against this method of dealing with archaeological problems, and to remember that many of them were necessarily insoluble until further facts came to light.

In reply to Mr. Smith, Miss Sellers pointed out that, undoubted though the merits of the book were, its conclusions were by no means so startling or so novel as the last speaker had assumed; its enormous value lay in the wealth of new material with which the author had strengthened theories, many of which dated as far back as Winckelmann. We had a way in England of ignoring the constant stream of scientific inquiry that went on on the Continent, so that when a book of the size and importance of Furtwängler's, embodying the work of many years in almost every branch of classical archaeology, was at last forced upon our notice, we received it as a bomb thrown into the midst of our apathy. Mr. Smith had attempted to ridicule the notion that 'archaistic' tendencies already made themselves felt in articles of the fifth century, or that a whole class of statues could be claimed for Euphranor, an artist of whom we had no one original and no certain copy of any original; but scholars familiar with Hauser's researches in the *New Attic Reliefs*, or with the essays in which a brilliant young school had gradually established the characteristics of fourth century sculpture would recognise that in both the instances selected for criticism by Mr.

Smith, Furtwängler had merely gone further in the application of theories that had been in the air for years. If scientific archaeology was not appreciated in England it was in large measure because of the want of any critical apparatus. Only in countries possessing large art museums, like those of Berlin, Dresden, or Munich, was it possible to arrive at conclusions that depended almost exclusively on the comparison of different copies of one statue, or of the different works of one master. In England, where learned societies and museums did not even possess good collections of photographs, all such work was necessarily impossible, and even the discussion of the results attained by foreigners seemed practically futile.

Mr. Penrose made some remarks on the architectural problems involved, and Miss Harrison concluded the discussion by replying in detail to some of Mr. A. H. Smith's criticisms.

The Fifth General Meeting was held on May 28th, 1894, Mr. Penrose, V.P., in the chair.

Miss Sellers gave a short account of recent publications in classical archaeology, and then proceeded to read a paper on a head formerly in the Palazzo Borghese, and now the property of Mr. Humphry Ward. The head (which was exhibited to the Society) was of Parian marble, and was in a remarkably perfect state of preservation. From the natural rendering of hair and eyelids, and from the extreme freshness of the modelling, there could be no doubt that it was a Greek original (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiv., p. 198).

Professor P. Gardner read a paper by Mr. E. Gardner 'On the Paintings of Panæus at Olympia.' Pausanias described the marble screen set up at Olympia in the temple of Zeus to prevent visitors from 'passing underneath the throne' of the colossal figure of the god. It was adorned with paintings by Panæus, brother of Pheidias; but the place of the screen and the arrangement of the paintings have been matter of much dispute. The author of the paper rejected the usually accepted view that the screen was a series of slabs let in between the pillars of the temple and crossing the cella in front of the statue, and endeavoured to prove that Panæus's paintings were on the throne itself, the panels on which they were painted being four on each side of the throne, and entirely shutting in all that was beneath it (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiv. p. 233).

The Annual Meeting was held on June 18th, 1894, Professor Jebb, M.P., President, in the chair.

The Secretary read the following Report on behalf of the Council:—

Since the last Annual Meeting one number only of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* has been issued—viz., Vol. XIII., Part II., but another—Vol. XIV., Part I.—is now in the press, and will appear very shortly. Perhaps the most noticeable feature in the last number was the very large proportion of articles—nine out of thirteen—contributed by members past and of present the British School at Athens, and resulting from researches



carried on, or at least initiated, while they were in residence at the School. This fact seems to be in itself sufficient justification for the action of the Council in renewing, last autumn, for a third period of three years, the Annual Grant of £100 to the funds of the School.

The General Meetings during the past Session have been unusually well attended, and the Council have thought it well to raise the number from four to six. A new departure has been made in the introduction of occasional discussions on recent literature, and a member of the Council, Miss Eugénie Sellers, has undertaken to make a short statement at each meeting in regard to new books, or articles in periodicals, bearing on subjects which come within the range of the Society's work. It is hoped that in this way the meetings may be more helpful than heretofore to members who wish to keep themselves informed of the progress of research in various departments of Hellenic Study.

Besides the grant to the British School at Athens, the Council has made grants of £50 to the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in aid of an expedition now in progress under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth; of £25 to Mr. W. R. Paton, also for exploration in Asia Minor; and of £10 10s. to the Archæological Society of Alexandria. The last-named grant, though small in amount, was intended to show the interest taken by the Society in local efforts to reveal some of the remains of Greek civilization in Alexandria. It is hoped that during the coming Session a systematic scheme of excavation will be set on foot, in which the Hellenic Society may have the opportunity of co-operating with the Egypt Exploration Fund, and from which, if adequate funds can be raised, important results may be confidently expected.

In last year's Report reference was made to a proposal for the encouragement of the study of the Greek language in connexion with lectures on Greek literature and art delivered under the auspices of the various bodies associated in the work of University Extension. The Special Sub-Committee drew up a report and a scheme of study which was signed by Professor Jebb as Chairman, and already classes have been formed in various parts of London and elsewhere. It cannot be a matter of indifference to this Society that the means of acquiring a knowledge of Greek should thus be brought within the reach of a wider circle of students.

Among additions made to the Library during the past year may be mentioned Roscher's *Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology*, Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, the *Antike Denkmäler* of the Berlin Institute, several more volumes of Müller's *Handbook of Classical Antiquity*, Curtius and Kaupert's *Maps of Athens and Attica*, Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke der griech. Plastik*, Rayet and Collignon's *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque*, Freeman's *History of Sicily*, and the new edition of Jowett's *Translation of Plato*.

The amount spent on the Library has been larger than in any previous year, and the Council hope that their action in this matter will meet with general approval. It should here be added that in consequence of ill-

health Mr. Wayte has retired from the office of Librarian, and Dr. Holden has been appointed in his stead. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Wayte for his services during a period of eight years.

The collection of Lantern Slides also has been extended, and increased facilities have been given for its use by allowing slides to be borrowed at a lower rate for a period not exceeding four days. This concession was made at the instance of the Head Masters' Association, and the educational value of the collection was thereby signally proved.

The Council has quite recently been asked to intervene in two matters cognate to the objects of the Society:—

(1) The Society was asked to join with other learned bodies in protesting against the proposed submersion of the Island of Philæ. To this the Council readily agreed.

(2) The Council was also invited to appoint a Delegate to serve on a joint Committee which is to be formed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Egypt to consider the question of a more extended archaeological survey of that country. Mr. F. G. Kenyon has been appointed to represent the Hellenic Society.

The Treasurer's Accounts show ordinary receipts, including a donation of £5, during the year of £1,034, against £878 during the financial year 1892-93. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £715, against £577. The receipts from Life Compositions amount to £79, against £95, a falling off of £16, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes to £229, against £161, an increase of £68. Receipts from other sources of ordinary income show no material alteration.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, amounting to £894, against £858 in the previous year, there is an increase of £23 in respect of rent, a decrease of £22 in respect of Stationery, Printing, and Postage. The expenditure on the Library has been £75, against £41 in the preceding year. The cost of the *Journal*, including the balance of £203 for the report on the excavations at Megalopolis, has amounted to £513, against £532 for the year 1892-93.

Besides the Annual Grant of £100 to the British School at Athens, £85 have been granted for other purposes, and a balance was carried forward at the end of the financial year of £214 10s. 7d., against £259 2s. 7d. at the close of the preceding year. Life Subscriptions, amounting to £157 10s., have been invested in the purchase of £157 10s. Nottingham 3 per cent. Corporation Stock.

Forty-seven new members have been elected during the year, while thirty-three have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net increase of fourteen; and brings the total number of members up to 769.

Four new Libraries have joined the list of Subscribers, which now amount to 116.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that the work done or helped forward by the Society during the past year has been no less varied or important than in any previous Session, and on the whole the position



of the Society seems to be quite satisfactory. The imposition of an entrance fee on and after January 1894 has not materially checked the flow of candidates. The number of new elections is quite up to the average. The somewhat larger number of resignations is due to the wholesale removal from the list of upwards of twenty members who were behind-hand with their subscriptions to the extent of four years and upwards, and who had turned a deaf ear to all appeals from the Treasurer. Hitherto these members—members only in name—have been reckoned as an asset, and the subscriptions due from them have been included year after year among the arrears which the Treasurer might hope to recover. But the time comes when the name which has at first been an ornament, and then an emblem of hope deferred, becomes an actual source of weakness. It is then best to remove it from the list, where it has ceased to have any but an illusory significance. Happily the Hellenic Society is now sufficiently well established to dispense with merely nominal support. At the same time, the fact that such losses must inevitably occur lays upon all real friends of the Society the obligation of extending to the best of their power the area of effective membership, so that the Society may each year become better able to carry out the objects of its existence.

In moving the adoption of the Report Professor Jebb took occasion to refer to some of the more important achievements of the year in the field of Hellenic studies. The discoveries of the French School at Delphi had been of great interest, and even greater promise. The treasure house of the Athenians, built shortly after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, had been found, and the sculptures had proved to be most important examples of archaic art. In the walls of the temple of the Pythian Apollo had been discovered an archaic statue of the god which, as compared with the types known from Orchomenus and from Thera, presented a marked Egyptian character. The archaic colossal head of the Naxian sphinx had also been found. But no discovery had excited greater interest than that of marble slabs containing portions of a hymn to the Delphic Apollo, with a musical notation written above the words. The fragments were fourteen in number, and in one passage the musical notes were all but complete. The letters which indicated them were those of the ordinary Greek alphabet, and the key had been given by the Greek writer Olympios in the time of the Emperor Julian. The instruments used had been the lyre and the flute, and the vocal music was in unison. Performances of the hymn had been given first in Athens, but more recently in London and in Cambridge. In Athens, Dr. Dörpfeld had discovered the site of the fountain known as Enneakrounos. Outside Greece important researches had been made in Cyprus under the direction of the authorities of the British Museum, from funds bequeathed by Miss Elizabeth Turner. Among the publications of the year one of the most important had been that of Professor Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, which had thrown much fresh light on the history of Greek sculpture in the fifth and



fourth centuries B.C. Professor Armitage Robinson had had the unique privilege of examining the MSS in the library of St. Sophia at Constantinople, but had, unfortunately, found no Greek MSS there. In conclusion, Professor Jebb referred to the following members of the Society, who had passed away during the year—viz., Lord Bowen, M. Waddington, Sir William Smith, Mr. Thomas Wood (British Consul at Patras), and Mr. Charles Jenner.

In seconding the adoption of the Report, Mr. Ernest Gardner, Director of the British School at Athens, acknowledged the services rendered to the School by the Hellenic Society, not only by the annual grant, but still more by the facilities given for the publication of results in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.—The Report was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Gardner then read parts of an article on recent archaeology in Greece, which appears in the *Journal*, Vol. xiv., p. 224.

The President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, Professor Bywater and Dr. Sandys being added to the latter in the place of Dr. Freshfield and Professor Poole. Mr. J. W. Headlam, Sir H. Howorth, Dr. M. R. James, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, and Mr. W. C. Perry were elected to vacancies on the Council.

# "THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY, 1894.

To Sales of Journal, July 1, 1893, to June 30, 1894	£	s.	d.
To Balance, to Cash Account	47	3	6
	474	7	6
By Vol. XIII. Pt. II. Printing (including Carriage)	155	12	6
Plates	29	10	0
Drawing and Engraving	57	18	0
Paper	43	13	3
Contribution	10	10	0
	310	5	9
Excess at Megalopolis— Printing (balance of Account)	169	4	4
Plates	24	0	0
Paper	97	11	8
	169	11	8
Journal XIV. Pt. I.— Drawing, &c.	7	10	0
	169	11	8
	£391	18	6

## CASH ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at 31st May, 1893	671	3	8	230	4	7
To Members' Subscriptions, 1893—1894	70	15	0	730	0	6
Subscriptions, 1893—1894	66	4	0			
Arrears	12	15	0			
Back Volumes	64	3	6			
Library Subscriptions, 1893—1894	105	10	0			
Back Volumes	76	7	8			
Dividends on New South Wales 3½ per cent. Stock, Oct. 3, 1893	10	3	4			
Corporation of Nottingham 3 per cent. — April 1, 1894	10	3	4			
Nov. 1, 1892	7	6	3			
May 1, 1893	7	6	3			
Loan of Lantern Slides				47	3	8
Royalty on Sales of Photographs				1	18	7
Debitum (E. H. Farnham, Esq.)				3	0	0
				614	23	4
To Balance at Bankers, 31st May, 1894				£314	10	7

We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers and bankers' book, and find it correct.

JOHN E. MARTIN, *Secy. Treasurer.*

(DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, *Auditor.*)  
ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER, *12th Jan'y, 1894.*

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables :—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.	31 May, 1894.
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ 540	£ 538	£ 537	£ 538	£ 548	£ 554	£ 570	£ 554	£ 564	£ 575
Attacks . . . . .	—	10	21	44	34	26	29	16	12	44
Life Compositions . . . . .	111	90	93	79	47	47	28	126	95	29
Literary and Book Vols. . . . .	111	120	109	112	111	96	118	122	101	100
Dividends . . . . .	14	12	20	20	12	24	25	37	38	43
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bunt . . . . .	—	—	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mrs. Cohen (Library) . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—
Sir C. Nicholson . . . . .	—	—	90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laurentian MS. . . . .	—	—	—	32	39	11	52	—	—	—
Loan of Lantern Slides . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	4
Royalty on Sales of Photographs . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	7	2	3
Loan from Bankers . . . . .	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—
Donations—James Vassett Esq., E. M. Egerton, Esq. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	—	5
	560	607	882	801	910	840	894	976	875	1,034
Balance from preceding year . . . . .	901	875	602	450	852	42	121	132	137	299
	1,705	1,526	1,510	1,250	1,105	882	1,040	1,021	1,012	1,094

\* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.	31 May, 1894.
Rent . . . . .	£ 25	£ 31	£ 42	£ 51	£ 29	£ 36	£ 39	£ 33	£ 30	£ 23
Insurance . . . . .	7	2	7	2	8	12	17	11	11	11
Salaries . . . . .	90	71	47	46	39	29	32	44	49	40
Library . . . . .	2	—	4	11	15	1	16	8	43	76
Stationery, Printing, and Postage . . . . .	52	65	68	34	61	28	62	43	71	49
Cost of Journal (less sales). . . . .	274	478	418	251	285	197	440	610	322	472
Grants . . . . .	1145	150	150	289	220	1000	120	155	100	185
Investments . . . . .	—	200	200	—	—	—	46	100	—	156
Loan Repaid . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	302	—	—	—	—
Photo Enlargements, Albums, Lantern Slides, &c. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	48	4	4
Randries . . . . .	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	334	954	1,021	1,097	1,152	737	794	927	850	1,099
Balance . . . . .	279	621	480	255	40	122	125	129	127	274
	1,705	1,516	1,510	1,290	1,162	882	1,040	1,021	1,012	1,094

\* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (= £427) less the amount received from sales.

† Includes advance of £95 for printing Sophocles MS.

‡ The grant of £100 to the School of Athens has been paid since this accounts were made up: see Cash Account.



## SIR C. T. NEWTON.

THE following memorial Address on Sir Charles Newton, K.C.B., who died Nov. 28, 1894, was delivered by Professor Jebb, President of the Society, at a General Meeting on January 23, 1895, and is printed here in order that members who were not able to be present may have an early opportunity of reading this tribute to the services of one who took so large a part in the establishment of the Society.

At the first General Meeting of this Society which has been held since the death of Sir Charles Newton, it is fitting that some tribute should be rendered to the memory of one whom the Hellenic Society may justly regard as chief among its founders; whose presence and influence did more than anything else to carry it successfully through the earliest days of its existence; and who, to the end of his life, took the keenest interest in its growing prosperity. It is fitting also that we should recall to-day, at least in outline, the salient characteristics of the distinguished career to which our Society owes so large a debt.

Newton's life divides itself into three well-marked chapters. The first contains the thirty-six years from his birth in 1816 to 1852; it is the period of preparative studies. The second begins in 1852 with his consulship at Mitylene, and closes in 1861 with his return to London as the head of his Department at the British Museum; it comprises the period of travel and discovery in the Levant. In the third chapter, from 1861 onwards, he is the organizer and administrator; the recognized head of classical archaeology in this country; the active supporter of all enterprises, whether originating at home or abroad, which could extend the knowledge of antiquity, or which promised to advance an object always so near to his heart, the addition of new treasures to our great national collection.

From Shrewsbury School, then ruled by that brilliant scholar, Samuel Butler, Newton went in 1833 to Christ Church, Oxford, where he attracted the favourable notice, and strongly felt the influence, of Dean Gaisford. He was also for a time the pupil of his lifelong friend, Dean Liddell. Mr. Ruskin, who was an undergraduate member of the House at the same time, has recorded in *Præterita* the particular trait which most impressed him in Newton; it is one which can be easily recognized by those who knew him in later years—his intense and curious way of looking at things.

In May, 1840, Newton became Junior Assistant in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum. That Department, founded in 1807, was not then constituted as it is now. In 1861 it was subdivided into three provinces: Greek and Roman Antiquities; Coins; and a third, in which Oriental Antiquities were associated with British and Mediaeval; the two latter, with Ethnographical Antiquities, were detached from the Oriental in 1866. But, in 1840, the opportunities which Newton found at the Museum, if less adapted to the training of a specialist, were well suited to encourage a comprehensive view of antiquity. At the head of the Department was Edward Hawkins, a man of varied attainments, but especially a numismatist; and Newton's early studies in that direction left on his mind the conviction that numismatics, besides their special interest, have the highest value as a general introduction to classical archaeology.

Among his earliest publications, there is one which has a peculiar interest. In 1847 he wrote a paper on some sculptures from Halicarnassus—they were, in fact, parts of the frieze of the Mausoleum—which had lately been secured for the British Museum by Sir Stratford Canning. In this memoir, Newton conjecturally placed the Mausoleum in the centre of the town of Budrum, from the fortress of which the above-mentioned sculptures had come. A description of the site by the architect Donaldson—confirming the account of Vitruvius—pointed to this conclusion. Ten years later he was to prove its truth. Such competent explorers as Spratt and Ross, misled by the appearance of the ground, had looked elsewhere.

In 1852 Newton, whose qualities were becoming well known, was appointed Vice-Consul at Mitylene. It was in reality, though not in form, an archaeological mission. Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, was doubtless well acquainted with the new Vice-Consul's gifts. Newton had able assistance in the routine duties of the post. From April, 1853, to January, 1854, he was at Rhodes, and thus within easy reach of the region in which his chief work was to be done. The six years which followed were rich in results. He explored the island of Calymna, off the Carian coast, and obtained some remains of early Greek art which are now in the room of Archæic Sculpture at the Museum. At Cnidus, in a sanctuary of Chthonian deities, he found the beautiful seated statue of Demeter, in which Brunn recognized the perfect ideal of the goddess. Among other monuments discovered at Cnidus is the lion, supposed to commemorate Conon's victory in 394 B.C. From Branchidae, near Miletus, Newton brought away, besides a lion and a sphinx, ten archaic statues of seated figures which had stood by the Sacred Way leading from the temple of Apollo to the harbour. It was under a firman which he procured that the bronze serpent at Constantinople, inscribed with the names of the Greek cities allied against Xerxes, was first disengaged from the soil; though the task of deciphering the inscription was reserved for Frick and Dethier.

But his most signal achievement was in connexion with the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. It was in 1855 that he first saw the castle of Budrum, and found fragments of sculpture embedded in its walls. Lord



Stratford de Redcliffe, then British Ambassador at Constantinople, who had constantly supported Newton in all his work, promised to obtain the necessary firmans. In the autumn of 1856 Newton visited London, and, aided by Sir Anthony Panizzi, Principal Librarian of the Museum, secured the assistance of Lord Clarendon, who was then Foreign Secretary. A ship of war was placed at his disposal, with a party of men of the Royal Engineers, under the command of the officer who is now General Sir R. Murdoch Smith. On Jan. 1, 1857, Newton broke ground at Budrum. The sculptures with which that enterprise enriched the Museum are, for the fourth century B.C., almost what the Elgin marbles are for the fifth; as the latter illustrate the art of Pheidias and his school, the remains of the Mausoleum throw a comparable light on the art of Scopas. Indeed, it was Newton who, both by his discoveries and by his penetrating analysis, opened a new era in the modern knowledge of that sculptor.

In May, 1860, Newton was appointed Consul at Rome. But he stayed there only about a year. The reconstitution of the Antiquarian Department at the British Museum was a measure to which the wealth of Newton's acquisitions had mainly contributed; and nothing could be more appropriate than that, when a separate Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities was created in 1861, he should be invited to preside over it.

The earliest years of his new office were marked by the publication of those two books which record his work in the Levant. In 1862 appeared his *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*; it is essentially a scientific work, addressed to experts. Three years later came the *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*; a book profoundly interesting to all students, but also with a popular side; it has been well described as 'a charming Odyssey,' enlivened with pictures of Greek and Turkish manners,—lit up, indeed, with all the colours and humours of Anatolia, such as it was half-a-century ago. This work, admirably illustrated, owed not a little of its charm to the pencil of the accomplished lady who, a few years before, had become the author's wife; a daughter of the Joseph Severn whose grave at Rome is beside that of his friend John Keats. One year later, in 1866, the crushing sorrow of her death befell Newton; and the shadow of that loss never passed away.

Newton held his post at the Museum for twenty-four years—till 1885. His activity during that period has two principal aspects; one, directly relative to his office itself; the other, relative to the influence and position which that office conferred.

As keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, he rightly felt that, next to the duty of organizing and conserving those treasures, his first duty was to augment them. Here his social and diplomatic ability, joined to the prestige of his discoveries, gave him unique advantages. In the first three years of his tenure, the annual grant from the Treasury for purchases in his Department rose from £785 in 1861 to £1400 in 1864. In the twenty years from 1864 to 1883, a series of Special Parliamentary Grants, amounting in the aggregate to about £100,000, enabled him to secure for



the Museum objects of first-rate importance in every branch of archaeology, including the choicest things of all sorts in four inestimable collections,—the Farnese, the Pourtalès, the Blacas, and the Castellani.

This was one side of his energy,—that immediately connected with his function at the Museum. But, in virtue of his position and influence, he was also enabled to stimulate and assist research in every quarter of the classical lands. It was thus that he furthered the work of Messrs. Smith and Porcher at Cyrene; of Mr. Wood at Ephesus; of Mr. Pullan at Priene; of Mr. Dennis at Benghazi in Tripoli; and of Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti in supplementary researches on the ground which he had made his own, at Budrum.

When the inaugural meeting of this Society was held, in June, 1879, it was to him that the supporters of the project primarily turned for countenance and counsel. During the first six years of the Society's life, he was constantly in the chair at our meetings; nor is it too much to say that his guidance and his name must be reckoned among the chief causes, not only of the early and rapid success which attended the Hellenic Society, but also of the position in which it is now established. In 1883 his aid and counsel were also valuable in helping to institute that British School at Athens which, in the face of difficulties not experienced by the similar schools of other nations, has done so much to uphold the reputation of our country in the field of archaeological research.

This is merely a bare outline of Newton's life-work: but even so slight a sketch must not close without some attempt to indicate the leading characteristics of the man's mind and nature. First, as to his attitude towards his chosen studies. It has lately been said, by one well fitted to judge, that the ancient monuments interested Newton rather on the historical side than on the mythological or the artistic. Indeed, his own words can be quoted: 'I am first a historian, and secondly an archaeologist.' This may seem a hard saying; but I believe that it is true, though it perhaps needs some elucidation. It means that Newton was never a specialist in the limited modern sense; it was classical antiquity as a whole that had a spell for him; it was in the intense desire to reconstruct and revivify this antiquity that he so closely and indefatigably scanned every monument of any kind that could tell him anything about it. His strongest feeling in early manhood was that ancient literature, in which he was well versed, told only part of the story. His address at Oxford in 1850—which now stands first in his volume of *Essays*—begins with words which strike the key-note of his work: 'The record of the human past is not all contained in printed books.' Hence the peculiar interest which he always took in epigraphy; here he felt that he came closest to ancient lives and minds: his two essays on Greek inscriptions, published in 1876 and 1878 (the fourth and fifth of the collected *Essays*), illustrate this in full; few productions of his pen are more striking.

Now, this desire to apprehend the life of antiquity is often associated with the kind of imagination which seeks vivid or rhetorical utterance in

language; it was distinctive of Newton that, in his case, there was absolutely no such tendency; on the contrary he recoiled from it. The life of his imagination was an inward life,—so inward, that he might often seem unimaginative; a life which he wished to share only with the careful, laborious, exact student, but did not choose to share with the outward world. Witness the guides which he prepared to his galleries at the British Museum—exemplifying his conception of a scientific catalogue as the outcome of a life devoted to a single study—but making no concession to a popular desire for more elementary knowledge. When, in 1880, he became the first Professor of Archaeology at University College, London, the stamp of his teaching showed the same bent.

His sustained, though undemonstrative, ardour was singularly allied with caution. Without being cynical, he was wary in a degree which sometimes approached to cynicism; in discriminating between what was merely probable, and what might be accounted certain, he leaned to the sceptical side; and he was imbued with the sentiment which Aristotle attributes to old age, that 'most things are unsatisfactory.' No man was less sanguine, or quicker to foresee the difficulties of a project; but, once engaged in it, he was tenacious and intrepid. His self-contained manner was due in part to the natural fastidiousness of his taste; it was only when he felt secure, for the time, against jarring incidents,—which, even when slight, affected him like physical pain,—that he completely unbent, and showed the most genial side of his nature. In colleagues he looked for the highest standard of work; his demands on subordinates were strict: he was an exacting, but also a stimulating ruler.

If the essence of his character could be contained in a phrase, it might perhaps be described as severe enthusiasm. To those who knew him but slightly, the severity—not harshness, but the severity as of good Greek sculpture—might be more evident than the enthusiasm; but a nearer knowledge revealed the man in whom an inward fire had burned steadily from youth upwards; a sacred fire, little seen, but not to be extinguished, and shaken neither by any wavering of purpose, nor by the breath of any vulgar ambition. His many honours, academic or public, were prized by him in proportion as he took them to be recognitions, not merely of eminence generally, but of success in the precise aims which he had set before himself.

The chief source of satisfaction to him, in his later years, was to think that classical archaeology had gained so much ground in England, and that he had helped it forward; but this feeling was deeply tinged with melancholy; he thought of himself as the leader through the wilderness, who was not to enter the promised land. There are minds, perhaps, in which lifelong conversation with the past so confirms the habit of retrospect that the difficulties of earlier years always loom large, even after subsequent successes; so, at least, it seemed to be with him. But to others it will appear that, however distant the point gained in his lifetime may have been from his ideal, still the cause to which he rendered such abundant



service was already gained before he died. In the future of classical studies so long as they may exist in this country, the place of archaeology, not as an accident but as an essential, is assured beyond the danger of overthrow.

Newton has been recently compared, and not unjustly, with Winckelmann. The German worked in the dawn, the Englishman, though still in the morning hours, yet in a far clearer light: between them, however, there is this intrinsic resemblance, that in both the mainspring of a devotion which ended only with life was a native instinct, intensely strong and lucid, for the spirit and the charm of classical antiquity. There are those in this room to whom the impressive personality of the master whom we commemorate will be a lasting recollection,—that singularly fine head and pose, which themselves seemed to announce some kinship with ancient Hellas,—that voice which so often within these walls expressed the knowledge thrice-refined by ripe study and experience; a few years more, and these will be only traditions: but to our successors, the members of this Society in days to come, the history of learning in Europe will bear witness that no body formed for the promotion of Hellenic studies could have entered upon existence with a worthier sanction, or could desire better auspices for its future, than those which are afforded by the name of Charles Newton.



## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

### ADDRESS

*Delivered by the President, PROFESSOR JEBB, M.P., at the Annual Meeting on  
June 18, 1894.*

IT has been the custom of this Society that the Chairman at the Annual Meeting should take the opportunity, at least occasionally, of referring to some of the more noteworthy incidents in regard to Hellenic Studies which have marked the course of the year. In availing myself of that permission to-day, I would only premise that the brief survey will have no pretension to be complete, but will merely touch upon a few salient points.

News has reached us from time to time, usually in the form of telegrams, of discoveries made by the French archaeologists who are engaged in excavations on the site of Delphi; and, though full details have not yet been published, the results already known are full of interest and promise. The treasure-house of the Athenians at Delphi has been discovered. It is a building *in antis*, similar to the treasure-houses which so many Greek states erected at Olympia, but on a somewhat larger scale. Such treasure-houses were built in honour of the god, being intended to contain the dedicated gifts, such as gold or silver vessels, in which the wealth of a temple largely consisted. This at Delphi was built shortly after the victory of the Athenians over the Persians at Marathon, in 490 B.C. The subjects of the sculptures are taken from the exploits of Heracles, and probably of Theseus. It is declared to be a masterpiece of archaic art, finer than anything of the same period which has hitherto been found. The excavations have also disclosed the walls of the temple of the Pythian Apollo. Imbedded in these was an archaic statue of the god, of more than life-size, and fairly well preserved. The statue presents this special point of interest, that, in comparison with the types known from Orchomennus and Thera, the Egyptian character is more strongly marked. It is conjectured to be a copy of some ancient

temple image, or *temnon*. The archaic colossal head of the Naxian Sphinx has also been found. Among the inscriptions is one of more than a hundred lines, relating to the expenditure of the temple. But no discovery made at Delphi has perhaps excited more general curiosity than that of marble slabs containing portions of hymns to the Delphic Apollo, with a musical notation written above the words. Up to the year 1893, examples of ancient Greek musical notation were known only from a few manuscript sources, and of these only one was indisputably genuine—viz., the setting for three hymns by Dionysius and Mesomedes, first published in 1582 by Vincentio Galilei, and re-edited by F. Bellermann at Berlin in 1840. In 1883 Professor W. M. Ramsay published an inscription from a small marble column found in Asia Minor at Aidin (the ancient Tralles), giving the words of a song with certain letters written above them, which M. Charles Wessely, of Vienna, explained to be a musical notation. The fragments now found at Delphi are fourteen in number. The principal fragment contains 18 lines, and in one passage of this the musical notes are fairly complete, only 9 being missing out of 207. The letters which indicate musical notes are the ordinary letters of the Greek alphabet, sometimes turned upside down, or tilted, in order to enlarge the number of symbols. The clue to the interpretation is given by a Greek writer on music named Alypius, who probably lived in the time of the Emperor Julian. In his *Εἰσαγωγή μουσική*, Alypius gives lists of the signs used to denote the sounds in various scales. Alypius distinguishes two systems of this musical notation—one intended for voices, and another for instruments. Nine of the fourteen fragments found at Delphi have the notation which he prescribes for the voices, and five have that which he assigns to the instruments. The instruments used in the performance of these hymns were presumably the lyre and the flute, both of which are named in the text. It appears that the instrumental and the vocal music were alike in unison: there is never more than one note either for instrument or for voice. From the schemes of Alypius it further appears that Greek notes were sometimes separated by a fraction of a tone smaller than can be reproduced (*e.g.*) on the pianoforte; thus two octaves might comprise forty-three notes, while on the piano they comprise only twenty-five. The fragments were first published last year in the *Bulletin* of the French School of Athens, the text being edited by M. Weil, and the musical notation interpreted by M. Théodore Reinach. A continuous text, representing something like a complete hymn, had to be made by piecing together fragments. The first performance of the hymn, with music, was given by the French School at Athens. A few weeks ago an interesting rendering of it, with stringed instruments and piano, was privately given in London. The first public performance of it in this country was that by the Cambridge University Musical Club on the 6th of June. The compass of the hymn makes it necessary to choose between tenors and basses, as both could not, in any key, sing all the notes. The Cambridge Club found it convenient to employ bass voices,



and this made it necessary to transpose Reinach's music into a key lower than that in which he wrote it. An accomplished musician, who took part in that performance—Mr. Sedley Taylor—tells me that, from the evidence of the music itself, he is inclined to think that the minor view of the tonality is correct. In the major key it would be too tame; in the minor, its characteristic is a certain stern grandeur. He also notices a curious point. According to Westphal, in his 'Greek Rhythmic and Harmonic,' it would seem that, in all the minor scales known to him as having been used by the Greeks, the seventh employed was always minor. Now in this Delphic composition the minor seventh does not occur at all, whereas the major seventh occurs no less than eleven times. It is possible that this indicates some change from the practice of the classical period. We know that, when Greek Lyric Poetry declined and perished, in a manner so premature and still so difficult fully to explain, one feature of the period was innovation on the older style of music. As to the date of these Delphic fragments, one of them alludes to the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi in 279 B.C. This is perhaps the only clear indication; though the *ἀρχα* mentioned has been conjecturally interpreted to mean the Roman Empire. One of the fragmentary hymns is preceded on the same slab by an inscription in prose—a decree by which the Delphians conferred certain honours on the poet who wrote the hymn, one Aristonoos. This may have been the general motive for engraving such hymns on stone,—viz., to honour the author. These fragments have been described as 'the most authentic and the most extended specimen which we possess of the music of the ancient Greeks.' Their interest is indeed great. Yet we should beware of exaggerating. Much about this music is still purely conjectural; much is absolutely unknown. We cannot determine the precise character, or accurately gauge the merits, of these compositions. We have got some fresh rays of light, and that is all. Perhaps more light may come by-and-bye.

Passing from Delphi to Athens, we note that during the past winter Dr. Dörpfeld has been engaged in exploring the history of the fountain Enneacrunos. It will be remembered that the spring, formerly known as Callirrhoe, received the name Enneacrunos when certain engineering works were carried out in connection with it, in the time of the Peisistratidae. The German archaeologist has found the aqueduct which led to the Enneacrunos. It was built in the same manner as the aqueduct at Samos, constructed by a great engineer of those days, Eupalinus of Megara, and it followed the road leading from the Ilissus towards the Acropolis. The site of the contemporary reservoir has also been found; and, below this, that of a later reservoir, through which the water coming from the Hill of the Nymphs was conveyed to the Agora. Among the objects of interest found in the course of this search is a relief of the Phrygian deity Men, who was connected in the popular belief with water and rain. A subterranean channel, found at a small depth, may possibly be the ancient Eridanus. While speaking of Athens,



it may not be unfitting to mention that remarkable book, whose recent appearance marks probably the end of some old controversies, and possibly the commencement of some new ones, Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, a reconstruction of Greek art in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Among the many fruitful ideas in which the work abounds is the view that Athens, in the latter part of the 5th century B.C., witnessed a movement like the pre-Raphaelite—a conscious return to modified archaism—of which the sculptor Callimachus was the prophet. New lights are thrown, too, on the art of Pheidias, for whom this critic vindicates the sculptured decorations of the Parthenon; as he has also shown that an unsuspected memorial of that master exists in the Dresden Museum—nothing less than a copy (though now mutilated) of the once-famous Lemnian Athena, holding a helmet in her left hand and a spear in her right, which Pheidias made, about 450 B.C., for those Athenian citizens who held allotments of land in the island of Lemnos. It stood upon the Acropolis, somewhere between the Propylaea and the bronze statue of the Promachos. Space would fail to indicate Furtwängler's contributions to the intricate temple-problems of the Acropolis; but we may notice his theory that the Parthenon does *not* mean the Temple of the Virgin-goddess. That name, according to him, was restricted to the western cella of the temple, and meant, as in ordinary usage, 'the chamber of the maidens.' These maidens were her mythical handmaids, such as the daughters of Cecrops and of Erectheus—the supernatural counterparts of those mortal handmaids who figured in her Athenian festivals, such as the Arrhephori, or the embroiderers of her sacred robe, the Ergastinae.

Among the objects of Athenian art which the British Museum has acquired during the past year, there is one which seems to claim a word here, both for its intrinsic value and because it has a curious history. It is a funeral stèle, dating from about 420-410 B.C., like those of which the Cerameicus has furnished so many beautiful examples. It is in memory of a young mother who died in child-birth; she is seated, and a maid, standing before her, holds the child in her arms. This work, exquisite in grace and pathos, was found serving as a flag-stone in a cellar at Jersey. It is supposed that it may have been brought thither as ballast in a ship. The son of the gentleman in whose house it was found took it to Inverness, and thence this Attic waif has found its way to our Museum. Mr. A. S. Murray, to whom I owe my knowledge of it, can tell of similar cases. In a garden at Hampstead he once found an Attic stèle which had been seen in the 17th century by Spon and Wheeler, who had copied the inscription. Another stèle was found in the area of a house in Connaught Square, to which it had come from Highgate. It may be feared that the survival of stélæ in this fashion has been exceptionally favoured by their merits as paving-stones. The most utilitarian mind can appreciate them.

At the Heraeum, near Argos, the American School has continued its work, laying bare the terrace on which the older Heraeum stood, and also

the great foundations of the later and more splendid shrine. At Eretria members of the same School have found, near the theatre, remains of the temple and altar of Dionysus. The results obtained by the British School on the site of Apollo's Temple at Abae, in Phocis, though not so great as might have been hoped, have not been without interest, and will ere long be described in the *Hellenic Journal*.

Before quitting the domain of Greece Proper, we may notice a piece of work supplementary to the important researches which have been successfully carried out at Megalopolis by the British School. Near the theatre of Megalopolis stood the great assembly-hall known as the Thersilion. The site of this structure has now been completely explored. It was probably built on a clerestory system, with a high roof, and lighting from the side. One point of peculiar interest has been brought out by Mr. A. G. Bather: he has shown how the idea which dominated the building of this public hall was that of the theatre. The side entrances, the back wall (*skênê*), and the orchestra were borrowed from that model, although the form of the Thersilion was square. This was natural, since the theatre was the only existing architectural type on which the Greek builder of such a hall could found his work. Theatres had served also as halls for public meetings.

Outside of Greece Proper, perhaps no place has been more interesting during the past year, in regard to Hellenic studies, than Cyprus. For some years back the Trustees of the British Museum have had no funds available for the purpose of excavation; but they recently received a generous bequest from the late Miss Emma Turner, which could be devoted to that object. The place selected for the first year's operations was the necropolis of Amathus in Cyprus. Amathus was one of the earliest Phœnician settlements in the island: Greeks associated it especially with the worship of Aphrodite. The Hellenic Society has had an honourable part in this undertaking. Mr. J. W. Williamson, one of our members, acted as agent for the Trustees; while the excavations were supervised by Mr. A. H. Smith, and afterwards by Mr. J. L. Myres. The first portion of that share in the treasure-trove which falls to the British Museum has lately reached London, and is now on view in the First Vase Room. It includes specimens of bronze implements, archaic Greek glass, pottery, jewellery, and terra-cottas. There was an old legend that a hero of Cyprus, Cinyras—after whom a priesthood at Amathus were called Cinyridæ—had promised Agamemnon to furnish a contingent of ships to the fleet bound for Troy, and had kept the letter of his promise by sending a number of small clay models of war-vessels. The terra-cottas from Amathus include several such models of ships, showing how the legend was based on a local specialty. This same Cyprian hero, Cinyras, is said in the *Iliad* to have given Agamemnon a breast-plate; and the Cesnola collection contains some good early reliefs, in bronze as well as in marble, from Amathus. Nothing of this kind, however, was found last season. The chief tombs at Amathus are of the 6th century B.C.



Many of the objects found in them, as those of variegated glass and of Egyptian porcelain, may be paralleled from the tombs of Cameirus in Rhodes. The latest tombs contain Roman coins and Roman glass. The general result of the excavations is to show that the simpler forms of Cypriote ware went on together for long periods of time, and that it is a mistake to aim at placing them within sharply defined limits. This was the view which Mr. J. A. R. Munro maintained in the *Hellenic Journal*, and which was controverted at Berlin.

The theatre at Delos was excavated last summer by a member of the French School, M. Chamonard. An inscription was found which identifies the proscenium with the logeion. Those who hold that the actors stood, not on the proscenium, but in front of it, on the level of the orchestra, will now have to maintain that the logeion does not denote the place from which the actors spoke.

The German excavations at Hissarlik have been continued, with the result that the town which corresponds with Homeric Troy is now declared to be that in the sixth stratum from below, and not the second. This city, it appears, was once surrounded by a massive and well-built stone wall.

Among the literary 'finds' made public since our last Annual Meeting, by far the most remarkable is one which has been acquired by the great collection at Vienna which bears the name of the Archduke Rainer. It is a wooden board, now measuring about 1 ft. 8½ inches in length by 3½ to 4 inches in height; but it was once somewhat larger. On this board are written, in a rough semi-cursive, some Greek hexameter verses—about fifty altogether, several of them in a very mutilated condition. These verses are fragments from a lost poem of the Alexandrian poet Callimachus. Its subject was the capture of the Marathonian bull by Theseus. Its title was *Hecale*, the name of an old woman who was hospitable to the hero on that occasion. One of the verses found on the board is quoted by a scholiast on Aristophanes (*Ran*, 1297) as occurring in the *Hecale*. The board was once hung up by a string, and may have been used in teaching. The writing is in ink; the date, the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

While Egypt is the quarter from which hopes for the recovery of lost Greek literature have lately derived most encouragement, there has always been a natural reluctance to despair of such possibilities at Constantinople. Professor Armitage Robinson, who has won a distinguished name in connection with early Christian Greek literature, has lately visited that city, and, with the aid of the British Embassy, has enjoyed exceptional facilities for research. The result, though negative, is important as determining some points which had previously been only matters of speculation. He was allowed to inspect the Library of St. Sophia. He found in it no Greek MSS., but vast numbers of Persian and Arabic MSS. catalogued in Turkish. In the Seraglio he saw two separate libraries, each containing a great number of Oriental books. In one of these libraries there were no Greek MSS. In the other there were about



forty, the remains of a collection which was broken up some twenty years ago, when the Sultan sent to the Hungarians the books of Matthias Corvinus. The books then sent were doubtless the best; those which remain are of little value. They are catalogued in French. Prof. Armitage Robinson believes that nothing was kept back from his inspection, and that there is little hope of new discoveries at Constantinople, unless there should be treasures stored away of which the possessors are not aware. If such things exist, they could be brought to light only by the development among the Turks themselves of a spirit favourable to literary research.

During the past year this Society has lost five members by death: Lord Bowen, the great lawyer and great judge, who carried through life the temper of Oxford, whose grace of mind and charm are reflected in his translation of Virgil, and who had recently given a proof of his interest in Hellenic studies by presiding at the annual meeting in London of the Subscribers to our School at Athens; Monsieur Waddington, whose manly loyalty to France had lost nothing by the discipline of Rugby and Cambridge, and who adorned public life without ceasing to deserve well of archæology; Sir William Smith, who rendered such comprehensive service to education, both by his own work and by that which he elicited and organised in others; Mr. Thomas Wood, the English Consul at Patras, to whom so many of his countrymen visiting Greece have been indebted for hospitable welcome and judicious counsel; Mr. Charles Jenner, of Portobello, near Edinburgh, a generous patron of art, whose support was never wanting to projects of research initiated by this Society.

In conclusion, I have to thank you for the indulgent hearing which you have given me, and to express the hope that the year of our Society's life which is about to commence will prove not less prosperous than that which is closing. Everything seems to show that the interest felt in Hellenic studies is not declining in England, but rather growing; and that this Society may reasonably look forward to days in which its field of work will be still larger, and its influence still more useful, than in the past.

R. C. JEBB.



# The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

## COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1893-94.

SINCE the last Annual Meeting one number only of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* has been issued—viz., Vol. XIII., Part II., but another—Vol. XIV., Part I.—is now in the press, and will appear very shortly. Perhaps the most noticeable feature in the last number was the very large proportion of articles—nine out of thirteen—contributed by members past and present of the British School at Athens, and resulting from researches carried on, or at least initiated, while they were in residence at the School. This fact seems to be in itself sufficient justification for the action of the Council in renewing last autumn, for a third period of three years, the Annual Grant of £100 to the funds of the School.

The General Meetings during the past Session have been unusually well attended, and the Council have thought it well to raise the number from four to six. A new departure has been made in the introduction of occasional discussions on recent literature, and a member of the Council, Miss Eugenie Sellers, has undertaken to make a short statement at each meeting in regard to new books, or articles in periodicals, bearing on subjects which come within the range of the Society's work. It is hoped that in this way the meetings may be more helpful than heretofore to members who wish to keep themselves informed of the progress of research in various departments of Hellenic Study.

Besides the grant to the British School at Athens, the Council has made grants of £50 to the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in aid of an expedition now in progress under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth; of £25 to Mr. W. R. Paton, also for exploration in Asia Minor; and of £10 too, to the Archaeological Society of Alexandria. The last-named grant, though small in amount, was intended to show the interest taken by the Society in local efforts to reveal some of the remains of Greek civilization.



in Alexandria. It is hoped that during the coming Session a systematic scheme of excavation will be set on foot, in which the Hellenic Society may have the opportunity of co-operating with the Egypt Exploration Fund, and from which, if adequate funds can be raised, important results may be confidently expected.

In last year's Report reference was made to a proposal for the encouragement of the study of the Greek language in connexion with lectures on Greek literature and art delivered under the auspices of the various bodies associated in the work of University Extension. The Special Sub-Committee drew up a report and a scheme of study which was signed by Professor Jebb as Chairman, and already classes have been formed in various parts of London and elsewhere. It cannot be a matter of indifference to this Society that the means of acquiring a knowledge of Greek should thus be brought within the reach of a wider circle of students.

Among additions made to the Library during the past year may be mentioned Roscher's *Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology*, Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, the *Antike Denkmäler* of the Berlin Institute, several more volumes of Müller's *Handbook of Classical Antiquity*, Curtius and Kaupert's *Maps of Athens and Attica*, Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke der Griech. Plastik*, Rayet and Collignon's *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque*, Freeman's *History of Sicily*, and the new edition of Jowett's *Plato*.

The amount spent on the Library has been larger than in any previous year, and the Council hope that their action in this matter will meet with general approval. It should here be added that in consequence of ill-health Mr. Wayte has retired from the office of Librarian, and Dr. Holden has been appointed in his stead. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Wayte for his services during a period of eight years.

The collection of Lantern Slides also has been extended, and increased facilities have been given for its use by allowing slides to be borrowed at a lower rate for a period not exceeding four days. This concession was made at the instance of the Head Masters' Association, and the educational value of the collection was thereby signally proved.

The Council has quite recently been asked to intervene in two matters cognate to the objects of the Society:—

(1) The Society was asked to join with other learned bodies in protesting against the proposed submersion of the Island of Philæ. To this the Council readily agreed.

(2) The Council was also invited to appoint a Delegate to serve on a joint Committee which is to be formed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Egypt to consider the question of a more extended archaeological survey of that country. Mr. F. G. Kenyon has been appointed to represent the Hellenic Society.

The Treasurer's Accounts show ordinary receipts, including a donation of £5, during the year of £1,054, against £878 during the financial year

1892-1893. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £715, against £577. The receipts from Life Compositions amount to £79, against £95, a falling off of £16, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes to £229, against £161, an increase of £68. Receipts from other sources of ordinary income show no material alteration.

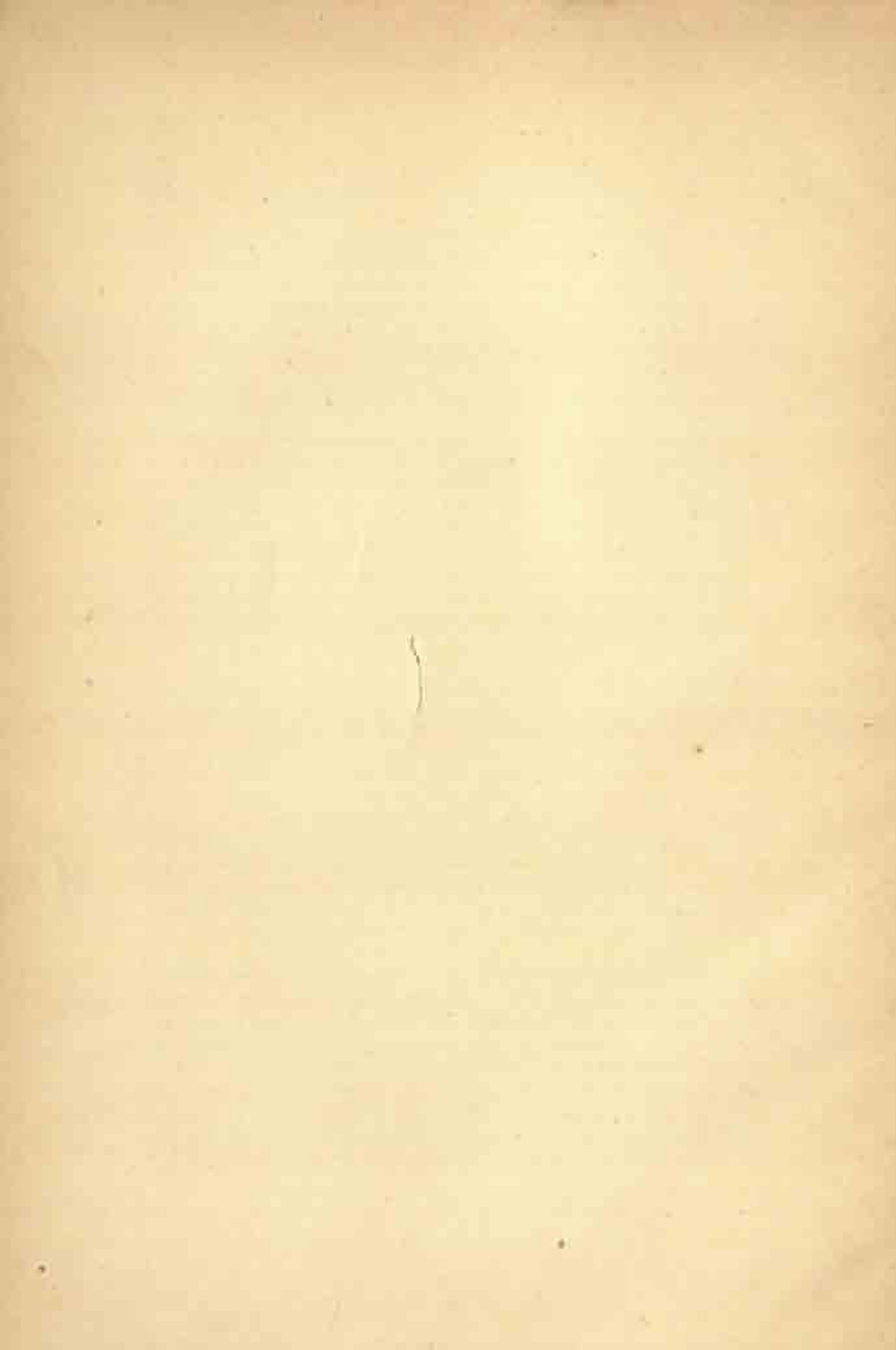
In the matter of ordinary expenditure, amounting to £894, against £858 in the previous year, there is an increase of £23 in respect of rent, a decrease of £22 in respect of Stationery, Printing, and Postage. The expenditure on the Library has been £75, against £41 in the preceding year. The cost of the *Journal*, including the balance of £203 for the report on the excavations at Megalopolis, has amounted to £513, against £532 for the year 1892-93.

Besides the Annual Grant of £100 to the British School at Athens, £85 have been granted for other purposes, and a balance was carried forward at the end of the financial year of £214 10s. 7d., against £259 2s. 7d. at the close of the preceding year. Life Subscriptions, amounting to £157 10s., have been invested in the purchase of £157 10s. Nottingham 3 per cent. Corporation Stock.

Forty-seven new members have been elected during the year, while thirty-three have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net increase of fourteen, and brings the total number of members up to 769.

Four new Libraries have joined the list of Subscribers, which now amount to 116.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that the work done or helped forward by the Society during the past year has been no less varied or important than in any previous Session, and on the whole the position of the Society seems to be quite satisfactory. The imposition of an entrance fee on and after January 1894 has not materially checked the flow of candidates. The number of new elections is quite up to the average. The somewhat larger number of resignations is due to the wholesale removal from the list of upwards of twenty members who were behind-hand with their subscriptions to the extent of four years and upwards, and who had turned a deaf ear to all appeals from the Treasurer. Hitherto, these members—members only in name—have been reckoned as an asset, and the subscriptions due from them have been included year after year among the arrears which the Treasurer might hope to recover. But the time comes when the name which has at first been an ornament, and then an emblem of hope deferred, becomes an actual source of weakness. It is then best to remove it from the list, where it has ceased to have any but an illusory significance. Happily the Hellenic Society is now sufficiently well established to dispense with merely nominal support. At the same time, the fact that such losses must inevitably occur lays upon all real friends of the Society the obligation of extending to the best of their power the area of effective membership, so that the Society may each year become better able to carry out the objects of its existence.





## THE HYMN TO APOLLO: AN ESSAY IN THE HOMERIC QUESTION.\*

If the *Hymns* of Homer are, as probably they are, comparatively little regarded as a rule even by those who take a general interest in Greek literature and its history, this is certainly not for want of artistic merit, and still less for want of historic importance. However widely students have differed, or may differ, in their conclusions about this enigmatic collection, it is an undoubted fact, and worth insisting upon when every day a wider and more popular audience is invited to form a judgment on matters of criticism, that any theory of 'Homer', to be entertainable, must make its account with the *Hymns* not less than with the more celebrated epics. For the sake of this larger bearing, if not for the sake of the poem itself, the reader may be disposed to consider and weigh the following reflexions upon Homer's *Hymn to Apollo*.

\* [I add here a word to indicate the relation between my view of the subject and that of Dr. Gemell, whose excellent commentary I had not seen when the paper was written. To an important extent we are agreed. Dr. Gemell holds (and so do I) that the Hymn is in a sense one whole, that is to say, the framer intended it to be so taken. He holds further (and I agree) that traces of compilation, or of handling not original, can be found in all parts of it. In opposing the hypothesis that two original documents can be obtained by cutting the piece into 'Delian' and 'Pythian' sections, Gemell has been led, I think, to make too little of the real differences in texture between these two parts, by which Rubenken's hypothesis was suggested. That the conclusion of the Delian Hymn can be read as a transition to what now follows it, I readily allow. There is in the present arrangement the sort of continuity, or appearance of it, which satisfied the compiler. But it seems to me, as to most readers, that we certainly have, at or

about v. 176, what was originally composed as a conclusion, and that in what precedes this conclusion we have substantially one genuine work of art. However, this question is of little significance. To the main proposition of this essay Dr. Gemell, though he does not advance it, furnishes, as I think, important confirmation. About the date of the compilation as a whole his conclusion practically is, that the evidence is hard to reconcile. On one side we have (among other things) what *prima facie* looks like an allusion to the Cretan war; on the other side we have at least one passage, the discourse of Telphusa about horses and chariots, which seems to require a date earlier than the new foundation of the Pythian Games. It will be seen that I offer a solution of this difficulty, and a solution which explains precisely those points of detail (for example, the application of the name *Delphos*) which are marked by Gemell as requiring fresh light.]

In general outline, the history of the *Hymns* is parallel to that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. These and the hymns alike, whatever else they may be, are remains out of a vastly larger mass of hexameter poetry, which at the time when Greek literature, in the form of books and as the object of deliberate study, first began to be diffused (say, for a date, between 540 and 460 B.C.) passed at Athens under the name of Homer. How much of it, or what other like poetry, was current anywhere else, in what form, and under what name, no one knows, nor indeed is it very important to know. The history of Greek books, from this period and in the main for long after, is the history of Athenian books; and that our 'Homer', as a book, is derived from the 'Homer' of Athens is perhaps one of the few assertions on the subject which is practically beyond dispute. About the year 450 B.C., and in Athens, we can first ascertain in part at least the contents of a Homer. In a Homer, as then popularly conceived, and apart from any critical doubts, there would have been a portion already distinguished and cited by the name of the *Iliad*, another portion named the *Odyssey*; also other portions of narrative, more or less connected with these two, named *Cypria*, *Thebais*, *Epigoni*; also other works not narrative, and among these last—better warranted, as it happens, for 'genuine Homer' of the fifth century than any other part of the mass—a *Hymn to Apollo*, identical either with the whole or with some part of the poem so-called in the extant collection. There is every reason to believe that the Homeric volume, or rather library, would then have contained much more, and many times as much; but these it would certainly have contained, as is shown by Herodotus and Thucydides in passages too familiar to cite.

With regard to the rest of Homer's *Hymns* we are not able, as in the case of the *Hymn to Apollo*, to cite positive testimony that they would have been found in the Homer of Thucydides. This however in the state of the evidence is no argument to the contrary. Much more important on the other hand is it to observe that, among the two or three thousand lines which they contain, there is perhaps not a verse or an expression which may not perfectly well date from the very earliest time at which 'Homer' can have acquired a literary definition and fixity, that is to say, from the latter part of the sixth century B.C. When we consider what the limits of the critical faculty were, even in the best period of ancient scholarship, nay indeed what they still are, and how numerous are the pitfalls besetting the investigator who endeavours in a doubtful case to discriminate the genuine from the spurious, this fact is in itself strong evidence that the whole collection, as a collection, is *Homeric* in the only useful sense which can be put upon the word; that is to say, it has come down labelled as 'Homer' from the earliest times of Greek book-literature. External evidence confirms this supposition, if only by not impeaching it. There is not in the case of the *Hymns*, any more than in the case of that much vaster collection of 'Homeric' narrative in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were once included, any testimony whatever which attributes the act of collecting to time, place, or person in those ages after 500 B.C., of which the literary history was



fairly well known to the ancient world, and is even to us known not very ill: and of this the simplest and most obvious explanation is that in fact the collecting took place before that date, and at a time which for the history of book-literature must be called prehistoric. It may be added that thus, and thus only, can we understand without difficulty how the name 'Homer' came to be attached to these collections. Herodotus and Thucydides may have known, and known as Homer's, we shall here assume that they did know, the collection of *Hymns* substantially as we have it. But we may doubt whether even Herodotus, to judge by his remarks on other Homeric questions, would have asserted, as a matter of personal opinion, that all the hymns in the collection were by one individual and historic Homer; we may say with confidence that Thucydides would not; and still less would any one worth notice in subsequent ages, the ages of scholarship. Therefore since the whole collection actually is entitled 'Homer's', the presumption is that it was formed before criticism had so far awakened as to make the title generally incredible and unsatisfactory.

As the *Hymns* are not universally familiar, and the name to a modern ear is misleading, a word or two of general reminder may not be unwelcome. The hymns are pieces of verse, in the conventional 'Epic' metre, language and style, such as the bards and *rhapsodes*, whose profession was to recite epic narratives in public and private for the benefit of audiences not yet accustomed to read, were wont to use by way of prelude or finale to their recitations. As, in ages when scarcely any one was secure from violence, the bards owed their comparative immunity, and their indispensable freedom of travelling, to the quasi-sacred character with which they were invested, they were careful to maintain this character by a religious opening or conclusion, which was sometimes a mere invocation of the god most appropriate to the time and place, but sometimes was so ornamented by legends in his honour as to be developed into a poem of independent value. The existing collection, some thirty pieces, ranging in length from four lines to five hundred and more, exhibits little trace of method, scientific or practical. It is suspected that the larger wholes have been formed by the consolidation of disparate materials, and in one case, that of our *Hymn to Apollo*, the first and one of the longest, this composite appearance is especially conspicuous.

In fact it will perhaps already have been noted with surprise that I should speak of the Homeric hymn to Apollo as a whole, and without distinguishing as usual, by the epithet *Delian* or *Pythian*, which of the two parts, into which it has been commonly divided, is to be my subject. I have done this because in my judgment the whole composition as it stands in the MSS. is a document of far greater historical interest and significance than any elements or supposed elements into which it can be analysed by criticism; because the so-called 'Pythian' hymn is no hymn, is not the *bona fide* work of any religious rhapsodist whatever, is not even entirely made up out of such *bona fide* work; because the 'Pythian' part never in all probability existed otherwise than as a continuation tacked, for motives clearly apparent and at a time which within not very wide limits can be fixed by internal



evidence, to the Delian part, which itself shows marks of the same handling: and because, of all the works of Homer now traceable, the *Hymn to Apollo*, thus considered, is the piece which throws most light on the circumstances under which those works first took a definite literary shape.

It will be convenient first to give a summary of the whole:<sup>1</sup>

Theme: the glory of Apollo; awe which his power causes in the other gods, and exultation thereupon of his mother Leto (1—13), whom the poet congratulates upon her children Apollo and Artemis (14—18). Out of many available topics, the poet selects the birth of the god in Delos, the original seat from which he has extended his power over all the earth, especially within the coasts of the Aegean (19—44). All over this region Leto, when about to bear her son, had sought a home for him; but all lands were afraid to consent (for a reason afterwards explained), till she came to Delos (45—50). Delos, upon hearing how she might be enriched by sacrifices at Phoebus' temple (51—60), consented with joy, exacting however from Leto, lest the proud young god should despise and destroy her barren island (61—78), an oath that he should there establish his first temple and oracle (79—82); to which Leto consented (83—89). After a travail prolonged by the hostility of the jealous Hera the god was born (89—119), grew instantly to adult strength (120—130), and proclaimed himself the god of the lyre, of the bow, and of prophecy (130—151). The sudden riches of Delos, and her joy at having been so preferred above all the world. Though the god has many temples, he still prefers Delos, and the festivals held there by the assembled Ionians, of which the poet gives an exceedingly beautiful and famous description (140—164). He bids farewell to Apollo and Artemis, and to the Delian maidens then engaged in celebrating the festival, requesting them to spread the renown of 'their sweetest singer, the blind man of Chios,' and promising the like service to themselves and their sanctuary (165—178).

Here the text, straightforward so far, becomes discontinuous. We have first three lines forming a 'hymn' by themselves (179—181), in which Apollo is invoked as the possessor of Lycia, Maeonia, Miletus, and lastly, as his proper home, of Delos; next, a fragment from some other text, not connected either with what precedes or with what follows, but very finely describing how Apollo went on some occasion to Pytho and thence to Olympus (182—206); and next and finally a long composition of 340 verses, in form at least one and continuous, upon the journey of Apollo in search of a site for his first oracle, and the founding of it on Parnassus (207—546). It is this last piece to which, if to anything, the title of 'The Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo' must be appropriated. The approach to the subject is made in the same way as in the Delian 'In a theme so rich what topic of praise shall I take?', leading after the rejection of others to that selected (207—214). Here one of the suggested themes, which was

<sup>1</sup> I have taken as a basis the 'Teubner' text of Bannmeister, but any other text will do.

perhaps developed at more length, has been excised, and the place of it (212—213) is marked by a mere fragmentary indication. But there is scarcely reason to lay the blame of this defacement upon time or accident. In all this intermediate portion the compilation has no form to be defaced, and the compiler himself may well have noted in this way the fact that there existed a poem on the legend indicated, which he had seen, but did not for the moment think interesting enough to insert. We arrive however now at the theme proper (214) and proceed continuously.

Apollo, setting out from Mount Olympus to choose a place for his oracle, travels through the northern regions, Pieria, Emathia, the Perrhaebi, and so to Euboea, thence re-crosses to what was afterwards Thebes, and arrives at the fountain of Telphusa near Haliartus, where he marks out a site (214—253). Telphusa, displeased, suggests that his worship will be disturbed by the noise of the beasts of draught which are watered at the spring, and that the spectacle of chariots and horses will distract admiration from the temple and its treasures. She recommends Crisa, and a glen there under Parnassus (254—274), where accordingly the temple is built (275—299); but the god finds that the neighbouring spring is guarded by a monstrous and destructive she-dragon (300—304), . . . which he slays (356—362); from the rotting (*πίθουσαι*) of its corpse the place is called *Pytho* and the god *Pythian* (356—374). [The space indicated by dots (305—355) is occupied by a long digression on the birth of the monster Typhaon, self-conceived by Hera in rivalry of Zeus, who had produced Athena without the aid of his wife: it is indicated (353), but in very obscure language, that the monster was connected in some way with the *δράκαινα* slain by Phoebus. The passage is undoubtedly interpolated, as commonly supposed, but may have been interpolated by the compiler himself; the insertion however is clumsy and undisguised, and cannot have been made with the motives of an artist.] Telphusa, for deceiving the god, is punished by the destruction of her fountain (375—387). While considering how to provide the new oracle with ministers, the god describes a Cretan merchant-ship on its way to Pylos. He boards it in the form of a dolphin, and brings it miraculously (the crew being helpless with terror and amazement) into the port of Crisa, where he prepares the inhabitants for his entrance (388—447). He returns in human form to the ship, explains to the now emboldened Cretans the advantage which they will reap from his design, and invites them to land (448—485). By his command they build him an altar on the shore and consecrate it by a feast (486—512). He conducts them to Pytho (513—523). They are at first dissatisfied with its barrenness (524—530): but the god promises that they shall be maintained by the offerings (531—539). He warns them against unfaithfulness, which will be punished by subjugation (540—544). The poet concludes with a conventional formula of transition to another theme (545—546).

Such are the contents of this curious composition. Let us now review the various elements, and consider what may be gleaned from them as to the feelings and motives of the fabricator. Of the first portion the general



conception is perfectly clear and calls for no remark. Excepting in a few questionable details, which shall be noticed later, this is a simple, uniform piece of work, composed for recitation at Delos, in the spirit of Delian religion, and upon the Delian view of Apollo's geographical province and moral sphere. As literature it is perhaps not inferior to anything in the whole collection of hymns; and it has a particular interest from the fact that of this poem, if of anything, we can say that it was written by a poet called Homer. The two fragments, which follow it, are in themselves of little interest, and we shall do best to go at once to the 'Pythian Hymn', which, if comparatively not strong in artistic merit, atones for any such defect by its extraordinary significance as a historical document.

It presents itself, we see, in the guise of a religious exercise, composed in honour of the Pythian sanctuary. From such a composition, or from such compositions, most of it may have been more or less faithfully borrowed. But that as a whole it is no such thing, that a feeling utterly alien from that of Delphi has guided the choice and rejection of topics, may be easily seen and proved. One simple fact indeed is itself decisive. From beginning to end of this 'Pythian Hymn' there is not one single word by which a hearer could be assured that at the time of the composer and imaginary speaker the worship of Apollo was actually celebrated at Pytho at all. Everything about Pytho, except that there is a place so called (372), is related wholly in the past. How the present aspect of the subject would naturally have been treated by a poet really zealous for the honour of the Pythian house, we may learn from the hymn of Delos. There the most brilliant and beautiful passage is that describing the actual present fulfilment of those gracious promises with which the fane was founded, the splendid and joyous festivities which the poet was then beholding, and for the sake of which the legend was cherished, the men and women 'immortal as one might deem, and ageless for ever', the games and the dancing, the rich freights landed, and the songs miraculous sung. Can we suppose that it was the habit of the poets who celebrated Pytho to pass over all such topics, to say nothing whatever, not one syllable, about the solemn days of consultation, the inquiring crowds from every part of the world, the invitation of the prophetess, the lots and the sacrifice, the conclave, the interview, and the oracular voice? And if it was not their habit, how is it that this 'Homeric' compiler, who can find room in his ample frame-work for much that is trivial and much that is distinctly repulsive, could not find room for a couplet or a verse to intimate that the expectations of Apollo, as founder of Pytho, were in fact fulfilled, and the foundation could boast of a great, a successful, and a still progressing history? Or why at least need the author be at the pains so strongly to suggest the very opposite?

For this is what in truth he does. The oracle is founded at Pytho in the territory of Crisa, the ministers are put in possession of it, and the god then leaves them with a prophetic warning: 'Take care of the temple, and entertain the tribes of men, when they assemble here, according to my



directions precisely.<sup>2</sup> But if there shall be any wantonness in speech or in deed, or insolence, as is the way of mortal man, then shall other men be lords over you, and to them shall ye be subjects and thralls for ever and a day. Here ends my say; do thou', quoth the god to the chief of the ministers, 'keep it in thy heart.' And so ends the say of the hymnist. Even if we had no evidence that this threat took effect, we should be justified in supposing so; we should be justified in assuming that, like other human prophecies, it was written because and after it had been fulfilled. The warning is given to the people of a place which in accuracy of nomenclature was divided into a city (Crise) on Parnassus not far from Pytho and a haven (Cirrha) in the plain below, but in popular parlance was described collectively by one of the names, as in the hymn it is described by that of Crise. This people, who according to the hymn were in origin partly Cretan, were possessors of the oracle from the earliest memory down to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. At that time, by the result of a 'holy war', in which many states and great persons took part under the authority of the religious league called Amphictyonic, the Criseans were degraded and dispossessed in favour of a new town which, populated by in-comers from the mountains behind, had grown up round the sanctuary of Pytho itself, and which thus became not only independent but supreme in the district. It is scarcely necessary to add that this proceeding was justified, according to the gainers, by many acts of 'wantonness' and 'insolence' on the part of the losers. The name of the dominant and 'subjugating' city (which the compiler, though he does not think fit to mention it, must have known and can be proved to have known) was *Delphi*. The event took place, as above said, early in the sixth century B.C. That the writer alludes to it, and that his composition in its present form is therefore the work of some later date, is a hypothesis which, from the general limits of the human mind and apart from the corroborations which will presently offer themselves, we are warranted in assuming until it appears to be impossible. But assuming this, in how strange a manner, how incredible, when we remember the ostensible purpose of the composition, the allusion is managed! Having told us how Apollo established an oracle 'at Pytho in Crise', what has the celebrator of his glory to reveal to us concerning the sequel? Nothing whatever by positive statement, and by suggestion this and no more, that the chosen administrators proved in fact unworthy of their trust and eventually incurred the penalty of a final enslavement. That the sanctuary, which they were to 'protect', and the worship itself were destroyed or humbled by their ruin, he does not say, nor in face of the facts could he say so. But why does he choose this moment as a fit place to end? How is it that he does not give either here or anywhere a hint to diminish the ominous impression of disaster, which such a conclusion naturally must leave upon the mind? And why above all should he imply,

<sup>2</sup> V. 321: read καὶ ἐπεὶ ἴδῃς τὰ μέγιστα for the corrupt καὶ ἐπεὶ ἴδῃς τὰ μέγιστα. The correction has no doubt been suggested before.

as he distinctly does, that upon such an event the covenant of the god would be determined? Wealth and luxury are promised by him, on condition of good behaviour, to his elected Creto-Crisaeans; with the conquerors, who were to punish their misbehaviour, he would not, so far as appears, have any further concern. If we depended for our history upon this hymn, it would be impossible to suspect that with the decline and fall of Crisa the greatness of the Pythian oracle, at least in outward show, did not end so much as begin, or that the fate which the author paints so darkly was nothing more than a transference to managers even more successful, according to common estimates of success, than their predecessors: nor is it now possible to believe that the author had an interest in proclaiming these facts, or, in other words, that he had any genuine interest in the glory and prosperity of Delphi.

For this reason we are not so much surprised, as otherwise we ought to be, to find him apparently ignorant of almost everything in which the interest of Pytho consisted. The Delian hymnist knows Delos, and helps us to know it; he specifies its relics, rites, and treasures, such as the maidens of 'the miraculous tongues', the water in which Phoebus was washed, and, sacred and famous above all, the palm-tree upon which Leto had leaned. But the Pythian poet knows nothing; he has never heard, or at least he has nothing to say, of any one object characteristically Pythian, however ancient or however celebrated. The temple indeed he does mention, in what fashion we will presently see; but the temple, as a temple, was not specially characteristic. And for the chasm and its vapours, or the tripod over it, for the stone, earth's centre, and the mysterious pair which stood by it, for the sacred bath and the familiar doves, the dateless tomb and the inexplicable letter, nay, for the prophetess herself, agent and means of the whole oracular proceedings, the poem may be searched in vain.<sup>2</sup> In short, you could scarcely learn from it that there was or ever had been anything in the place worth the trouble of going to see. Some of these famous things may no doubt be later in origin than the poem; but that all of them were so is impossible. When none of these things were in Pytho, there was certainly no Apollo there, and probably no Greek.

One sacred object at Pytho is indeed, as we have said, distinguished and briefly described,—the temple; of which we are told that 'when the god had set out the lines of its foundation in breadth and in length, upon these very lines a stone floor was laid by Trophonius and Agamedes, sons of Erginus, dear to the immortal gods; and about it a fane was piled by countless tribes of men, with laid stones, to be a theme of song for ever' (294—299). Now

<sup>2</sup> The *adphron*, a name which by Pythian usage was sometimes applied to the cave, is mentioned twice (443, 528), once in terms which a reader, if previously informed, might perceive to mean that it was subterranean, *ἐν τῷ ἄδφρονι* *καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπέρμασι*. But that it was in any way peculiar or essential to the act of

prophecy is not even hinted, and of the tripod there is no word. The 'costly tripods' of the verse cited, whatever they are, are not that, and for anything that appears they might be mere ornaments. Indeed there is nothing anywhere to show how the oracle was supposed to operate. All is vagueness and unreality.



this is a passage in which undoubtedly the compiler took a lively interest, so much so that, if he did not compose it himself, he was at the trouble of conveying it from some text other than that which he was using at the moment, and thrusting it in at all costs. For next after it, and not before it, comes the slaying of the deadly serpent and the connected punishment of the nymph Telphusa; whereby we are left to understand that the god not merely chose his site but actually got to work with architects and masons and apparently finished the building, before he discovered that the watering-place was haunted by a monster 'which if any one met, it was his death-day' (356). Let this bungling story be compared with the way in which the arrival of the god and the slaying of the monster are told, for example, by Euripides (*Iph. T.* 1234) and would naturally be told by any one: it will then, I think, sufficiently appear that by the compiler of the hymn this passage about the building of Trophonius and Agamedes has been here dragged in. Nor is it difficult to guess why. Regarded from a truly Pythian point of view all this about the designers and craftsmen is simply a dishonouring falsehood. Certainly there was, or there had been, in Delphi a temple such as is here described. It was burnt about the year 550; and the builders of it were said to have been, very likely were, Trophonius and Agamedes. But from whom did the author learn that this temple was the original foundation of Apollo? Not from any one well qualified or disposed to maintain the credit of Pytho. The Greeks in the age of Solon had little or no science of chronology; but neither then nor for a long time before were they such savages, so utterly devoid of a traditional perspective, as to believe that such a building as this, an exact and elaborate piece of masonry, which had given employment to hands 'innumerable', had been erected upon Parnassus at the era to which Pytho pretended, almost at the beginning of the world, in the age of the Titans, or even (as most people would have said) at a time when, according to this very document (225—228), the site even of Thebes, that 'Ogygian' city, was still virgin forest, pathless and uninhabited. Least of all would this have been believed or maintained at Delphi, which possessed at least the outline of a genuine history far older than others could show, and in the seventh and sixth centuries was for the time, as is proved by its skilful management and diplomatic triumphs, a place of comparative enlightenment. The story then related at Delphi must naturally have resembled in its general conception what was told there throughout antiquity.<sup>4</sup> Trophonius and Agamedes were so far from having built the first temple, that their birth was foretold to their father by the Pythian prophetess herself! The first temple (of Apollo) was a mere hut of wood, and one other shrine at least, of bronze, came between this and the palace of masonry, which was destroyed in 550. We may observe in passing that even the first coming of Apollo was not, and no Pythian ever said that it was, the true beginning of Pytho, which had been a sanctuary and a seat of rude inspiration when that Dorian god was still travelling among the Emathians and Per-

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias 9. 37. 3: 10. 5. 9.



chaëbi.<sup>2</sup> All this primæval tradition our author very consistently suppresses; and by tacking in, however inconveniently, this little episode about the architects, he attains at any rate the purpose of suggesting that the event was by no means so remote as some would make out,—whatever might then have been the condition of Thebes, in whose relative antiquity he would appear (and perhaps we may hereafter see a reason for it) to have had as little interest as in that of Pytho.

The surprise which we must upon reflexion conceive at the reticences of this 'Pythian' rhapsodist, at the number and quality of the things which he might be expected to notice but does not, will not be diminished by examining the subjects to which he has given his preference. These are practically two, filling between them the frame-work of the poem; the quarrel with the nymph Telphusa, and the importation of the Cretans. One other topic is touched upon, the slaying of the dragon; but this, perhaps the most famous of Apollo's Pythian feats, occupies (if we exclude the irrelevant interpolation about Hera and Typhaon) only a dozen lines, or exactly as much as is bestowed on the coarse and frivolous explanation of the name *Pytho*. It is derived, we are told, through *πύθεσθαι* *to rot*, from the fact that the monstrous corpse of the dragon was left to decay over the soil upon which it fell.

Whether this unattractive etymology had ever the sanction of the oracle seems to be now not ascertainable, but our author is the primary authority for it, while there are many witnesses for the alternative derivation from *πυθέσθαι* *to inquire*. We certainly cannot suppose that in the times of the rhapsodists any devotee or admirer of Delphi felt himself compelled in conscience to abandon an exposition agreeable to his religious sentiments in deference to the scientific objection (obvious though it might be) grounded on the difference of quantity in the *v*. And therefore why the Pythians, with this appropriate suggestion at hand, should have chosen to associate their name and sanctuary with a tale so unedifying, not to say so disgusting, as that of the hymnist, is a doubt which may prompt suspicion. This suspicion gains strength when we notice that our author does not assign the invention of the name to the god, but on the contrary seems to represent him as exceedingly displeased at this unforeseen consequence of his victory and his remarks, "There now rot thou on the ground that feedeth men (*βοττανειρή*): thou at least shalt not be living to plague and harm the mortals who, eating the rich food of earth's fertility (*γαίης πολυφόρου καρπόν*), shall here bring perfect sacrifice. Nor shall Typhoeus save thee from death (*abhorred sound P*), nor shall Chimaera (*evil name P*); but thee, where thou liest, black earth shall rot and Hyperion's blaze." So spake he boasting over it, and darkness veiled the creature's eyes:

<sup>2</sup> See Pausanias *l.c.*, and the opening of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. The Aeschylean account is a harmonistic version, and in some points a late invention; but it properly recognizes the history before Apollo.

<sup>3</sup> *ἰδρῶτος ἐνερπλῆς*: that the writer, for the

notice at least, connected this word with *λέγειν*, *to tell or name*, seems to me clear. And indeed why not, since the moderns have connected it with *λέγειν*, *to lay to rest*?

<sup>4</sup> *δοσάμενος*.

and there, where it lay, the great strong Sun rotted it quite. From which now the place is called *Pytho*, and some give the lord god himself the surname *Pythian*, because even in that spot the monster was rotted by the strong keen Sun. And *thereupon* (τότ' ἄρα) Phoebus Apollo judged in his heart that the fair deity of the fountain had deceived him: and he went in a rage after *Telphusa* etc. It will be seen that, according to the sublime and elegant conception of the bard, Apollo at first felt a natural satisfaction at the conversion of his enemy to the fertilizing of the sacred soil, and expressed triumph in terms only too vigorous; but when he found that as a consequence his abode was called *the place of rotting*, and himself by a similar appellation, he 'thereupon' judged that *Telphusa* had misled him when she recommended the site: nor in fact, as we shall see hereafter, is any other reason suggested, as the story is told in this hymn, for the vengeance inflicted on that unfortunate nymph. It is quite possible that the account of Apollo's victory, including the words of the god, childish as it is, is really an ancient tradition of *Pytho*, although, as we shall discover, it is not proved to be such by appearing in this composition. As for the words which connect with this account the names of the sanctuary and the deity, they bear on the face of them an indication that they have been tacked on.\* We shall presently see further proof of this, and shall be able to appreciate the motive of the addition. For the present however we will leave the incident of the dragon and pass to the *Cretans* and *Telphusa*, the two substantial themes of the work.

Among the mass of legends, religious or quasi-historical, which the *Pythians* related about themselves and their god, there were certainly some which connected him with *Crete*. He was said for example to have been on one occasion purified there from the pollution of homicide. The affinity between the *Dorian* settlers in both regions accounts naturally for such inventions. Nor is it perhaps unlikely that the story preserved by our compiler of 'Homer', though it makes the connexion more close and important than is commonly represented, and rather oddly inverts the usual relation of dependence which the *Delphians* loved to trace between their establishment and others, is nevertheless a genuine product of *Pythian* imagination. Historical basis, I should suppose, it cannot have had; the probabilities of migration are all the other way. The resemblance, which some have detected, between the names *Crete* and *Criza* is slight for the superstructure, and moreover, if it had been the true basis, would naturally have been known to the author of this version, and to the compiler of the hymn, who however, though fond of etymologies, shows no suspicion of this. We hear incidentally of one contribution which the *Cretan* colonists made to the local worship; it is the *paean*, or *Apolline* music, which they sing, as

\* 379 foll.

ἀεὶ φάει δακρυχόμηναι, τῆς δὲ πατρὸς ὄντα πάλαι.  
[τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ κατένευ' ἱερὰς μένος Ἑλλήων  
ἢ εἴ γ' οἱ Πυθὶς ἐκλήθουεναι, εἰ δὲ δούρα  
Πόδας ἀλλήλους ἐκείνουσαν, οὐκ ἔστι κείνῃ  
αὐτοῦ πῦες πόδας μένος ἔχοντες Ἑλλήων.]

The awkwardness, and indeed incorrectness, of the second *εἰ* following the first, is of the sort which almost inevitably results, unless the composer be very careful and skilful, from the putting on of a patch.



they enter, 'like the paeons of the Cretans, when the divine muse has put song sweet as honey in their hearts' (518). Here, in some real or supposed priority of the Cretans in this art, is probably the starting-point of the myth that the first Pythians had been partly Cretan. It is but a small support for the claim which it has to justify; and after all, a better or at least more natural motive may be seen in that curious turn of caprice which has led so many peoples, at a certain stage of culture, to embellish their history by the fiction that they are not really themselves but somebody else, the more remote the better; a habit which is responsible for Phoenician Boeotians, Egyptian Boeotians, Lydian Etruscans, Trojan Romans, Arcadian Romans, Englishmen from Troy, from Brittany, from Babylon, from Luxor, and from Judah. To such a vagary Crete was sufficiently adapted, having been in the semi-historical ages of Hellas, and indeed through the greater part of history, neither in nor out of the national circle, neither too little known for the purpose nor on the other hand known too well. It should be noticed that even the bard does not make the Pythians fully Cretan. The crew of the captured merchant supply only a new strain, which mingles with the original stock of Crisa. For their women were naturally left, as the poet tells us, at their homes in Crete (478): nor is it probably by accident that the only part of the native population, which is mentioned as saluting the return of Phoebus upon this occasion, is the women, 'the wives and fair daughters of the Crisaeans', who give vent to the general awe by their feminine *όλολυγμός* (445). What was felt or said, particularly by the males, when the favoured strangers actually appeared, the poet, perhaps wisely, has omitted to specify.

But whatever may have been the motives which prompted the original composer of the tale, and whatever his claim to speak the sentiments of Pytho, there can, it would seem, be no doubt at all as to the spirit and intentions of the quasi-pythian compiler who has given it to us in its existing form, who chose it, trimmed it, and supplied it with its amazing end: 'So when they (the Cretan mariners) had put away their desire of drink and food, they set off on their way. Before them went Zeus' son the lord Apollo, with a harp in his hands, which he delightfully played, stepping noble and high: and the Cretans went after him dancing, and sang an "Ié Paeon!", like the paeons of the Cretans, when the divine muse puts song sweet as honey in their hearts. Unwearied they footed it up the hill, and quickly came to Parnassus and the *delicious* place, where they were destined to dwell, honoured by the multitudes of mankind. And their leader showed them the worshipful chamber and wealthy fane. *But their hearts within them were stirred with indignation, which the Cretan chief expressed in a question thus: "Lord, since thou hast led us far from friends and fatherland (such, as it seems, was thy will and pleasure), how we are to live now, is the thing we bid thee consider. No vine-will hath this 'delicious' land, no good meadow, that we may well live on it while we do our service to men". But Zeus' son Apollo smiled over them and said, "O foolish men, O strangely patient, who prefer to have cares, and hard work, and straitening of desire! An easy*



*command will I give you, and lay upon your minds, just each to carry a knife in the right hand, and from time to time slay a beast. Of all beasts ye shall have abundance, all the famous offerings which the tribes of men shall bring me. But guard ye the fane, and entertain the tribes of men, who assemble here, according to my direction precisely. If there shall be any wantonness in word or deed, any insolence, . . ."*

And so follows the menacing prophecy which has been already quoted. Such is the farewell—*καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε*—which the hymnist takes of his god! However he may have regarded the Pythian deity (it is not easy to suppose him very devout), his feelings towards Pytho and its administrators are exhibited with a frankness quite unimprovable. It would be hard to distill more finely the mingled essence of envy and contempt than in this exquisite bit of satire upon the indolent, pampered toll-takers of a pilgrim world:

τοῖς δ' ἐπιμειδίσας προσέφη Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων  
νήπιοι ἄνθρωποι, δυστλήμονες, οἳ μελεδῶνας  
βούλεσθ' ἄργαλέους τε πόνοὺς καὶ στείνα θυμῷ.  
ῥηϊδίον ἔπος ὑμῖν ἔρέω καὶ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήσω  
δεξιτερῇ μάλ' ἕκαστος ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μάχαιραν  
σφάζειν αἰεὶ μῆλα· τὰ δ' ἄφθονα πάντα παρέστα  
ὅσα γ' ἐμοὶ κ' ἀγῶσι περίκλυτα φύλ' ἀνθρώπων.

And the irony reaches a climax, when this smiling divinity proceeds forthwith to preach against luxury and pride. The piece moreover, as it is placed in the hymn, has all the advantages of surprise. The pages preceding, from the arrival of the immigrants at the haven to their arrival at the sanctuary (440—523), are, taken as serious poetry, the best and almost the only good part of the 'Pythian' cento. In vigour and literary skill they are not comparable to the conclusion, but they are dignified and animated; and in the picture of the dancers moving up the hill there is a certain Apolline feeling which recalls the hymn of Delos. It is (at least I think so) unlikely that this description was meant by its maker merely to usher in the annihilating finale. Rather it would seem that when the cento was made, the satirical epilogue was appended as a trenchant commentary upon the whole, possibly by the same hand which provided the death of the dragon with its gay but malodorous sequel. However the distribution of authorship is quite unimportant: the spirit of the existing composition is in any case manifest.

When we see the purpose to which the legend of the Cretan colonists is finally turned, we are moved to consider whether there are not in the story itself some features which, set in this light, would make it not unacceptable to an anti-pythian taste. For instance, it may be disputed whether in the sixth century, when Delphi had risen, or was fast rising, to a sort of religious primacy over Hellas and even beyond, the Holy Ones who governed it would have cared any longer to proclaim that the first incumbents of their see had been a mere crew of traders, plying 'for goods'

between Crete and Pylos,<sup>9</sup> liable to the suspicion of piracy,<sup>10</sup> and, what is more remarkable, apparently disinclined to answer directly a direct inquiry as to whether they are pirates or not (464—473).<sup>11</sup> Nor was it then the part of Delphi to say, though it may have been true and may once have appeared not discreditable, that in days when the subjects of King Minos had already a commerce with the Peloponnese, Apollo had not yet visited Pytho, but the unexplored gulf and dangerous thickets of Crisa were still so much out of the travelled world, that sailors driven to its shore wondered where upon earth they might be (396, 431 foll., 468 foll.). It is impossible that two or three generations, in the course of which Delphi had relatively fallen rather than risen in influence and ambition, should have made so ennobling a difference in the orthodox conception of Pythian history, as there is between this account and the prologue of the Aeschylean *Kumenides*. But to the compiler, who would have it believed that the polished marble temple of Trophonius was the first work of art ever dedicated to Apollo on Mount Parnassus, it would naturally be a positive recommendation that the story, from the Pythian point of view, was out of date. What he has certainly done in the case of the temple, he has probably done in the case of Cretans. He has taken a genuine Crisaean legend, and by changing its historical setting has altered its effect.

Another trait in this legend, consistent with an intention in the original author to praise the oracle, but adaptable in altered circumstances to the different intention of the compiler, is the nationality of the chosen priesthood. The poet who wrote this part of the compilation speaks as if their origin was in itself a strong recommendation:—

Next Phoebus Apollo considered with himself what kind of men he should import for ministers, to do his service at Pytho among the rocks. While he was thinking upon this, he perceived on the blue sea a swift ship, wherein were men many in number, and excellent (being Cretans from Gnosus, the city of Minos) to perform ritual to their lord, and to carry the commandments of Phoebus Apollo, god of the golden sword, when he should utter a revelation from the laurelled hollow beneath Parnassus. They in black ship were sailing for trade and goods to sandy Pylos . . . and so on.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> 397.

<sup>10</sup> 453.

<sup>11</sup> The passage may originally have had a different colour, if there is really a lacuna (see Baumeister) after s. 465; but in that case it was the compiler probably who excised what is lost.

<sup>12</sup> 388 foll.

καὶ τότε δὴ κατὰ θυμὸν ἐπαύριτο φαῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
αἰεταῖας ἀεθρόωντας ἀργύρεας εἰσαγγέγων,  
ὃ θρηνησάμενος Πυθαίῳ ἐκὶ κρηπίδαο  
παύρ' ἄρα ἀπαλοῦν δέοντ' ἐκὶ αἰετὶ πτόεντι.  
392. οὐκ ὀκνῶ δὲ τ' ἑλθεῖν ἱεὺς τάλειος γῆ καὶ  
λαοῖσι.

Κρηταὶ ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινωῶν, οἱ βατ' ἔραται  
ἱερὰ τε βίβρασι καὶ ἄγγελλουσιν θύμῳ  
φαῖβος Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσόσπορον, ὅστις αἶψ' εἰσγ.  
χρῆμα ἐκὶ δέροντος γυμνασίου ἀπὸ Παρνασσῶ.  
οἱ μὲν ἐκὶ κρηπίδος καὶ χορήγῳ ἐπὶ μέλαιρ' κ.τ.λ.,  
So the MSS. according to Baumeister (preface,  
p. xi.); in the actual text the passage is converted (after Hermann) by transposition of lines into unintelligible fragments with a 'lacuna,' the construction and connexion of *λαοῖσι* . . . οἱ βατ' (392—393) having been apparently missed.



This passage, authentic enough no doubt as a piece of old Pythian work, is extremely interesting as evidence of the time when Pytho was earning, not spending, its religious reputation, when it was a place less splendid indeed but spiritually far more active than it afterwards became, and when the business of its ministers was not merely to sit framing profitable answers to pilgrims, but to *carry*, as *messengers* or missionaries, the reforming ordinances of the god into the darker places of Hellenic superstition. In referring as the poet does to Crete and to Minos, he assumes of course the more favourable associations of the royal name, as that of the 'friend of Zeus' and 'giver of laws.' The countrymen of 'King Minos the First' would naturally be well fitted for the service proposed. But there was also, as we know, a current conception of 'Minos' differing widely from this primitive ideal of devout imaginations, and produced probably by a better, or at least a nearer, acquaintance with Crete. The countrymen of 'King Minos the Second' (to adopt the pseudo-historical distinction of the genealogists) would have been apt enough to develop the 'wantonness' and the 'insolence' attributed to them by the author of the satirical conclusion: and *Cretans* in the sixth century, instead of being a badge of religious obedience and religious energy, is more likely to have been translated for the popular imagination by the proverbial hexameter, *The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies*. Which was the purpose of the compiler we shall better understand further on.

We turn now, following our plan, from the Cretans to the other chief topic of the cento, the offence and punishment of Telphusa, nymph of a spring near Haliartus. The length of this, though much less than that of the Cretans (about 50 lines),<sup>12</sup> is fully proportioned to its interest. Indeed the puzzle is to say what, from any point of view whatever, can have commended it to such high preference among themes connected with Pytho. Among the feats of Apollo, it must always, with whatever advantage of narration, have held but a humble rank; and in the narrative adopted for this hymn his gain of glory is certainly imperceptible. At least I can say for my own part that my sympathies are altogether with the unfortunate nymph. Where was her terrible sin, and why she is visited with so barbarous a vengeance, it is impossible to understand. Apollo declares his intention to establish his oracle beside her fountain, and with the same impetuosity which so oddly marks his conduct at Pytho lays out forthwith the plan of a temple. The humble goddess, fearful to be absorbed in so great a personage, suggests that he might prefer the glen of Parnassus in Crisa, alleging considerations affecting the sites which, so far as appears, were perfectly true, and the weight of which it was for Apollo to estimate. He goes to Crisa, chooses the site of Pytho, and actually builds his temple. He then discovers what, if it mattered, a god of moderate circumspection might surely have discovered sooner, that the local spring is infested by a certain monster. That Telphusa knew this there is not a word to show, or that there were no monsters in the neighbourhood of Haliartus. Since Thebes, it appears, was then virgin forest, one would suppose there were many. He kills the monster (with great ease)

<sup>12</sup> 244-276, 375-387.

and insists that it shall *rot where it lies*. His sanctuary and he are named, or rather nicknamed, from this incident. 'Thereupon he perceives that the fair spring', that is to say, Telphusa, 'deceived him', goes back in a rage, and ruins her fountain by pushing a hill into it. What a preposterous outrage!

That this story, either by accident or by malice, has been distorted, is, I think, manifest; and up to a certain point there is little difficulty in tracing the process of distortion. The argument alleged by Telphusa, by way of recommending the site of Pytho, is that in her own neighbourhood Apollo would be annoyed by the noise of the horses and mules which watered there, whereas 'in the glen of Parnassus' no such nuisance was to be apprehended. The latter branch of the argument is simply true, nor does the story, *as it now appears*, show any reason for doubting the former. The 'grassy' land of Haliartus, where the Telphusium or Telphosium lay, was perfectly open both to horse-traffic and wheel-traffic.<sup>14</sup> But just before the episode of Telphusa begins, in connexion with Onchestus, another place in the immediate neighbourhood, we read of a road along which *by a religious rule travellers were not permitted to drive in chariots* (230 foll.). What they might do and did do is in some details not very clear, nor has the passage now any apparent connexion either with Telphusa or with the story of Apollo at all. There can however be little doubt, if only from the presence of the prescription in this Pythian Hymn, that to the genuine legend it was in some way relevant, and that here lay the explanation of Telphusa's 'deceit'. In reality horses and chariots might not pass or might not stop at her spring, which was therefore in this respect as quiet as Castalia itself. This fact Telphusa tried to conceal. Apollo, by his divine perception, was aware of it, and as a general warning punished her severely, not at all for trying to send him elsewhere, but for thinking so unworthily of his godhead as to suppose that he could be deceived. The story had a moral like that of Ananias and Sapphira, and is precisely in the manner of other Pythian stories, framed as lessons against a low notion of deity. To reconstruct in words what the compiler has purposely torn to pieces would be a vain attempt. Probably parts indispensable to the original version are not anywhere to be found in the travesty. The only question is, what can have been the motive for thus introducing and remodelling this not very important fable. It is perhaps not inconsistent with the general design that the character of Apollo, as founder of Pytho, is exhibited in no pleasing light: he behaves like a spoilt child. Still this does not seem enough: that end, if the compiler really sought it, might have been otherwise so much better and more easily attained. It may throw some light on the matter if we inquire, as it is now time to do, why, when, and where the compilation as a whole can have been made.

<sup>14</sup> See Smith's *Dict. Geog. Bosolia*: the details of the topography are not ascertained and are of no importance to the legend. For it will be observed that, as the legend presumes, the old fountain of Telphusa, the fountain to which it referred, was buried and gone. As topogra-

phical evidence moreover, or evidence about anything except the mind of the compiler, the hymn is almost useless; the materials have certainly been remodelled, and we cannot say at what point or to what extent.



Let us look back for a moment to the Delian part of it. This as a whole is a flawless composition, harmonious, sympathetic, and even religious in its own fashion, a fashion different from that of Pytho, spiritually inferior, but sensuously most beautiful and winning. As a whole the text of it is sound, but a little tampering has been justly suspected. Let us consider the manner and purpose of it. In one place, perhaps only one, interpolation is unquestionably manifest (vv. 139 foll.):

- αὐτίκα δ' ἀθανάτησι μετῆνδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 'εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα  
 χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλὴν'  
 ὡς εἰπὼν ἐβίβασκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης  
 Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης, ἑκατηβόλος· αἱ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι  
 135 θάμβεον ἀθάναται· χρυσῷ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα  
 [βεβρίθει, καθορῶσα Διὸς Ἀητοῦς τε γενέθλην,  
 γηθοσύνη, ὅτι μιν θεὸς εἴλετο οἰκία θέσθαι  
 νῆσων ἡπείρου τε, φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μᾶλλον.]  
 ἦνθησ', ὡς ὅτε τι ῥίον οὖρεος ἀνθέειν ὕλης.

It is palpable<sup>15</sup> that the last line and the three preceding are alternative conclusions of the sentence; and it is the longer version which, by its slight awkwardness of connexion, stamps itself as the intruder. As the single verse appears innocent of any possible offence, the motive, we must suppose, was to bring in the triplet; and in this there is one expression noticeable in this respect, that it is not quite in keeping with the general scheme of the poem. Apollo, it is said, chose Delos rather for his home, and loved it better, 'than island or mainland'. Now the Delian hymnist has no interest in the continent. His range of view and the government of his god are strictly limited, according to his own full and exact description,<sup>16</sup> to the Aegean Archipelago. Even the coast of the surrounding land he treats merely as a frame-work enclosing the beloved islands; he mentions scarcely a point in the coast which is not peninsular, and within the sea-line knows nothing except what might be seen from the sea. His Ionians are mariners exclusively (155), and have a deity like themselves. And of the two places,<sup>17</sup> in which this poet is now made to say that the sphere of Phoebus extends over the mainland, both interrupt the context, and both on this ground alone are ejected by the critics. But why were they inserted? Plainly in order to fit the piece better for the connexion in which we find it, in order to prepare the way for the 'Pythian' part of the compilation, where the survey is naturally not insular but continental. But which was the intention, to make room for the claims of Pytho, or to extend the claims

<sup>15</sup> See Banmeister's text.

<sup>16</sup> 30-44; cf. 142-145.

<sup>17</sup> See vv. 20-24, beginning with πάντη γὰρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νόμοι διαβλάφεται φῶβι | ἥμιν ἄν' ἑ-

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πειραε παρτινέρον ἢ δ' ἀν' ἡνέου. . . This last is the line for the sake of which the piece has been inserted; in fact the rest is little more than a verbal repetition of vv. 142-145.

of Delos? The terms are decisive; it was to extend the claims of Delos, by asserting that when Apollo 'preferred Delos for the place of his house', mainland as well as island was considered and declared inferior.

Nor is this the only or the most significant operation of the kind. When the god sprang up suddenly adult from his swathing-bands, and astonished his nurses by articulating his notions 'then and there', his words, as we have just read them, were these, 'Let the lyre be mine, and mine too the bended bow: and I will reveal to mankind the unerring counsel of Zeus.' Now here is what looks at first sight like the work of a true catholic, desirous to combine in one view the various local conceptions of Apollo, and to provide for them all. The last clause is the familiar language of Pytho, and at any rate not characteristic of Delos, which, we may almost say, was never an oracle at all, so obscure and so ineffective were its efforts in this direction. The hymnist himself, in his description of a Delian festival, has not a word to say of that which, had the assembly been Pythian, would have appeared as the very centre of attraction, nothing of consultation, prophecy, or anything of the sort. It was on Parnassus that Apollo, in contact with cults very different from his own, became a revealer of wisdom and learnt the methods of inspiration. To mention these functions here might pass therefore in the Delian for a trait of impartiality, were it not that, earlier in the poem, Delos, in her contract with Leto, is strangely made to stipulate that the god's first temple, which is to be built in her island, *shall be an oracle* and, what is more, an oracle *for the whole world*: 'Swear me, goddess, if thou wilt deign, a mighty oath'—

ἐνθάδε μιν πρῶτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηὸν  
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἔπειτ' πολυώνυμος ἔσται.<sup>12</sup>

The obscurity of the last two lines has been attributed, not unreasonably to a lacuna.<sup>13</sup> But interpolations are often, and for obvious reasons, obscure: and when we compare a passage which the compiler has written or used in his 'Pythian' composition (287 foll.),

ἐνθάδε δὲ φρονέω τεύχειν περικαλλέα νηὸν,  
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον κ.τ.λ.

there can surely be no reasonable doubt that here in the Delian we have an interpolation before us. The genuine words of Delos end with v. 80, 'that in this island first he will make him a fair temple'. The author of the supplement means us to take ἐνθάδε πρῶτον with his ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον, or at least to understand the words there again, 'to be a place

<sup>12</sup> 80-82: *ἐστὶν* MSS., but the clerical error is common enough, and more probable than the bad grammar. The meaning at any rate seems

clear.

<sup>13</sup> See Baumcister's text.



of revelation to man, for this island first, and afterwards over all mankind, when he shall come to wide renown'. The connexion is a little forced but as good as could be expected in such a case. Leto in her reply does not follow verbally either part of the stipulation: 'Verily Phoebus here shall have ever an altar of incense and a sacred close; and of honour thou shalt have more from him than any'. But if the stipulation really had been what it now appears, the reply must in common honesty be supposed to cover it all. In this light therefore we must read and understand the cry of the young Apollo,

εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα.  
[χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν].<sup>20</sup>

And reading it in this light I have for my own part no hesitation in assigning the last line, grammatically somewhat abrupt, to the same interpolating hand. The Delian part of the compilation thus elucidates the motives of the Pythian part, by betraying a desire to set up Delos as a rival of Pytho. The Delian document, doubtless already celebrated, has been cautiously but effectively garbled with this view. That Delos was in fact an oracle of Apollo, nay, his true and favourite oracle, the compiler does not venture, in the teeth of notorious facts, to assert; he has admitted the contrary;<sup>21</sup> but he plainly hints that it might be, and that, if every one had their rights, it ought to be.

The same feeling appears in the selection of the fragment which immediately follows the hymn of Delos, an invocation in three verses:

ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Δυκίην καὶ Μαιονίην ἐρατεινὴν  
καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις, ἔβαλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν,  
αὐτὸς δ' αὖ Δήλοιο περικλύστης μέγ' ἀνάσσεις.

The only point of these lines is that they give a preference to Delos even over the famous sanctuary of the Branchidae, the second after Delphi, but a long way second, in dignity, though probably not even second in antiquity among the oracular foundations of Apollo. Miletus and much else are his 'possessions', but Delos 'his own lordly home'. We may observe moreover that the compiler, in these three lines, does more for the Milesian oracle, the Ionian oracle, than he does for the Pythian in three hundred. It is at least allowed to *exist*; it is a possession of the god; we are not left, as in the case of Pytho, under the impression that it has in some way come to a bad end.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 252, and again 292 τῶν δ' ἑρ' ἔγωγε  
νημερτέα βούλη | πᾶσι θεοσσέλοισι χρεῖται.

<sup>21</sup> v. 214. It is significant that the *locus classicus* for the oracle of Delos should be the *Aeneid* (3.77 foll.) of Virgil, who imagines there a copy of Delphi. Doubtless he had

authority for it in the 'Cyclic poems', or as Aeschylus would have said in the 'Homos', which he used for this part of his work; and how it came into 'Homer' the reader of this essay will easily guess.

The purpose of the other intermediate fragment, read in its place and in the spirit of the whole composition, is hardly less clear. It begins at a very odd point, and not without appearance of some trimming as well as cutting:—

\* Now glorious Leto's son went, harping upon his carven harp, to Pytho among the rocks, in robes fragrant with incense: and his harp, touched by his golden quill, sounded entrancingly. And thence to Olympus, quitting earth like a thought, he went to the hall of Zeus, to join the company of immortal gods, engaged just then in music and song . . . and so follows (in some twenty lines) a brilliant description of the scene, and the pride of the parents, Zeus and Leto, when the new-comer strikes into the chorus. Now this scene as a whole is quite in its place, and aptly succeeds the history of Apollo presented by the Delian hymn. We have seen the god born upon earth and establishing his earthly kingdom, with Delos for its capital. Here he is received in heaven, and we behold him among his immortal peers. But why, out of the innumerable descriptions of this kind which must have been available,<sup>22</sup> has the compiler chosen an extract which begins so awkwardly with an unexplained visit to Pytho? It will be noticed that the god does nothing there. Pytho is merely a stage on his journey from some place not named to Olympua.<sup>23</sup> Surely this incident, thus presented, must be designed to harmonize, as at all events it does, with the theory of the whole 'Pythian' narrative which follows; that the establishment of the Pythian oracle was by no means, comparatively speaking, a very early event, and that in any case it took place long after the birth of the god and his establishment in Delos, not at all as the effect of his first choice. Nothing could better support this conception than to show the god, in this early period of his career, passing through Pytho as he might have passed anywhere, without the slightest notice or interest. A Delphian, if he allowed that Apollo was born in Delos at all (for the primitive legend of the mainland ignored Delos as comfortably as the primitive legend of the islands ignored Pytho<sup>24</sup>), would have brought the god, as the Pythian propheticess does in Aeschylus,<sup>25</sup> straight and at once from Delos to Delphi, and would have made him found the oracle forthwith.

We have now taken the bearings of the cento in every material part, and may come to the question of its origin. One thing is instantly clear: it is not the mere collection of a scholar or *littérateur*. Religious and political motives, not literary motives, have guided the selection and arrangement. Further, the division into two portions, and only two, is meaningless

<sup>22</sup> Compare that in the opening of the Delian hymn itself (2-13).

<sup>23</sup> In the conception of 'Olympus' the *Hymn* to Apollo wavers between sky and mountain. Here it is rather the sky, but the Pierian mountain apparently in 216, and a mountain (the Trojan I) certainly in 98. The compiler, having no interest in the doubt, has left it as it stood

in his materials.

<sup>24</sup> See *Hymn. Apoll.* 214 foll., which, if we suppose it detached from the Delian narrative, probably represents the Pythian conception very well. Several places on the mainland claimed the birth.

<sup>25</sup> *Eum.* 1 foll.



and destructive. As a literary composition it is divisible into four distinct parts at least; and in its spirit it is not divisible at all, but makes one whole. Its point of view is Ionian, Delian, and above all things anti-Delphian. Earlier than the sixth century B.C. it cannot have been composed, nor later. In the fifth century and later times Delphi had indeed enemies enough; but they used other literary weapons, and far more formidable, than those of this *diaskeuastes*. It was then for many reasons too late to set Delos against Pytho. Those who honoured either, like Aeschylus, were anxious only to establish, if possible, some harmonizing creed, which might resist the increasing assailants who cared for no oracle at all. In what place the 'hymn' was composed, we could not perhaps guess from internal evidence; but here external evidence, if we will listen to it, comes to our aid. The tradition which fixes at Athens, in the age of Pisistratus, the arrangement of 'the works of Homer', that is to say of course not the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as such, but all that was 'Homer' in the common opinion of that time and place, a tradition which was thought worthy of recognition by Cicero (surely, all things considered, no mean witness), is to me quite credible and probable in its fullest extent; although it has, I think, even when accepted, less effect on the 'Homeric question' as usually defined than friends and enemies sometimes assign to it. But even those who, so far as it affects the unity or the analysis of the great epics, would reject it, will probably admit that it may well be true of the *Hymns*. Of the *Hymn to Apollo* at least it is almost certainly true. There were in the sixth century very few Greek cities indeed where book-literature (and a cento implies book-literature) yet existed. But when there was one, it was Athens. There can then have been, one would think, few Greek cities or governments from which such a religious pasquinade (for such it is) against the sanctuary of Parnassus could expect encouragement. Delphi was too generally respected. But there was one such government; and that was the dynasty of Pisistratus. It is notorious that this family, in their capacity as chiefs or aspiring to be chiefs of the Ionians, were patrons and benefactors of Delos; that, for this reason probably, as well as from the general opposition of the Pythians to 'tyrannies', they had with the Dorian Delphi a standing quarrel; that their enemies were in league with Delphi, enriched Delphi, were steadily supported by Delphi in their designs against the 'despots of Athens', and by the help of Delphi were eventually enabled to overthrow them.<sup>86</sup> To the taste of Pisistratus or Hipparchus nothing could have been more acceptable than a group of rhapsodies or rhapsodical fragments relating to the history of Apollo, in which, with the aid of a little pious forgery, it was made to appear that, according to the best authority, and due regard being had to the traditions

<sup>86</sup> To the sanctuary of Apollo Pythius at Athens Pisistratus and his family were conspicuously attentive (Thuc. vi. 54; Harrison, *Mythology, etc. of Athens*, p. 263). If these benefactions were intended to propitiate Delphi, they failed, as they naturally would. To fix the god

in Athens would be the best possible way of deterring his admirers from going elsewhere; and under the circumstances there can be little doubt that this was the object. The party of Pisistratus, as we shall see, did not admit that *Apollo Pythius* belonged to Pytho.

even of Pytho itself, the oracle on Parnassus was a foundation comparatively modern, unlucky and unsatisfactory from the first; older perhaps than some colonies of the recent invaders, like Thebes, but younger than all the sanctuaries in a better part of the world, Delos, Claros, even Miletus; compromised by an unfortunate name and an unhappily chosen priesthood; and owing its very existence in that place to a deception practised upon the founder; that Apollo from the first had foreseen danger to the virtue of the administrators from the peculiar nature of their business, and had foretold the crushing punishment by which, as every one knew, the greedy, indolent, avaricious corporation had recently been overwhelmed.

Athens herself receives in the hymn just the same quiet, incidental notice as in other 'works of Homer'. In tracing the extent of Apollo's Aegean realm, 'the demos of Athens' is mentioned as a part of the coast (30).

ἄσπερος Κρήτη τ' ἐντὸς ἔχει, καὶ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, κ.τ.λ.

This is no place to enter into the question of 'the Attic interpolations' in Homer, especially as this particular reference at any rate may well be from the original hand. It is however worth remark that 'the demos of Athens', a political description, is unique in this geographical catalogue, where Sunium, if anything in Attica, would have stood more naturally beside Athos, Mimas, and Mycale; while on the other hand the 'demos', original or interpolated, would well please a dynast who posed as champion against an oligarchy, and whose government appears to have been in fact thoroughly popular. For the full-fledged anachronisms of Aeschylus<sup>22</sup> the time was not yet come.

But whether this mention of Athens be genuine or not, there are two passages in the canto, of which the full bearing becomes perceptible only when we conceive them as addressed primarily to an Athenian audience. When the Cretans arrive at Crisa, and before they are conducted to Parnassus, by command of Apollo they build an altar on the shore, and, in remembrance of his boarding their ship in the form of a dolphin, worship him there by the name *Delphinios* (495). This dolphin-god was the favourite Apollo of sailors, especially Ionians,<sup>23</sup> and doubtless had at Crisa, where every cult was in process of time represented, such an altar and legend, though they are not apparently mentioned elsewhere. Now the compiler, who bestows fourteen verses upon the Pythian temple, and on the rest of the Pythian treasures not a verse, gives thirty to the building of this altar, and to the legend connected with it one hundred more. From a catholic point of view the disproportion is monstrous: but at Athens—where *Delphinios* was perhaps, next to *Patrōos*, the most venerable of Apolline titles, where the *Delphinion* and the *Pythion* lay close together, so close that it must be doubtful whether they were not once parts of the same sanctuary—at Athens the altar on the Crisacan shore might naturally appear, as the com-

<sup>22</sup> *Eum.* 10-14, with the commentaries.

<sup>23</sup> Preller, *Gr. Mythol.* i. 164.



piller makes it the most interesting and important object in the territory. We may note in passing that with these associations Athenian auditors could scarcely fail to take as intended the description of the first ministers of Pytho as 'Cretans from Minos' city of Cnossus'; for it was at the Athenian temple of Delphinios that Theseus had made his offering before setting out for Cnossus, to deliver his countrymen from the cruelties of the wicked king Minos.

And the compiler has another use for this altar. The resemblance between *Delphinios* and *Delphoi*, though not very close and never, so far as I am aware, treated as of first-rate importance by the Delphians, to whom this aspect of the deity was comparatively uninteresting, was obviously open to remark. Now in the hymn, Apollo, after naming himself *Delphinios*, declares that the altar itself, because *to the sight* of the sailors he seemed a *dolphin*, shall be called (strangely) *Eposios* and (still more strangely) *Delphios* or *Delphaios*:

493 ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἡρωιδεῖ πόντῳ  
εἰδόμενος δελφῖνι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς δρῶσα,  
ὅς ἐμοὶ εὐχεσθαι Δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς  
αὐτὸς Δέλφιος καὶ Ἐπόσιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.

That it was called the *βωμὸς ἐπόσιος* (in the common sense of *conspicuous* and without reference to any legend) is likely enough; being on the shore it was probably a sailors' land-mark. But whether it was ever called *Delphios*, for this or for any reason, we may take leave to doubt. Why not *Delphinios*? The form *Delphios* itself is odd, though not so odd as *Pythios* or *Pytheios*, which the compiler has bestowed on the deity of Pytho (373), evidently for the purpose of dissolving, if possible, or at all events not recognizing, the popular appropriation to that place of the widely worshipped title *Pythios*. At least it is extremely remarkable that in 350 lines about Pytho he never uses this title at all. And it must in fairness be said that *Pythios*, in spite of the Pythians, is not derived from *Pytho*, which, if it was to make anything except *Πυθῶος*, might be imagined to make *Πύθιος* as well as *Πύθιος*: Pytho may (or may not) have been named after Pythios, but that is a different thing. Nor did it lie with the Delphians at any rate to make a difficulty about the quantity of a vowel. The retort was ready (nor can I doubt that the compiler meant to suggest it) that if Pytho, *Πύθω*, could at Delphi be explained to mean *place of inquiry* (*πύθω*), though any man's ear would tell him that it meant *place of decay* (*πύθω*), then it must be indifferent to Delphi whether the local name for the god was *Pythios* or *Pythios*, and those who preferred to use *Pythios* in this connexion were at liberty to do so. In short, the whole business about the derivation of the name *Pytho* is a controversial jest and, as such, not ill managed. From the brief and allusive way in which it is introduced, we may conjecture that it was current at the time among the circle to which the author belonged. But to return to *Delphios*. That the altar really bore this strange name, I do not

believe, and perhaps no one believes.<sup>29</sup> Why then did the compiler say that it did or should? For a reason of the same sort as that which made him distinguish *Pythios* from *Pythios*. At the date of the compilation, Delphi, the town at the sanctuary, though comparatively a modern city, must have been famous for half a century at least, probably more, as the acknowledged capital of the holy territory. That *Delphicos*, *The Delphian*, as a title of Apollo, gained every day in vogue and renown, was undeniable, but to the compiler intolerable. Accordingly he proposes on this point also to correct, as it were, a popular error. A name not unlike 'Delphian' was indeed connected with Apollo; but it was not exactly a title of the god, and had nothing to do with the upstarts on Parnassus. It belonged to a highly respectable altar miles away from Delphi, and had been bestowed by Apollo Delphinios, in honour of himself, long before Delphi existed. Delphi had seized the altar, with the territory in which it stood, and hence the popular confusion. The author would doubtless have preferred to call the altar *Δελφικός* (or *Δελφίος*) outright; but if he had, the link with *Δελφίν(ος)*, weak enough at best, would have been thinned to breaking. So by way of a bridge, he manufactured, as in the case of *Πύθιος*, a *vox nihili*, to which, as he humorously assumes, his adversaries at any rate, by their own practice, are debarred from demurring. The name of Delphi occurs in a short hymn to Artemis near the end of the collection (xxvii.):

έρχεται ἐς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτοις φίλοις  
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Δελφῶν ἐς πύονα δῆμον.

But that hymn betrays no trace of the spirit which animates the *Hymn to Apollo*, and must have been added, perhaps long after, by another hand.

The extraordinary interest of the compiler in this altar is still further shown by the fact that it is the sole work of human hands in the territory of Crisa, the temple itself not excluded, for which permanency is even so much as anticipated. It is to be *Delphios* and *Eropeios* 'for ever' (*aiei*), a way of speaking which seems clearly to imply that it will exist. But to the temple no more is promised than that it is to be 'for ever a theme of song',

ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆον ἵνασσον ἀθέσφατα φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων  
κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν, αἰοίδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ.<sup>30</sup>

a species of eternal duration which might have been safely predicted for Troy. As a fact, when this hymn was framed, the particular temple here described, the building of 'Trophonius and Agamodes', was a ruin, and the author and his patrons would have been more than content if the building of the Alcmaeonidae had never arisen in its place. In adapting the description he has had regard to the actual state of the case.

<sup>29</sup> The line is commonly suspected of corruption, but only because of the unexplained *ἐλ*-*φω*, in which is in fact the point of it.

<sup>30</sup> 298-299. *ἵνασσον*, perhaps rightly, Ernesti.



Athenian interest may also account for the fifty lines on the birth of the monster Typhaon or Typhoeus,<sup>21</sup> which the compiler, not without difficulty, has wedged into the story of the Pythian snake. So far as appears, either in the hymn or (I believe) elsewhere, Pytho had no connexion with Typhaon nearer than that the snake and Typhaon were both Titanic prodigies.<sup>22</sup> In this narrative the link is simply that Apollo, boasting over the slain snake, cries 'No *Typhoeus*, no Chimaera can help thee now!' Even in the name, the interpolation, using *Typhaon*, does not agree. It is therefore plainly inserted, and inserted not for the sake of Pytho, but for some strong intrinsic interest which determined the compiler to make a place for it; and this interest is apparent, if he was an Athenian. The only personage who derives glory from the legend is Athena, whose prodigious birth, that favourite myth of the Athenians, was, according to this version, the cause which moved the jealous Hera to parody the miracle by producing on her own account the foul Typhaon. This at Athens would be reason enough for preserving it; but for foisting it into the legend of Pytho something more seems wanted, and may be conjecturally suggested. The effect of the conjunction is to bring into view the enmity between Apollo and Hera. Now the Pythians appear to have had neither dislike of Hera, nor ground for it. Her foundations were no rivals of theirs, for she had scarcely an oracle in Hellas. But the Delians, with reason good, were desperately jealous of her, and in the latter part of the sixth century more jealous than ever; since their chief competitor for the worship of the Aegean islands was the Hera of Samos, whose temple was then receiving or expecting the stupendous aggrandisements of Polycrates. In the *Delian Hymn* accordingly, where Samos is duly catalogued among the constituents of Apollo's kingdom (41), the enmity of Hera against Leto and her son is the very base of the local legend (47, 99); and it is intimated that Samos in particular had reason to envy the braveness and foresight by which the barren little rock secured a possession more precious than fertility:

αἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδέλδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
φοῖβον δεῖξασθαι, καὶ πιστέρη περ εἶναι.

Samos, which is in fact exceedingly fertile, is the only place in the catalogue which has an epithet of this import:<sup>23</sup> it is *Σάμος ὀδρηλή*, an island of gardens, orchards, and water-meadows, like that of the Cyclopes in the *Odyssey*.<sup>24</sup> The compiler therefore, by putting into his composition about Pytho a legend unfriendly to Hera, reinforces his general theory that the true, original, universal Apollo is the Apollo of Delos. So also it is a Delian sentiment which is expressed in what are certainly words of no Pythian

<sup>21</sup> 306—355.

<sup>22</sup> And perhaps that Typhaon was the mate of the snake. The language of the hymn (353—355) is obscure, as well it might be.

<sup>23</sup> Chios, the home of the poet, is *Ἀκρωτήριον*; but whatever this vague praise may imply (a

modern may without shame confess an ignorance common to Aristophanes), it did not require richness of soil, for it was the favourite designation of Attica.

<sup>24</sup> *Od.* ix. 133.

and perhaps the compiler's own, where the reproach of Delos for barrenness<sup>25</sup> is retorted upon the glen of Parnassus (529). The retort might be easily parried, for *Crise* (as the author knew<sup>26</sup>) was a rich country. But it is good enough to throw at a heretic.

Lastly the connexion of the cento with Athens and with the policy of Pisistratus may possibly throw some light on the investigation, which we left incomplete, into the motives of the compiler in choosing and disposing the legend of Telphusa. Intrinsic interest this story, in the shape which he has given it, can scarcely have had for him or for anybody. No one gains any credit by it; and if Apollo loses some, by being exhibited as on this occasion anything but infallible, this can scarcely have been a prime object to the author, since Apollo, whether for the moment in Phocis, Boeotia, or wheresoever, is the god of Delos after all. Considering the very little that is now known concerning the history of the time, many points we must certainly miss; and it would not be surprising, if we were here entirely at a loss. But a guess may be hazarded.

Telphusa, as we saw, recommends to the god the choice of Parnassus, because there his sanctuary, worship, and pilgrims would be free from the noise of animals, whereas at her spring, by a road in the open country of Boeotia, horses and mules were accustomed to water. In this so far there is nothing auspicious. The quietude of Pytho, its security from the bustle of common traffic, must have been felt as an advantage by devotees so earnest and spiritual as the Pythians once had been; and it is natural that a legend of theirs should dwell upon it. But it is surely not so natural when Telphusa is made to add, 'here a man will be wanting to gaze at fine chariots and the prancing of swift steeds, instead of at the great temple and abundant treasures therein'.<sup>27</sup> In the first place the thought is vulgar, compared with the rest of her speech, which points distinctly to the disturbance of worship, not to a mere competition between shows. And further, if she here refers only to the common sights of a road (and there is nothing to suggest that she means anything more, or that the neighbourhood exhibited anything more), it is surely rating the splendours of Apollo's temple rather low, to suppose that they could not prevail against such distractions as these. But however this may be, and whether the text is unadulterated or touched up by the compiler, nothing could suit him better than to give it notoriety. For in his time it had become a satire. The importance of protecting Apollo's pilgrims from the seductions of 'fine chariots' and 'swift steeds' would be a topic of singular irony, when by far the most illustrious function connected with Pytho was the celebration of the Pythian Games. After the Crisaean war, as every one knows, this institution was 'restored', that is to say, converted from a festival mainly or solely musical into an exhibition of athletics and chariot-racing, which rapidly became one of the chief national gatherings of Hellas. This magnificent success marks

<sup>25</sup> Schol. on Aeschylus *Eum.* 2.

<sup>26</sup> See 438.

<sup>27</sup> 264—266.



the climax of Delphi, and also (it may perhaps be thought) the first step in her inevitable decline. It was a moral descent for Delphi to become the rival of such a place as Olympia, whatever might be the profits of the business. But be that as it may—and undoubtedly the Athenians had no more notion than the rest of the world that the future of Delphi as a religious foundation was imperilled by her apparent triumph—the new institution must have been detestable to the family of Pisistratus. The party of their enemies the Alcmaeonidae was connected not only with Delphi but peculiarly with the Pythian Games, for one of the principal founders and first victors was Clisthenes, prince of Sicyon, from whom by female descent the Alcmaeonidae derived much of their wealth and importance. Nor would it make the sentiments of Pisistratus more cordial, that the Athenians had zealously co-operated in the establishment of the *Pythia*, for this (we are told, and it is likely) was connected with the memory of Solon and 'liberty'; nor that the *Great Panathenaea*, founded or remodelled by himself, competed for national favour against the *Pythia*, and with less success. In short, the *Pythia* were an embodiment of all that the Pisistratidae had most reason to dread and dislike; and this is perhaps a sufficient reason why a Pythian legend, which might be interpreted as implying that Apollo would be little pleased to see his solemn and secluded oracle become the patron of chariot-races and horse-races, should have been eagerly admitted into a collection of sacred poetry formed under Pisistratean auspices. Delos had nothing to lose by the suggestion; for she had no such splendours, nor possibly could have. Such simple attractions of this kind as she could offer (boxing-matches and artistic dancing) are noticed in the ancient poem with which the compilation begins.<sup>33</sup> And it is to be observed that while on the hippic or even the gymnastic associations of Pytho and Crisa the composition is absolutely silent, their association with music, which did in truth belong to the peculiar religion of the place and had no connexion with the new ambitions of the sixth century, is carefully noted as a true and original characteristic, older even than the oracle itself.<sup>34</sup>

Of Apollo's journey, up to the time of his arrival in the neighbourhood of Telphusa and the beginning of her story (which includes or included the now irrelevant remarks about Onchestus<sup>35</sup>), only a brief outline is preserved by the composer (214—228). Besides the non-existence of Thebes, which,

<sup>33</sup> 149-150. For authorities on the foundation of the *Pythia* see Grote, *Hist. Greece*, ii. chap. 28. The contrast between the story of Telphusa in the hymn and the subsequent fortunes of Pytho is noticed by Grote; but as he assumes what appears to me impossible, that the hymn is an unadulterated product of Pythian religion dating from the seventh century, he sees this matter and others in a false light.

<sup>34</sup> 183.

<sup>35</sup> The fact that Onchestus was sacred to

Poseidon (v. 230) is taken by Grote as explaining why Apollo did not settle there. This however is not easy to understand, since at Pytho also Apollo had predecessors, Poseidon himself for one (Pausanias 10, 5, 6), and he might have negotiated with Poseidon for Onchestus as well as for Pytho. The arranger of the existing 'hymn' ignores the early history of Pytho, because it is his purpose to diminish its dignity. But it is incredible that any true Pythian ever did so.

taken in connexion with the lower date assigned to the whole proceeding in comparison with that of Ionian establishments, would be a point not unpleasing to Athenian ears, the only detail noted is that Apollo refused to build upon the plain of Lelantum in Euboea. No doubt he had rejected many places, according to the Pythians, every such rejection adding to the importance of his final choice. Why his proceedings in Lelantum should be specially interesting to the public in general, it might be hard to say; but anything about the antiquities and religion of that district is likely to have been interesting to Pisistratus and his family, who resided for years in Eretria.

We have now noticed and explained every part of the composition except the formal passage in which the theme of the Pythian foundation is prefaced by the proposal and dismissal of other subjects (207—213). Here would have been the opportunity, if the composer had so chosen, to make some little amends to Pytho for the deficiencies of the rest, and to give a line to one or two of the legends which, as we know from other sources, were vital to the religion of the place, a word to the alliance between Apollo and Bromios, to the birds whose meeting marked the place of his holy stone, to some one at least of the hundred stories which illustrated the power, the wisdom, the moral influence of his oracle, Laius, Oedipus, Polynices, Aegens, Acrisius, Admetus, Orestes. There is not a syllable to the purpose. The only part of the deity's 'abundant praise' for which the writer finds room is a scrap of a catalogue like Laporello's, enumerating his fights 'in the field of wooers and love; how to woo the Azanian maid thou didst encounter with Ischys, son of Elation, that god-like cavalier; or how with Phorbas Triopian-born, or with Eretheus; or how with Leucippus and Leucippus' dame, thou on foot, he charioted, but...' and here an *unconcept hiatus*.<sup>41</sup> Why the compiler finds the topic convenient is plain. It comes in naturally after the birth and growth of the god in the Delian Hymn; it is a glimpse, if we may say so with reverence, of his earlier years. It thus leads us naturally to view the subsequent foundation of Pytho in the chronological relation intended. There is nothing Pythian about it, quite the contrary. It is 'theology' of the common Greek kind, the kind represented by the *Hymn of Delos*, where Apollo, with his 'Mine be the lyre, and mine the bended bow', is just a glorified young Ionian, having the physical and the aesthetic aptitudes desired by the antique *ephebus*, and wanting chiefly successes in love to complete his type. If the doctrine of Pytho had run upon such things as these,

<sup>41</sup> ἢ ἄν Διόνειρον καὶ Λευκίππειον δῖα παρρὶ,   
 νεῖδε, δ' ὁ δ' ἔρμαιον, αἰ μὲν Τελάρδε γ'   
 [ἀνέλιπον].

The last word simply means 'was missing,' and marks the hiatus. Possibly (Schmidewin cited in Banmeister's preface) Τελάρδε γ' is a spurious insertion. As I have said before, I see no reason to think that the passage in this document ever was completed. It is a mere 'common form.'

(cf. *Hymn. Ap.* 10 foll.) such as the writer might fill up according to his taste or the taste of his audience. All that the compiler has done (and for this we are much obliged to him) is to indicate how he would fill it up. The legends alluded to are imperfectly known and probably varied. They are manifestly here supposed to be all of the same erotic type, and this is the only point of significance.



Delphi would have had no greater fate, and no higher place in the history of religion, than Delos actually had.

Here we must end. To consider what may be the bearing of these considerations on the greater 'works of Homer', or even on the rest of the *Hymns*, is too much for the present occasion.

A. W. VERRILL.

THE CHEST OF KYPSELOS.<sup>1</sup>

## [PLATE I.]

## § 1.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE restoration of lost works of art in accordance with the descriptions of ancient authors and the monuments which serve to illustrate them presents problems which can never fail to be attractive to archaeologists. Nor has there been any lack of such attempts at reconstruction. The descriptions which we owe to Pausanias of the chryselephantine statues of Phidias, the paintings of Polygnotos, the chest of Kypselos, and the throne at Amyclae, have formed the text of such works, which reflect with considerable accuracy the standard of archaeological knowledge prevailing at the time to which they belong, and the quantity and quality of monumental evidence available. A glance at the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* for 1888, Plate XII., where the successive restorations attempted of the *Hierpersis* of Polygnotos are reproduced side by side, will illustrate this; and even since that year a further step in advance has been taken by Robert's publication<sup>2</sup> of his admirable restorations of both the great frescoes of Polygnotos, which may be held to represent the nearest approximation to the style of that painter which the discoveries and investigations of the last few years have enabled us to make. The restoration of the chest of Kypselos has not hitherto had the same attention expended upon it: yet it has been fortunate in having received one treatment of a thoroughly scientific character, viz. the work of Overbeck referred to above. Of its other critics only two have attempted a graphic reproduction; and of those one, that of Quatremère de Quincy,<sup>3</sup> may

<sup>1</sup> A summary of the earlier literature of the subject will be found in Overbeck, *Ueber die Iude des Kypselos* (*Abhandlungen der kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Class.*, 1895). Reference may also be made to the following recent works dealing with the chest: Dumont et Chaplain, *Les céramiques de La Grèce propre*, I. ch. xv, pp. 221-235; Klein, *Zur Kypselos der Kypseliden* (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissen-*

*schaften*, 1884, vol. cviii.); Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque* (1892), vol. i, pp. 94-100; Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, vol. i, pp. 84-87 (1892); Bruns, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, vol. I, pp. 171-178 (1893); Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, pp. 723-732 (1893).

<sup>2</sup> *Die Nekyia des Polygnot*, Halle 1892; *Die Hierpersis des Polygnot*, Halle 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Jupiter Olympien*, Pl. III, IV.



be mentioned only to be dismissed. When it appeared, the time was not ripe for such an attempt, in the absence of the monumental evidence which we now possess, nor was its author, owing to the very defects of his qualities, equal to a task which involves a severe restraint of the imaginative faculty. The other reconstruction, that of Pantazidis,<sup>4</sup> is indeed later in time than that of Overbeck, but must be pronounced to mark a retrogression rather than a stage in progress. It returns to a principle of arrangement which, after the researches of Jahn, Overbeck and others, was no longer tenable, and is, in fact, now universally rejected; it only deals with a portion of the chest, and it consists in a series of somewhat rude sketches whose value in assisting the imagination to conceive of the original cannot be pronounced a high one. Overbeck's work is on the other hand of very great importance; his principles of reconstruction are in the main, as I believe, the right ones; but it stands in need of revision in many details, mainly owing to the largely increased material which has since come to hand. Since 1865 our knowledge of archaic art generally and of Corinthian art in particular has been enormously extended by discoveries of metal-work and pottery; and thus, while Overbeck was obliged to take the François vase as his pattern for the general style of his restoration, we can now attempt with some confidence to reproduce the specially Corinthian features of the original monument. Such an attempt can, of course, lay no claim to finality: in a few years it must inevitably be superseded as the archaeological horizon widens; it will be sufficient if it represents faithfully the standard of accuracy attainable at the time. It is in this spirit and hope that I have endeavoured to reconstruct the chest of Kypselos. The suggestion I owe to Professor Gardner, whose constant help and advice have been available during the work. I was also fortunate in securing the services of Mr. F. Anderson junr. as a draughtsman, whose long experience of drawing from originals made his aid invaluable in the execution of the designs.

## § 2.—THE HISTORICAL TRADITION.<sup>5</sup>

THE story of Kypselos and his house is placed by Herodotus<sup>6</sup> in the mouth of Sokles, the Corinthian envoy, who expresses the feelings of the Spartan allies when summoned in 505 B.C. to deliberate as to the restoration of Hippias at Athens. In this dramatic form Herodotus clothes one of those discursive narratives which give an epic flavour to his work, and at the same time points the moral which the Greek never tired of drawing from the evils

<sup>4</sup> *Abg. von*, 1880, Pl. A' B' C'.

<sup>5</sup> O. Jahn, *Hermes*, iii, 192; Hirt, *De fontibus Pausanias in Eliaca*, p. 36 *seq.*; Klein, *op. cit.*; Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 98; Garlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, pp. 163 ff.; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*; Knapp, *Die Kypseliden und die Kypseloslade* (Korrespondenzblatt für die

Gelchsten- und Realchulen Württembergs, 1888, pp. 23-45, 93-126), has not yet published the second part of his treatise, which is to deal with the offerings of the Kypselidai; but cf. Furtwängler, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> v. 92.

of tyranny. We may regard the narrative as embodying the fears and hatred of the restored aristocracy of Corinth. The story as told by Herodotus runs as follows:—Corinth was ruled by a close oligarchy, the Bacchiadae. Labda, the daughter of Amphion, being lame, was forced to marry outside the charmed circle and became the wife of Eetion, the son of Echekrates of Petra, a descendant of the Lapithae and Kaineus. The Delphic oracle predicted that their child should 'chastise' Corinth, and the Bacchiadae therefore sent ten men to kill it soon after its birth. But the infant smiled on its murderers, *θείη τύχη*, and was passed from hand to hand and given back to its mother, not one having the heart to kill it. As they went away, however, they repented, and returned to accomplish their task: but Labda had overheard their conversation, and had hidden the child *ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατον οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην*. They could not find it, and at last returned to the Bacchiadae and said that they had performed their task. The child was called Kypselos in memory of his escape, and when he came to manhood *ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον*.

The legend belongs to the class of which the story of Cyrus is the most typical example. It is not met with again in literature before the time of Plutarch,<sup>7</sup> who in his 'Banquet of the Seven Sages' makes the poet Chersias speak as follows, after briefly relating the story in the form given by Herodotus:—*διὸ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐν Δελφοῖς κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Κύψελος, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τότε τὸν κλαυθυρισμὸν ἐπισχόντος, ὅπως διαλάβοι τοὺς ζητοῦντας*.

It was in the lifetime of Plutarch, or at latest shortly after his death that the rhetorician Dio Chrysostomes visited Olympia and there saw, as he tells us incidentally in his *Τρωϊκὸς λόγος*,<sup>8</sup> 'the wooden chest (*κιβωτός*) which Kypselos dedicated,' standing in the *ὀπισθόδομος* of the temple of Hera.

About half a century later Pausanias wrote his 'Handbook to Greece.' Without entering into details as to the controversies which that work has raised, it may be sufficient to say that, in my opinion, no candid inquirer who visits the sites described with Pausanias in his hand will doubt that the writer speaks as an eye-witness, just as no reasonable critic, bearing in mind the nature of second century literature, will deny that the book is in part a compilation from earlier sources. Pausanias, then, saw at Olympia a chest (*λάβραξ*), 'in which, he tells us, Kypselos the tyrant of Corinth was hidden by his mother, when the Bacchiadae endeavoured to find him at his birth. In memory therefore of the deliverance of Kypselos his family, called the Kypselidae, dedicated the chest at Olympia. Chests were in those days called by the people of Corinth *κυψέλαι*; and it was from this that the name Kypselos, as they say, was given to the child.'

Such are the materials with which historical criticism has to deal. The legend it puts aside: but what was the chest which Dio Chrysostomes and Pausanias saw at Olympia? We do not know how soon the story of Kypselos' miraculous deliverance arose: and there would therefore be no

<sup>7</sup> II. 163 F.

<sup>8</sup> XL 325 B.



antecedent improbability in the supposition that the chest was dedicated, if not by Kypselos himself, as the earlier author states, at least by his descendants, especially as we know that Periander sent offerings to Olympia, and particularly the famous golden colossal statue of Zeus.<sup>9</sup> Or we might adopt the slightly modified view suggested by Klein, and regard the chest as the 'speaking device' of the Kypselidai, with a kind of heraldic significance. This would not be out of harmony with the spirit of the time, and the chest would form the starting-point for the growth of the legend. But modern criticism has not rested here. We cannot afford to pass over in silence a series of arguments which have been adduced of recent years, and which are not without a certain cumulative force, whose tendency is to cast a doubt on the connexion between the chest described by Pausanias and the family of Kypselos.

The question was first raised by Otto Jahn,<sup>10</sup> who called attention to the fact that Pausanias, in describing the third band of the chest, on which battle-scenes unexplained by inscriptions were represented, adds that two explanations of the mythical subject were given by the *ἐξηγηταί*, neither of which was drawn from Corinthian legend, and therefore suggests a third of his own invention derived from the local mythology of Corinth, in order to satisfy the claims of probability. Jahn concludes that the *ἐξηγηταί* who explained the scene without reference to Corinthian history must have been unaware of any connexion between the chest and the house of Kypselos, and are therefore not to be identified with the local *ciceroni* who showed the sights of Olympia to Pausanias, but are earlier authors from whose works Pausanias compiled his account. This date would be a matter of conjecture, but at least it would be shown that the story connecting the chest with the Kypselidae was of comparatively recent origin. But this argument is not decisive. It is no doubt true that Pausanias does use the word *ἐξηγητής*, not only of *ciceroni*, but also of authors.<sup>11</sup> But this proves nothing for the case before us. And in view of the numerous scenes represented on the chest which have no connexion with Corinth, it cannot be maintained that an interpreter would necessarily feel himself bound to Corinthian legend. As a matter of fact, both the explanations given are drawn from the history of Elis, which would seem to point conclusively to the traditional tale of local interpreters.

Kalkmann added a second argument. Plutarch in the passage quoted above illustrates the story of Kypselos by reference not, as would seem natural, to the chest, but to the shrine at Delphi. Hence, concludes Kalkmann, he was unacquainted with the tradition as to the chest. This *argumentum ex silentio* is reinforced by Furtwängler, quoting the opinion of Knapp, who has made a special study of the history of the Kypselidae, but has not yet published the whole of it. Besides the story of Herodotus, there is a divergent tradition as to the rise of Kypselos to power, preserved to us

<sup>9</sup> Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 298-301.

<sup>10</sup> *Hermes*, iii. (1889) 122.

<sup>11</sup> Gurlitt, p. 163. The phrase *τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐστί*

*σημειῶται* perhaps lends some support to this interpretation.

in the fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus, but traceable with practical certainty to Ephoros. This tradition ignores the legend of Kypselos' hiding in the chest, and states that when the baby smiled on the assassins, they were moved to pity and told his father the truth. Eetion at once removed the child to Olympia, where he grew up as suppliant of the god. When he arrived at manhood he returned to Cleonae, and thence, in consequence of a favourable answer from the god at Delphi, to Corinth, where he ingratiated himself with the people, especially by his conduct in the office of polemarch, treating offenders with great leniency and remitting the share of all fines to which he was entitled. Following the conventional career of the early Greek tyrant he used his position as *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* to acquire supreme power by a *coup d'état*. Such is the account which we may with some confidence attribute to Ephoros, and which seems to have been accepted by Aristotle, who in the *Politics* twice speaks of Kypselos as having become tyrant by *δημαγωγία*.<sup>12</sup> As to the value of this tradition, recent inquirers are divided in opinion: Busolt<sup>13</sup> regards it as a specimen of Ephoros' rationalizing tendency applied to Herodotus' narrative and emphasizes the internal inconsistencies and improbabilities of the story. Knapp sees a confirmation of its truth in the fact that *πολέμαρχοι* had, as we know from inscriptions,<sup>14</sup> the duty of collecting fines in certain Peloponnesian states, and would therefore reject the first part, admitting it to be inconsistent with Kypselos' attainment of office under the Bacchiadae, and accept the second as derived by Ephoros from genuine tradition. But it is far more in accordance with the method of Ephoros to suppose that he filled the gap in Herodotus' account with a somewhat conventional story of the rise of Kypselos to power *ἐκ προστατικῆς μίξης*, embellished with details which he may have drawn from contemporary Corinthian institutions. Be that as it may, Knapp and Furtwängler hold that Ephoros could not have omitted the story of the chest, had it formed in his time one of the sights of Olympia. Therefore, the connexion was not known in the fourth century. It must be conceded that Ephoros had in all probability visited Olympia, and that the use e.g. of inscriptions as evidence was not unknown to him.<sup>15</sup> But it is in the highest degree improbable that the story which the local guides retailed to visitors in connexion with the offering in the Heraeum would deter him from exercising his critical faculty on the narrative of Herodotus. The author who explained the dragon of Delphi as a robber-chieftain by the name of Python was not likely to be influenced by such considerations. Moreover the *argumentum ex silentio* is a two-edged weapon. Plutarch, we are told, did not know of the tradition because he prefers to allude to the shrine at Delphi, with its legend that Apollo restrained the infant Kypselos from crying when hidden in the chest. Was this story, then, also later than the time of Ephoros? Such evidence must clearly be received with the utmost caution.

<sup>12</sup> viii. (v.) 1310a 29; 1315a 27.

<sup>13</sup> *Griechische Geschichte*, I. 2 635.

<sup>14</sup> *Antiqua*, Diss. Syll. 338, 165; Thuria,

Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, II. 48.

<sup>15</sup> *Fc.* 29, Müller.



In my opinion, the most serious argument as yet adduced against the connexion of the chest with Kypselos is the following. The coins of Kypselos in Thrace<sup>16</sup> bear as their device a *κυψέλη*, i.e. a cylindrical jar with two handles. Sittl<sup>17</sup> referred to the use of the word by Aristophanes of a corn-jar<sup>18</sup> and argued that the Kypselos of Olympia was such a jar, cylindrical in shape, probably dedicated as a thank-offering for a plentiful harvest. Furtwängler makes a different use of the evidence thus supplied. Pointing out that the other uses of the word *κυψέλη*, whether of a bee-hive, or of the hollow of the ear, always imply a round hollow object, he regards the identification of the *λάρναξ* or *κιβωτός* at Olympia, of whose rectangular nature there can be no doubt, with the *κυψέλη* in which the infant Kypselos was hidden as a late and transparent fiction, thinly disguised by the words of Pausanias which reflect the popular method of solving the difficulty: 'the Corinthians of that time called *λάρνακες* by the name of *κυψέλαι*.' There is much force in this argument. The lexicographers uniformly connect the word *κυψέλη* with the adjective *κυφός*, applied to a cup by Athenaeus. The root is that of *κύπτω* and the Latin *cu(m)bo*. Reference may further be made to the scholiast's note on Lucian, *Lexiphanes* (p. 145 Jacobitz). Lucian employs the word *κυψελίς* in the sense of the wax in the human ear—a meaning derived from the second sense of *κυψέλη* mentioned above—and follows it up with a pun on the name of Kypselos. The scholiast in explaining it, says: *κυψέλη, καὶ τὸ ὀστρακοῦν ἀγγεῖον, ᾧ τοὺς ἄρτους ἀποτίθενται. ἐν ᾧ ὁ Κορίνθου τύραννος ἀρτιγέννητος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς κατακρυβεῖς, Κύψελος ὠνομάσθη.* Clearly the form of *κυψέλη* presupposed by this note is that which we see on the coins of Kypselos. And does it not seem probable that Herodotus, when he tells us that Labda hid the child ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατον οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, was thinking of such a jar rather than a chest—the most obvious place in which to look for the hidden child?

What then are we to conclude from all this? All that is certain is that in the second century A.D. a chest was shown at Olympia and the story of Kypselos was told in connexion with it. It is improbable that it was dedicated as a *κυψέλη* by the Kypselid house, and uncertain when the legend was attached to it, though perhaps not before the Hellenistic period. If the argument of Jahn be pressed, and the theory that Polemon is the source of Pausanias' explanation of the scenes be accepted, the story cannot have risen before the second half of the second century B.C.<sup>19</sup> But the internal evidence of the description, as will be shown later, proves the chest to be a Corinthian work of art of the early archaic period; Periander, as we know, dedicated valuable offerings at Olympia; nor does there seem any reason why the story of Kypselos should have attached itself to the chest unless it was an offering of his family. The most reasonable conclusion then

<sup>16</sup> Published by Imhoof-Blinzer, *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xviii. Pl. VI.

<sup>17</sup> *Festschrift zur Kunstgeschichte* Würzburg,

1898, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> *Ps.*, 433.

<sup>19</sup> Polemon received *προφῆς* at Delphi in 175 B.C. (*Ditt. Syll.* 198, 290).

would appear to be that the work was really dedicated by Periander, and that the story of his father's escape was at some later period attached to it by the local tradition. This conclusion will be strengthened if it is found that other indications point to the same date.

### § 3.—FORM, CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATION.<sup>20</sup>

The terms used by Dio Chrysostomos (*ξυλίνη κιβωτός*) and Pausanias (*λάρναξ*) leave us in no doubt as to the nature of the offering. It was a rectangular chest, such as that *δαιδαλέα λάρναξ* in which Danaë put to sea, and which figures in the representations of her story. We may thus put aside the theory of O. Müller<sup>21</sup> that the chest was elliptical in shape. Nor can we accept Sittl's view that it was circular, based as it is upon the *κυψέλη* represented on the coins of Kypsela, for, as has been pointed out above, they only serve to prove that the chest was not a *κυψέλη* in the true sense of the word. For the material we have the testimony of Pausanias—*λάρναξ κέδρου μὲν πεποιήται, ζώδια δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα τῆς κέδρου*. Of its dimensions we hear nothing. It is unlikely that, as Schubart suggests, they were given in the lacuna which immediately precedes the description just quoted. It stood in the *ὀπισθόδομος* of the Heraion, together with other offerings mentioned by Pausanias in v. 20, 1—a small couch with decorations in ivory, the *δίσκος* of Iphitos, and the chryselephantine table of Kolotes. The *ὀπισθόδομος* measures 8.34 m. by 3.54 m., and the chest probably stood against one of the walls. Comparing the representations of *λάρνακες* on vases, we might perhaps expect it to be not more than five feet in length, about half as broad, and not more than three feet in height. The lower limit of size, as has often been pointed out, is given by the shield of Agamemnon on the fourth band, which was adorned with a figure of Panic and also bore the inscription

*οὗτος μὲν Φόβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὁ δ' ἔχων Ἀγαμέμνων.*

The letters we must suppose to have been inlaid in gold. Our illustration will show how these conditions may have been fulfilled. The length of the original drawing is 2.40 m., and the scenes are so arranged that they can be distributed between a long face 1.20 m. in length and two narrow ends each 60 cm. long. The heights of the five bands, beginning, as Pausanias does, from the bottom, are 8, 12, 13.5, 11 and 9 cm. respectively. These proportions are very similar to those of the five bands of the François vase.

The vertical bands of ornament are 2.5 cm. in breadth.

<sup>20</sup> See list of authorities on § 1; also Löschke, *A.Z.* 1876, p. 113, and *Archäologische Miscellen* (1880), p. 8; Robert, *Hermes* xxiii, pp. 436 ff.; Overbeck, *Berichte der kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft*

*der Wissenschaften*, 1822, pp. 1-10; Sittl, *Parerga zur Kunstgeschichte* (1893), p. 24.

<sup>21</sup> *Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1827, p. 361.



The question of the decorations is far more difficult. The expressions of Pausanias which have a direct bearing upon it are the following:—

(1) v. 17, 6 ἀρξαμένην δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάτωθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ τῆς λάρνακος ἢ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα.

(2) v. 18, 1 τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γίνοιτο ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιόδου.

(3) v. 18, 6 στρατιωτικά δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος.

(4) v. 19, 1 τέταρτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς περιέοντι κ.τ.λ.

(5) v. 19, 7 ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτω χώρα, πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμὸν εἰσι κ.τ.λ.

Three points seem to emerge clearly:

(1) There were five χώραι, which Pausanias describes in order, beginning with the lowest and ending with the highest.

(2) He proceeds alternately from right to left—(1), (3), (5)—and from left to right—(2), (4).

(3) The process is described as a περίοδος, which is most naturally translated 'circuit'; the verb used is περιμέναι ('to make the circuit').

By these tests all theories of the chest must be tried. A résumé of the earlier stages of the controversy will be found in Overbeck's work, § 2.

A. Heyne, who first attacked the problem in 1770, regarded the five χώραι as corresponding to the four sides of the chest and its lid, and this theory for many years held the field; it was embodied in the restoration of Quatremère de Quincy. But it is easy to see that it cannot be reconciled with the expressions of Pausanias quoted above, when interpreted in their natural sense: and indeed the destructive criticism of Jahn and Overbeck may be said to have driven it from the field. It was revived in 1880 by Pantazidis, who published sketches illustrating the principle: but the attempt was a failure and is rightly characterized by Klein as a case of 'atavism.'

B. The other theories all agree in regarding the five χώραι as five horizontal bands: they differ according as they assign the whole decoration to one side of the chest, or to the lid, or distribute it over three, or again over all four sides.

(a) Jahn, in his first essay on the chest of Kypselos,<sup>22</sup> left the question an open one as between three sides or one. Brunn<sup>23</sup> and Löschcke<sup>24</sup> decided for one side only, on the ground that a certain symmetry and response could be observed in the disposition of the scenes, and that this would only be intelligible if the whole could be envisaged at a glance. Löschcke, for example, argues that the Harpies and the Boreads which close the first band on the left answer to the Gorgons and Perseus at the right-hand extremity of the second band, and that both must have been visible to the spectator at the same moment. Overbeck adds a further consideration. Brunn long ago pointed out that the chariot of Iolaos is wrongly included by Pausanias in the ἀγὼν ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ, and really belongs to the conflict of Herakles with

<sup>22</sup> *Arch. Anz.* pp. 1-15 (1845).

*Abhand.* 1853).

<sup>23</sup> *Die Kunst bei Homer (Abh. der Bayer.*

<sup>24</sup> *A.Z.* 1876, p. 113 note.

the Hydra. Pernice has conjectured that the seated Herakles mentioned by Pausanias immediately after the house of Amphiaraus really belongs to that scene, comparing a similar figure on the Corinthian vase, *M. d. I. x. 4*, which shows so exact a correspondence with the chest. Both these errors would be very improbable if the chariot of Iolaos and the seated figure were on the side-surfaces. Therefore the departure of Amphiaraus and the Hydra-scene must have been on the front, and we are left with only the Phineus-scene and the pursuit of Pelops by Oenomaus to fill the sides: this step is actually taken by Robert. Furthermore Löschcke and Klein have shown that the topmost band was in all probability occupied by two scenes only—the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, and the combat of Herakles and the Centaurs. Is it likely that both these scenes were broken by a corner?

So much may fairly be said for the 'one-side' theory. On the other hand it may be urged:

(1) The responsions discovered by Brunn and Löschcke are problematical, and that even if they existed for the artist, it cannot be proved that he felt the necessity of consulting the spectator's convenience.

(2) This applies also to the objection that the artist would not allow a scene to be broken by a corner. Does not the Parthenon frieze form a concrete answer to these arguments?

(3) Pernice's conjecture is very improbable; but Brunn is certainly right in annexing Iolaos to the Hydra-group. But, as we shall see, there was probably no band of ornament separating the scenes of the lowest *χώρα*, and Pausanias, who was not necessarily acquainted with the archaic scheme of the Herakles and Hydra contest, might well suppose that a quadriga belonged to the *ἀγὼν ἐπὶ Πελοῖα*, even though he had turned a corner in the course of his *περίοδος*, especially if a similar phenomenon was to be observed in the case of the Centaurs on the uppermost band.

(b) Jahn, in his second treatment of the subject, followed by Overbeck in his restoration, distributes the scenes over three sides of the chest. Our drawing was also prepared with a view to showing that it was possible, without undue forcing, so to arrange the subjects that they should occupy one long and two short sides—the latter half as long as the former. It is not to be denied that some practical difficulties arose; whether they have been successfully overcome, is not for us to decide. If so, much will have been gained for the 'three-side' theory, whose main strength lies in the fact that it is the *only theory which does full justice in every respect to the language of Pausanias*. It has yet to be shown that the words *περίοδος*, *περιέναι* can, as has been asserted by Furtwängler, be used in the sense merely of going backwards and forwards—for that the force of *περί* can be not local but that which it has in *περιηγείσθαι*, as originally suggested by Jahn, may be considered out of the question. I believe that to give the words their due meaning we must assume that more than one side of the chest was decorated.

(c) It remains to mention the theory of Klein, viz. that all four sides of the chest were covered with representations. The first objection which



suggests itself takes the form of a question. Why did Pausanias alternately proceed from right to left and from left to right? And this is really fatal to the theory. Klein argues that the general direction of the bands was given by the opening scenes, and that they were so to speak disposed *βουστροφιδόν*. He would call this the application of the spiral principle to a rectangular surface. But his case breaks down in detail, as Pernice has pointed out, apart from its inherent improbability. Klein would have us reconstruct a cubical chest: the middle band only presents a continuous frieze, the other four bands form 'triglyph-systems,' in which three square scenes alternate with three square 'triglyphs' on each face. The analogies which he adduces prove little, and, above all, it is quite impossible, as the practical necessities of drawing prove, to fit the scenes of the second and fourth bands, with their varying number of figures &c., to such a Procrustes' bed. Klein's reconstruction has therefore been justly condemned by subsequent writers.

None of the theories proposed is free from difficulties, and these have been so strongly felt by Overbeck that in his recent discussions of the subject<sup>25</sup> he confesses that in the light of recent inquiry we must suspend our judgment. It may be so: but in spite of the adhesion of Brunn, Löschke, and Furtwängler to the 'one-side' theory, I believe that that which assumes decoration on three sides will eventually be regarded as possessing the highest degree of probability.

#### § 4.—INSCRIPTIONS.\*

Pausanias tells us that inscriptions were found only on the first, second, and fourth bands. They were of two kinds, those which gave the name only of the figure to which they were attached, and the metrical inscriptions, in length from one to two hexameter lines, which are found only on the second and fourth bands.<sup>27</sup> Pausanias conjectures (v. 19, 10) that these were composed by the Corinthian epic poet Eumelos, referring to the similarity of style between them and the processional hymn to the Delian Apollo which Eumelos composed for the Messenians. This is clearly a groundless and gratuitous supposition of Pausanias himself. The chronographers make Eumelos a contemporary of Archias, the founder of Syracuse, and date him in the ninth Olympiad. The hymn for the Messenians cannot have been composed after the second Messenian war. But the origin of Pausanias' con-

<sup>25</sup> *Sachs, Ber.* 1892, pp. 1-10, and the new edition of the *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*.

<sup>26</sup> *Fick, Hist. Elialdum*, p. vii.; *Früger, Inscriptions Graeco-Metriques* (1891), pp. 143-147. See also Kretschmer, *Die korinthischen Pausaniaschriften* (*N.Z.* xxi., 1888, pp. 152 ff.), and *Die griechischen Pausaniaschriften* (Gütersloh 1894), pp. 16-59; also Willich, *Die altkorinthische Thonindustrie* (Leipzig 1892),

pp. 156-174.

<sup>27</sup> *Merklin (A.Z.* 1860, p. 101 ff.), adopting the 'three-side' theory, would go farther and say that they were confined to the front of the chest. In this he is followed by Robert; but proof is wanting, and practical necessity forces us to depart from the principle in the case of the fourth band (Ajax and Cassandra).

jecture is transparent. Eumelos embodied the legendary traditions of Corinth in his *Korinthiaká*; and it was from a prose paraphrase of this work that Pausanias derived, mediately or immediately, the sketch of early Corinthian history which he prefaced to Book ii. There was however some question as to the genuineness of these works, and so Pausanias (ii. 1) says τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι and εἰ δὴ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ ξυγγραφή. The hymn to the Delian Apollo on the other hand was admitted to be genuine (Paus. iv. 4, 1 εἶναι τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα) and Pausanias quotes two lines from it in iv. 33, 2 (= Bergk, *P.L.G.* ii. p. 6, Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 193). They run as follows in Bergk's restoration:—

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῃ καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα  
ἠ καθάρην <κίθαριν> καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

Doubtless Pausanias, noting the Doric dialect of the inscriptions, combined the fact with his slender knowledge of Eumelos, whose genuine work was also written in dialect, and whose home was Corinth.

But Eumelos was, as Pausanias himself tells us (ii. 1, 7), a Bacchiad, and therefore most likely to write for the Kypselid house: and moreover the early dates assigned to him in the received chronology (OL IV. Hieron. *Euseb. Chron.* p. 87 Schöne, OL IX. *id. ib.* p. 83 Schöne, *πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχιτῇ τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι* Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. p. 144 Sylb.) receive confirmation from the fact that the *προσόδιον* to the Delian Apollo must date from the days of Messenian independence.

The inscriptions as transmitted by the MSS. of Pausanias bear unmistakable traces of Doric, nor is it difficult, as Fick and Preger have done, to restore approximately their original form. Fick notes the use of οὔτος in a deictic sense as characteristically Corinthian, comparing Simonides *Fr.* 98 Bgk. (οὔτος Ἀδείμαντος—for a Corinthian) etc. and one or two slight errors in the text of Pausanias are due to a misunderstanding of the Corinthian forms of letters. Some of these inscriptions, he tells us, were written in a continuous line, others *βουστροφηδόν*. They were inscribed *ἐλκυμοῖς συμβαλέσθαι χαλκοῖς*, which has been interpreted both of the forms of the letters and of the whole inscriptions. The latter view seems more probable. The restoration follows the practice of Attic, Corinthian, and Chalcidian vase-painters in making the inscription take its direction from the figure to which it belongs, whether from right to left or the reverse, as determined by considerations of spacing etc.

The *alphabet* employed is that of the earlier Corinthian vases and inscriptions. Two points only seem to call for special notice:

(i) Ϝ does not seem to have been regularly written before liquids by Corinthians, but only before ο and υ. There are some exceptions, notably the Tydeus-Ismene vase (*M. d. I.* vi. 14) which has Ϝλυτός and Περὶ Ϝλύμενος, but the general rule is as stated above, and if applied strictly would exclude Ϝ from the chest altogether. In view, however, of the appearance of the letter on two important vases in the name of Hector, I have admitted it in that case only.



(ii) Strictly speaking, the symbol  $\Xi$  in Corinthian represents only 'unecht'  $\epsilon\iota$ . This principle has been generally applied, but it has been departed from in the case of the termination of the 3rd person singular on the authority of the vase in the Louvre with the inscriptions  $\phiεύ\Xi$  and  $\phiεύ\kappa\Xi$  (Wilisch 24), in the name 'Αργ $\Xi$ ος from *M. d. I.* x. 4, and by analogy in the terminations of the names Medea and Hippodamia, and in the form 'Ερμ $\Xi$ ας.<sup>28</sup> The Corinthian *dialect* has been restored as far as is possible with our scanty knowledge. Fick has shown how this may be done in the case of the metrical inscriptions with but little violence to the traditional text; divergences from his restoration are mentioned in the critical notes. The chief stumbling-block is the form  $\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon$  (v. 18, 2) where we should expect to find  $\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$  (as Fick restores). But Fröhner's brilliant emendation— $\tau\alpha\nu$   $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$  for  $\tau\alpha\nu$   $\epsilon\kappa$   $\nu\alpha\omicron\upsilon$ —in the same line, while in itself irresistible, makes  $\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$  impossible. The restoration of the digamma must be attended with much uncertainty in the case of proper names, except when the monuments guide us (e.g.  $\Delta\iota\phi\alpha\varsigma$ ).

Inscriptions have been attached to *all* figures on bands I, II, and IV., except where their absence is expressly attested or indirectly implied by the words of Pausanias. His phrases are:—

- (1) v. 17, 7  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\delta\eta$ .
- (2) v. 17, 9  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ .
- (3) v. 17, 11  $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ ·  $\tau\omicron$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\eta$  'Αλκ $\eta$ σι $\tau$ ιδι  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$   $\mu\omicron\nu$ .
- (4) *ib.*  $\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  'Ηρακλέους  $\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\alpha\gamma\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\alpha\theta\lambda\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ ,  $\tau\omicron$   $\delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$   $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\epsilon\pi'$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ .
- (5) v. 18, 2  $\delta\upsilon\omicron$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  . . .  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota$   $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$   $\gamma\epsilon$   $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa$   $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ .
- (6) v. 18, 4  $\delta\omicron\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\omicron$   $\alpha\eta\eta\rho$  . . .  $\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\alpha$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\epsilon\pi'$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa$ ,  $\delta\eta\lambda\alpha$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  'Ηρακλέα  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ .
- (7) v. 18, 5  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\alpha\iota$   $\text{Μεδο}\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta\varsigma$  . . .  $\text{Περσε}\acute{\alpha}$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}$   $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ ·  $\tau\omicron$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\text{Περσε}\acute{\iota}$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$   $\mu\omicron\nu$ .

In v. 18, 3 Pausanias carefully says  $\chi\iota\tau\omicron\nu\alpha$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\delta\epsilon\delta\upsilon\kappa\omega\varsigma$   $\alpha$   $\nu$   $\eta$   $\rho$   $\tau\eta$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\zeta\iota\alpha$   $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\tau\eta$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\chi\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\delta\rho\mu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  'Αλκμήνη. He then explains the scene by reference to the story of Zeus and Alkmene; from which we may infer certainly that Alkmene's name was inscribed, while that of Zeus was not. The principle thus established is of great value in interpreting the words in v. 19, 5, 'Αρτεμῖς  $\delta\epsilon$   $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$   $\epsilon\phi'$   $\delta\tau\omega$   $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega$   $\pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ , which seem to me to point with certainty to the presence of an inscription, and thus to maintain the representation in the importance of which it has recently been attempted to rob it.

The technique of the inscriptions is uncertain. Robert<sup>29</sup> supposed them to have been painted and partly obliterated by time, in order to explain the

<sup>28</sup> Metre is against writing 'Ερμ $\Xi$ ας, as the (Wilisch 6, 7, 10).

constant spelling  $\text{Αλ}\beta\alpha\varsigma$  on vases might suggest.

<sup>29</sup> *Hermes*, xliii, 438.

difficulties of v. 19, 8: but, as will be seen, a simpler remedy is there to be found, and there is more probability in the supposition that they were inlaid in gold.

### § 5.—TYPOLOGY AND ARTISTIC AFFINITIES.<sup>20</sup>

The historical tradition, such as it is, and the scanty evidence to be gleaned from the inscriptions, predispose us to believe that the chest of Kypselos was an early Corinthian work of art, dating from the first decade of the sixth century B.C. But the main burden of proof must, in view of the uncertainties of tradition, rest on the internal evidence supplied by the types and technical details. They must be compared with literature and with popular legend; with what tradition and the monuments tell us of the higher forms of art prevailing at the time; above all, with the smaller products of industrial art which have survived the ravages of time in greater quantities, and therefore form the richest mine of information as to early art-types. In the comparisons which it suggests, and which alone can enable us to assign to the chest its place in the history of Greek art, lies the chief interest of Pausanias' description.

The period of Kypselid rule in Corinth is of capital importance in the history of Greek commerce and Greek art. The time of colonial expansion was drawing to a close. Miletus and Megara held the Black Sea and its approaches against all comers, while Corinth and Chalcis, barred from the N.E. route, had taken Sicily and the Tyrrhenian Sea for their sphere of influence, though they could not exclude Megara from Sicily, nor prevent Miletus from communicating with Western Italy by the land route from Sybaris to Laos. Holm<sup>21</sup> has ingeniously traced the grouping of the rival commercial powers, and brought the facts into relation with the scanty notices of the so-called 'Lelantic' war. The position of Corinth is with Chalcis and Samos<sup>22</sup> against Eretria, Miletus and Megara. A contemporary allusion may be seen in the lines included in the collection known as 'Theognis,' vv. 891—894.

οἱμοὶ ἀναλκείης ἀπὸ μὲν Κήριβος δλώλεν,  
 Ἀηλάντων δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον,  
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ φεύγουσι, πόλιν δὲ κακοὶ διεπύουσιν.  
 ὥς δὴ Κυψελιδέων Ζεὺς ὀλέσσει γένος.

<sup>20</sup> The literature is widely scattered; but reference may be specially made to the works of Milchhofer (*Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*); Leach (A.Z. 1876, pp. 108-119, 1881, pp. 29-51; and the three 'Dorpat Programme' of the years 1879, 1880, 1881—*Die Reliefs der attisch-archaischen Basis, Archaische Miscellen, Börsen und Orchelios auf dem Kypselidenstern*); Furtwängler (A.Z. 1883, pp. 158-162, 1884, pp. 99-114; *Der Goldfund von Velletri* (1883); and *Olympia Teutland IV, Die Bronzen*

(passim); Schneider, *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Gallerie heraischer Bildwerke* (1890); *Berichte der kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (1891), pp. 291-293.

<sup>21</sup> *Laage Fische* (Hist. Phil. Aufsätze II. C. 1884).

<sup>22</sup> The story of Herodotus (iii. 48), whatever be its exact value, reflects only the feelings of Corinth towards Samos in his own time, which we know from Thuc. i. 40.



There is no ground for the infelicitous suggestion of Unger,<sup>22</sup> that the destruction of Kerinthos took place at the end of the sixth century in the war between Athens and Chalcis (the Kypselidai being represented by Isagoras<sup>23</sup>); it becomes gratuitous when we recognize that 'Theognis' is merely a collection of drinking-songs of various dates.<sup>24</sup> The lines in question, like the couplet which appearing in various forms is connected with the colossus of Periander,<sup>25</sup> bear witness to the hatred of the Megarian aristocrats for the Kypselid house. Kypselos strengthened the commercial position of Corinth by his colonies: Periander maintained relations with Lydia<sup>26</sup> and Egypt.<sup>27</sup>

The activity of Greek trade with the East had long been reflected in the phenomena of industrial art and its development; but before we examine these more closely, it may be well to note that the period of the Kypselids saw the beginnings of Greek sculpture. The foundation of Naukratis about the middle of the sixth century, and of Cyrene in 630 brought the Greeks into direct contact with the declining civilization of Egypt. In a few years or at most decades, the impression made on the Ionians in Egypt by the works of Egyptian sculpture awakened the artistic impulse, and the result was seen in the Herakles of Erythrae and the Hera of Samos. Experiments were made in various materials, marble, bronze, wood, but notably gold and ivory. Robert has analysed the traditions which grouped the names of these early artists, so far as they were known from their inscriptions, in a connected scheme under the name of *Δαιδαλίδαι*. It is enough for our purpose to note (1) that Dipoenus and Skyllis, the first really historical names, worked at Ambracia, a colony of Kypselos; (2) that Olympia, besides Periander's colossus of beaten gold, contained works in gold, ivory, and cedar-wood by Theokles, Medon and Dorykleidas in the next generation, as well as by Smilis, the artist of the Hera at Samos, who, as Furtwängler has shown, was doubtless Samian by birth, and should be restored to his place among the earliest of the *Δαιδαλίδαι*. His work, as well as that of Medon and Dorykleidas, stood in the Heraion. In the *ὑπισθόδομος* of the same temple stood the chest of Kypselos, likewise made of cedar-wood, ivory and gold. Can we be wrong in connecting it with the *Δαιδαλίδαι*?

It is well to bear this in mind when we pass to the striking parallels to be drawn between the chest and the products of industrial art in metal and pottery, for we must not lose sight of the fact that it cannot be finally judged by the standards which we naturally apply to such work. The significance of this will become apparent as we proceed.

<sup>22</sup> *Die griechische Kunst des Suidas* (Abh. der bayr. Akad. xvii. 1886, p. 522). Busolt unfortunately accepts it (*Griechische Geschichte*, I. 2 457 Ann. 4). Equally unhappy is Unger's explanation of *Theognis* 773-782; cf. Reitzenstein, *Epigrammen und Skolien* (Gießen 1893), p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> They clearly form a parody of the original inscription, which we can no longer restore.

<sup>25</sup> *Id.* iii. 48 (though the story itself is of doubtful value).

<sup>26</sup> His son was named Pammotiokles (*Nik. Dam.* 90 = Müller *F.H.G.* iii. p. 334 from Ephoros; *Arist. Pol.* viii. (v) 1315a 26).

Greek industrial art in the period of Kypselid rule at Corinth was emancipating itself from the Oriental influences which had been so strongly felt in the eighth and seventh centuries. When the 'second wave' of influence from the East set in, the later forms of 'Mycenaean' art and the various 'geometrical' schools of work existed at several centres. To fix a lower limit of time at which Mycenaean art ends and geometrical art begins is no longer possible. While the latter—though mainly developed under Northern influence<sup>38</sup>—took over many Mycenaean elements, the old style lived on side by side with it, and influenced it in various degrees at various centres, until itself transformed and thus saved from extinction by fresh contact with the East, the result of which is most strikingly seen in the 'Rhodian' and 'Melian' fabrics of pottery. The former of these fabrics, indeed, is now held by many authorities to have its home in Argos itself, the seat of an unbroken Mycenaean tradition, since the history of the Rhodian alphabet as determined by M. Selivanoff's publication of early Rhodian inscriptions in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* for 1891 leaves no place for the Argive lambda which appears on the most famous specimen of 'Rhodian' pottery—the Euphorbos pinax. I do not consider the argument a conclusive one, or even a cogent one, so long as the finds of the Argolid do not confirm the theory of a fabric of 'Rhodian' *πίνακες* there established—since we must allow for the individual origin of the artist, and for communication between Rhodes and Argos—but this does not affect the position that the 'Rhodian' style is continuous with that of the Mycenaean period. The same continuity is to be traced in a class of monuments even more indestructible than pottery, viz. the island gems, whose fabrication extends over more than half a millennium—down to the sixth century—and whose Peloponnesian origin Mr. Evans has recently demonstrated (*J.H.S.* xiii. p. 220). But while making due allowance for the historical continuity of Greek art, as well as for the possibility of preservation in the case of precious objects, I cannot agree to the conclusion of Schneider,<sup>39</sup> that in reconstructing a work such as the chest of Kypselos we must reckon with the presence of a long-established industry in the precious metals reaching back into 'Mycenaean' times. There is after all a gap between Mycenaean art and historical Greek art, not so much in time as in spirit. It is the merit of Brunn<sup>40</sup> to have made it clear that with all its luxuriance and 'naturalistic' character Mycenaean art did not contain the elements which could alone be developed into what Greek art afterwards became; and what is true of Mycenaean art in its best period is still more true of that art in its decadence. The creation of significant artistic types and their development was an achievement beyond its powers. It was left for a new art—the art whose beginnings go back to the eighth, but whose monuments are chiefly of the seventh century B.C. In its earlier period the stock of types which it commands is limited; they are borrowed from the decorative metal-work

<sup>38</sup> To which Mr. Evans (*J.H.S.* xiii. 223) adds that of Asia Minor.

<sup>39</sup> *Sächs. Berichte*, 1891, pp. 246-249.

<sup>40</sup> *Gricchische Kunstgeschichte*, Book I. (1893).



of the East, and as yet they serve purely decorative purposes. But even in its most primitive monuments—and for the purposes of illustration the most valuable of these are the 'buccheri neri' and 'red ware' of Etruria and the earliest fragments of gold-work<sup>41</sup> and stamped pottery<sup>42</sup> from Greece proper and the islands—we see selection and modification at work. The alphabet in which Greek art will write its story is being formed. The Centaur, the Gorgon, the Chimæra, the Griffin, the Sphinx, and kindred figures are being created, not without the direct influence of Oriental types, but with modifications which stamp them with a definitely Greek character, and often—as in the case of the Centaur—make them practically new creations. Composition, when attempted, is 'paratactic'—i.e. the simplest elements are juxtaposed, as it were, alphabetically. The simplest case is that of the animal frieze, directly borrowed from Eastern models, but a more human interest emerges in the duel scenes, chariot-races, &c. The representation of mythical action is limited by the resources of the time; the Hesiodic Shield of Herakles—an imitation of the Homeric prototype in the unmistakable style of the seventh century—marks the position of Greek art at its time. Apollo and the Muses—the Lapithæ and Centaurs—Perseus and the Gorgons—together with the hare-hunt, the duel scenes and the frieze of chariots—tell their own story. But the progress once begun is rapidly continued. The stock of types increases fast. Mythology makes its way to the front not merely by the inscription of legendary names on scenes in themselves indeterminate (e.g. the duel scene of the Euphorbos pinax or the procession of riders on the pyxis of Chares) but by the most ingenious adaptation of less obvious types to the expression of mythical conceptions. The prisoner bound to the stake of the Phœnician silver bowl (cp. Perrot iii. Fig. 543) becomes Prometheus, the simple 'crouching figure' Polyphemus. In the former case the bird whose ornamental purpose is to fill the blank space in the circular field becomes the vulture; when a larger field must be filled, the archer is added, now specialized as Herakles. Like the Hesiodic poetry, the art of the seventh century bears a distinctly popular character. The brood of monsters and fabulous beings (e.g. Geryon, Typhon, the ἄλιος γέρον and the Harpies)—the figures of popular folk-lore (Atlas, Prometheus)—the fairy tales connected with them (e.g. from the *Odyssey* is selected that of Polyphemus, (cp. Rohde *Der griechische Roman* p. 173 n.), while the heroic legends of the *Iliad* are less popular), point unmistakably to the source of inspiration. The war waged by the popular heroes—Herakles, Theseus, Perseus—on the race of monsters furnishes a large stock of mythical subjects. The genealogy from the Hesiodic Theogony and kindred sources printed by Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 155, is a most instructive document to those familiar with the monuments. The earlier of these are too scattered and isolated to permit us to frame very definite theories as to the achievements of the various art-centres: but Ionia, constantly fertilized by the stream of Oriental influence, and Chalcis, the

<sup>41</sup> *J. Z.* (1884) viii. 1, ix. 1.

<sup>42</sup> From Rhodes, Milchhöfer, *Anfänge*, p. 76.

city of bronze, seem to be of cardinal importance.<sup>42</sup> But when the sixth century begins and the monumental evidence before us becomes fuller, we can distinctly trace two schools of art which we may broadly call 'Peloponnesian' or 'Doric' on the one hand and 'Ionic' (including Chalcidian work) on the other. The most characteristic products of the former are the bronze-reliefs which of late years have been discovered at Olympia and Dodona, in Attica and Boeotia. They are known as 'Argive'—chiefly because the Argive form of lambda occurs in the inscription *ἀλτος γέρον* on one of the Olympian plates—but though this attribution is perhaps uncertain, there is every reason to fix their origin in the Peloponnese. To the reasons adduced by Mr. Bather in the *Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 249, it would be easy to add others, e.g. the suicide of Ajax, a type familiar with Corinthian vase-painters (aryballos, Mus. Nap. lxvi., fragment of lekythos, *Arch. Anzeiger* 1891, p. 116, derived from a Corinthian source by the artists of the François vase), occurs on the relief from the Acropolis (*Ath. Mitth.* xii. 123, note 3). The 'Peloponnesian' proportions which he notices, following M. Homolle in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xiii. 1892, 355, are of the highest importance, for they enable us to assign to this work its place as a parallel development to early Doric sculpture, and to bring it into comparison, for example, with the Selinus metopes. This Doric art has marked characteristics. It confines itself to the narrow limits of the square or oblong field, suggested by Oriental gold-work, and by its imitation in Greece proper, probably in Corinth itself (though something might be said for tracing the gold band, *A. Z.* 1884, viii. 1, to Chalcis)—but 'in der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister.' Sometimes the type employed was purely decorative, e.g. the quadriga *en face* of several bronze-reliefs, of the Selinus metope and the terra-cotta in Palermo, also probably from Selinus according to Kekulé (the type is asserted to be Chalcidian), the Sphinx of another (newly-discovered) Selinus metope, the running Gorgon of the Olympia relief, the 'Persian' Artemis. But the triumph of the school is shown in its power of giving expression by severe compression and concentration to the central motive of a mythological action. Thus the stories of Ajax and Cassandra, of the ransoming of Hector, of the suicide of Telamonian Ajax—all from the tale of Troy—take their place beside the old fairy tales of Prometheus and the vulture, and the wrestling-match of Herakles with the Old Man of the Sea—all told with the utmost pregnancy and in the smallest possible compass.

'Ionic' art is of a different order. The small but striking class of Chalcidian vases, and such precious but isolated monuments as the Phineus cylix of Würzburg enable us—with the aid of inferences drawn from the hydriae of Caere and the porous pediments of the Acropolis as well as from Etruscan art, whose 'Ionic' character is well known—to form a fairly definite conception of its most marked features. Instead of the metope, we find the frieze; instead of compression, diffusion; instead of the severe selection of

<sup>42</sup> It is highly probable that the finest 'Proto-Corinthian' lekythos procured from Chalkis (cf.

Willisch, *Die altgriechische Thonindustrie*, p. 11 f.).



pregnant motives, a broad treatment and lavish detail; instead of a concentrated scene framed with simple ornament, an extended and continuous composition and rich ornamental bands. Perhaps however the most important advance made by Ionic artists is to be found in the substitution of 'closed' for 'open' groups, and the substitution of a more organic combination of figures for the old paratactic compositions. Most significant is the fact that while on Corinthian vases the processions of animals pass on in unbroken files, the Chalcidian or Ionic painter diversifies them with combats between individual beasts or groups in which cattle are devoured by beasts of prey.

It is natural that we should under these circumstances find divergences in the representation of the same subject by the two schools. And that this is the case has been shown in the case of Geryon, of Herakles and the Hydra, of Peleus and Thetis (for details see the commentary on those scenes), to which we may add Herakles and the Nemean lion (Reisch, *Alt. Myth.* xii. 1887, pp. 121ff.) as a specially marked instance. The history of early art-types cannot be written until monumental evidence is more complete; and we cannot therefore estimate the value of Löschcke's suggestion that such types arose in the Peloponnese in the late Mycenaean period,<sup>44</sup> migrated to Chalcis and Miletus there to be enriched and modified, and returned to find the old forms stereotyped and no longer susceptible of development. A more independent development in both centres seems to me to be in accordance with the facts as far as they are known.

But it must not be supposed that mutual influence and borrowing are excluded by our classification. The reverse is most decidedly the case. Influences from the East penetrate to the Peloponneian workshops. The bronze-reliefs are the most strictly native product of that art: yet the Olympian plate borrows the *άλιος γέρον* from the repertories of Eastern artists, and a similar relief from the Ptoon apparently introduces the Ionic scheme of the Hydra-contest of Herakles. The Selinus metopes show Ionic influence: the quadriga *en face* has been referred to already, and Malmberg<sup>45</sup> has shown that the Ionic attitude which may be illustrated by Micali, *Storia* 36 (Ionic-Etruscan amphora) and by the Theseus of the 'bucchero' vase from Corneto (*A. Z.* 1884, p. 107) occurs on another metope. Most striking of all is the fact that the second series of Corinthian vases—including all the finest *vasi a colonnette*—i.e. Wittsch's 'Rotthonige Vasen,' are justly pronounced to be under strong Chalcidian influence. The Amphiaros vase must no longer be considered a characteristically Corinthian product. Its technique is Chalcidian, and it is closely related to an Ionic amphora found in Etruria (Micali, *Storia* 95, c. *infra*). The history, again, of vase-painting in Attica in the sixth century is that of the continuous crossing of Chalcidian, Ionic and Corinthian influences: this is a field which is only beginning to be worked—cp. Holwerda's article on the 'Corintha-Attic' vases (*Jahrbuch*

<sup>66</sup> *Essex and Orithyia*, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Irena Jansson, University of Kasan, 1896, p. 138.

1890) and Hauser's determination of a similar class under Chalcidian influence in the *Jahrbuch* for 1893.<sup>16</sup>

Granting the correctness of the foregoing account, what does the internal evidence supplied by the types of the chest of Kypselos enable us to infer as to its date and origin? The following propositions may be laid down with confidence.

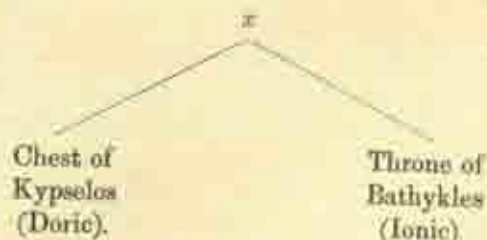
(1) *The types are with extremely few exceptions those of the art of 600 B.C.* The accompanying restoration is the best evidence of this. The exceptions are mainly the following:—

(a) Certain free and original compositions—especially in the uppermost band (Hephaestus and the arms, the attendants and their occupations)—also the group of Helen and Aithra. For the rest the process of reconstruction was that followed by the archaic artist in construction—viz the selection of existing types and their transference to new associations (so even the marriage of Medea and Jason).

(b) The type of the *Knp*—a not very successful attempt at innovation—whose significance will be discussed later.

(2) *The types may be separated into an earlier and later group.* The first consists of those which occur in the same or very similar form on the Hesiodic *Λοπίς*, Protocorinthian or Melian vases, and 'buccheri' from Etruria, as well as other *early* monuments. Such are Herakles and the Centaurs, the duel scenes, the 'Persian' Artemis, the groups of Zeus and Alkmené and Menelaos and Helen, as well as other equally *simple* groups arising from the combination of ground-types, Apollo and the Muses, Perseus and the Gorgons. To the second group belong the scenes which may be paralleled from developed Corinthian, Chalcidian and Ionic vases or from Peloponnesian bronze-reliefs. Such are the departure of Amphiaraios, the funeral games, the Hydra scene, the Phineus scene, Dike and Adikia, Geryon, Ajax and Cassandra, the judgment of Paris; and with them are to be classed those remaining scenes for which parallels are not found—owing to the scarcity of early monuments—before the period of developed Attic b.f. vase-painting. *In no case have we to wait for v.f. vase-painting to furnish a pattern.*

(3) *The artist is not limited by the traditions of a single school.* It is most important to make this clear. Lescheke and Milchhofer construct the following scheme:—



<sup>16</sup> The fragments published by Mr. Richards in the *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. XII. are probably not Chalcidian, as Studniczka asserted, but painted in Athens under Chalcidian influence.



Types common to both, they infer, are part of the 'erabites Gut'—of the old stock before differentiation began. This point of view is no longer tenable, and indeed an advance upon it is found in such works as Löschke's often quoted dissertation 'Boreas und Oreithyia.' The true position of the chest of Kypselos may be exhibited as follows:—

(a) *Composition.* Both principles, the 'metope' principle and the 'frieze' principle, are present—the former in bands II. and IV., the latter in bands I., III. and V. As long ago as 1884, Furtwängler indicated this.<sup>47</sup> He writes: 'while the earliest decorative art knows only loose, broad frieze-compositions, these are on the chest of Kypselos already in the minority, and are confined to certain places where they fulfil the decorative purposes of continuous bands, while in other parts is unfolded that wealth of single scenes which represent in its most pregnant form the central motive of a mythological action: they were probably surrounded by ornamental frames like the Argive bronze-reliefs.' This statement needs modification—the frieze-compositions are *not* in a minority—and Furtwängler does not deduce the consequences as to the origin of the chest which follow from it: but it was a most valuable statement in 1884. In 1890 Schneider (*Prolegomena*, p. 51 note) laid down definitely that bands II. and IV. must be reconstructed in the style of the 'Argive' reliefs, the other three bands presenting continuous friezes. But he erred in regarding bands I., III. and V. as *narrow and purely ornamental* friezes, intended to set off the broad bands II. and IV. This is contrary to the principles of early art and to the evidence of such works as the François vase. Lastly, in 1893 Furtwängler<sup>48</sup> showed how the language of Pausanias countenances the view that bands I. and V. (as to III. there is no question) were continuous, unbroken by vertical bands of ornament (pointing to the use of the formula ἐξῆς in transition on those bands only, and to such a phrase as *μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν* in the description of I.—and emphasizing the impossibility of the error made by Pausanias as to the chariot of Iolaos on any other supposition).<sup>49</sup>

(b) *Types.* Our position is reinforced by the analysis of the types. It is sufficient for our purpose to point to the fact that on the lowest band

(i.) The departure of Amphiaraus and the funeral games of Pelias correspond closely with a Corinthian vase *admittedly* painted under strong Chalcidian influence, and with an 'Ionic' amphora from Etruria.

(ii.) The type of the Hydra-scene is the Ionic, not the Peloponnesian type.

(iii.) The type of Phineus, the Boreads and Harpies is unquestionably Ionic, and corresponds exactly to the Würzburg cylix.

Even in the small scene of Pelops and Oenomaos we meet with a type (winged team) only to be paralleled from the Etruscan 'bucchero' whose stock of subjects represents early importations from Ionia. For bands III.

<sup>47</sup> *Hickel's Lösung* (Hist. Phil. Aufs. Curcio (pseudonim)), p. 189.

<sup>48</sup> *Meisterwerke*, p. 727 f.

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<sup>49</sup> Knoll's discussion of the point (*Studien zur attischen Kunst in Griechenland*, p. 67 note) is quite valuable.

and V. again Chalcidian parallels suggest themselves: the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis form a composition animated by the Ionic spirit; the Centauremachy is familiar from 'Protocorinthian,' i.e. Chalcidian, art. Broadly speaking, then, the frieze-bands are Ionic—the metope-bands with their parallels from 'Argive' bronze-work are Peloponnesian. But even on the latter bands we find the 'closed' types (Boreas and Oreithyia, Peleus and Thetis) of Ionic origin intruding among their Doric neighbours—and I have therefore not hesitated to restore Geryon after the Chalcidian pattern under the influence of considerations of space.

For the phenomenon thus presented the most instructive parallel is presented by the François vase, which represents the work of an Attic painter of the first order—but a painter imbued with Ionic tradition. While the spirit of the great friezes is Ionic—while the Centauremachy and the return of Hephaestus to Olympus accompanied by the train of Dionysos and its horse-hoofed 'Ionic' Sileni (so Furtwängler,<sup>40</sup> and recently Baile, *Die Silene in der archaischen Kunst*, 1893, p. 5; note the significant fact that Sileni are absent from the bronze-reliefs, the Corinthian *πινάκες*, the metopes of Selinus, and, though Dionysos is represented, the chest of *Kypselos*) show this in a specially marked degree—the square fields of the handles bear a striking resemblance to the well-known bronze-relief of Olympia (see them placed side by side by Schneider, *Sächs. Berichte*, 1891, p. 208) and include in their decoration such a distinctly Peloponnesian subject as the suicide of Ajax. Moreover, among the frieze-compositions of the vase there are some which Schneider successfully decomposes into single elements, and of these the 'Dreifrauengruppe,' which appears in somewhat monotonous iteration in the procession of the gods, is now shown to be Peloponnesian by the remarkable relief in Count Tyszkiewicz's collection recently published by Fröhner (*La collection Tyszkiewicz* (1894) XVI) as to whose provenience the style leaves no doubt whatever. The pursuit of Troilos again, as analysed by Schneider, suggests by its 'paratactic' composition a Peloponnesian origin—and here we have the vase of Timonidas (on which see also Schneider, *Prolegomena*, p. 53) to confirm our supposition. But on the whole Ionic influence predominates in the François vase: the balance is maintained more evenly on the chest of Kypselos. Löschcke did well to recall the untimely conjecture of Bursian made in 1864 (*Ersch und Grüber*, art. 'Griechische Kunst,' p. 404) that the chest was the work of a Corinthian artist under Ionic influence, and to show how time had given it a justification which it did not possess when first hazarded.

(4) *The artist stands in a direct relation to literature.* The fact that the chest is not a mere industrial product, but a work of the highest art of its time, together with the presence of metrical inscriptions, would lead us to suppose this, and may well dispense us from discussing—after Luckenbach, Schneider, Löschcke and a host of others—the vexed question whether any

<sup>40</sup> *Satyrs aus Pergamon*, p. 22, tracing Chalcidian influence.



Corinthian vase-painter was acquainted with the literary Epic. The following points may be noted:—

(a) The artist is acquainted with 'Hesiodic' poetry. The direct proof is given by the fact that in the inscription on band II. 9,

Ἄτλας οὐρανὸν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα μεθήσει,

he directly parodies Hes. *Theog.* 518

Ἄτλας οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,

and the same dependence may be proved for the figure of the Κῆρ. In the Ἄσπις Ἡρακλέους 249 ff. we read:—

Κῆρες κυάνεαι, λευκοὺς ἀραβεῦσαι ὀδόντας  
 δεινωτοὶ βλοσυροὶ τε, δαφουνοὶ τ' ἀπλητοὶ τε  
 δῆριν ἔχον περὶ πιπτόντων· πᾶσαι δ' ἄρ' ἱεῖντο  
 αἶρα μέλαν πίειν· ὃν δὴ πρῶτόν γε μεμάρποι  
 κείμενον ἢ πίπτοντα νεούτατον, ἀμφὶ μὲν αὐτῇ  
 βάλλ' ὄνυχας μεγάλους, ψυχὴ δ' Αἰδούσδε κατῆεν  
 Τάρταρον ἐς κρυόνθ'· αἱ δὲ φρένες εὐτ' ἀρέσαντο  
 αἵματος ἀνδρουμέου, τὸν μὲν ῥίπτασκον ὀπίσσω  
 ἄψ δ' ὁμαδὸν καὶ μῶλον ἐθύνον αὐτίε ἰοῦσαι.

On band IV. 12 we read of a figure ὀδόντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν ἡμερωτέρους θηρίου, καὶ οἱ καὶ τῶν χειρῶν εἰσὶν ἐπικαμπεῖς οἱ ὄνυχες· ἐπίγραμμα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἶναι φησι Κῆρα. No known art-type corresponds to the words of 'Hesiod,' while the function and features of the Κῆρ do so exactly.

We may now go a step further. The artist shows his familiarity with the group of conceptions embodied in the Hesiodic *Theogony* by introducing many of the monsters of popular demonology whose genealogy has been referred to above: in this he follows the art of his time. But he also shows unmistakable acquaintance with another group of figures only partly represented by early monuments. These are the children of Night, who may be presented in the following order—

Νύξ (*Theog.* 211 ff.).

Θάνατος	Ὕπνος	Μοῖραι	Κῆρες	(Γῆρας)	Ἔρις
212	212	217	217	(225)	225

Γῆρας has been included because, although not represented on the chest, it seems probable that it is to be identified with the figure on the Olympian bronze-relief No. 699 (Furtwängler, p. 102)—a type adapted by the artist in portraying Dike and Adikia. The Κῆρες have been discussed already: Ἔρις occurs on band IV. 6. The other figures demand a closer examination.

Fick (*Hesiods Gedichte*, 1887) shows that the *Theogony* is in origin a poem composed in Boeotian dialect by a poet under Delphic influence in

strophes of eighteen lines, but including in its present form extensive interpolations. We must then hold these elements apart. Brackets indicate the later portions.

### 1. SLEEP AND DEATH.

*Theog.* 211, 2. Νύξ δ' ἔτεκε στυγερὸν τε Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα μέλαιναν  
καὶ Θάνατον· τέκε δ' Ὕπνον, ἔτικτε δὲ φύλον Ὀνειρώων.  
[*Theog.* 756 ff. ἡ δ' Ὕπνον μετὰ χερσὶ, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο  
Νύξ ὅλοη, νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένη ἡεροειδέη.]

The second passage is from a description of the underworld (720—819) which Fick shows to be a later document embedded in the *Theogony* (on linguistic grounds). But it seems to have been known to the artist.

### 2. THE MOIRAI.

*Theog.* 217 ff. καὶ Μοίρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο ἠηλοποιούουσ,  
[Κλωθὴ τε Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον· αἵτε βροτοῖσι  
γυινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε].

The last two lines are not original—though Fick believes them to come from an early Aeolic Epic. They are repeated with slight variations in vv. 905, 6, where the three Μοῖραι are classed with the Ὀραι as daughters of Zeus. This too is a later addition to the *Theogony*. In its original form, then, that work did not contain the names of the three Fates. Now it was probably composed under Delphic influence (cp. Fick, p. 3): at Delphi the Μοῖραι were *two*; and in the dual number they appear on the chest, in the neighbourhood of Sleep and Death (see the passages referred to in the detailed commentary). These facts are significant.

3. DIKE is not a child of Night in the *Theogony*, but of Zeus (v. 902); but she is a prominent figure in Hesiodic poetry (especially in the song of Right and Wrong, Fick, pp. 58, 59) and it is therefore most natural to find her among the select 'mystical' types with which the artist commences the second band.

(b) Relation to Homer may be traced in band IV. 8, where the scene with Agamemnon, Iphidamas and Koon is taken from A. But it is noteworthy that this is the only scene among so many which is certainly derived from either of the great epic poems: and it consists merely in a duel-scene to which the inscriptions alone lend a Homeric significance. This is quite in keeping with what we know of the industrial art of the time: except for such specialized duel-scenes there is little borrowing from the *Iliad*, and where it takes place, moments widely apart are fused into one (as on the oenochoe published by Fröhner, *Jahrbuch* vii. 1892 Pl. I.—'contamination' of I and Σ) and an exact correspondence with the text is hardly ever found. A verbal reminiscence of I. 557 may be traceable in the inscription on II. 4, on which see the commentary.

But Pausanias sees a direct case of 'illustration' in the case of the uppermost band. It had no inscriptions, but (he says of the first two figures)



σφᾶς Ὀδυσσεά εἶναι καὶ Κίρκην ἐδοξάζομεν ἀριθμῷ τε τῶν θεραπειῶν αἱ εἰσὶ πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, καὶ ταῖς ποιουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τέσσαρες τε γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐργάζονται τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος εἶρηκε. The reference is to κ 352—359 :

τάων δ' ἡ μὲν ἔβαλλε θρόνοις ἐνὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ  
πορφυρέα καθύπερθ', ὑπένερθε δὲ λίθ' ὑπέβαλλεν·  
ἡ δ' ἑτέρη προπάραιθε θρόνων ἐτίταινε τραπίζας  
ἀργυρέας, ἐπὶ δέ σφι τίθει χρύσεια κάνεια·  
ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ κρητῆρι μελίφρονα αἶνον ἐκίρνα  
ἡδὺν ἐν ἀργυρέῳ, νέμε δὲ χρύσεια κύπελλα·  
ἡ δὲ τετάρτῃ ὕδωρ ἐφόρει καὶ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε  
πολλὸν ὑπὸ τρίποδι μεγάλῳ· ἰαίνετο δ' ὕδωρ.

Löschcke (*Dorpatser Programm*, 1880, pp. 5, 6) shows that this is no proof. In every case we have a choice between various schemes, any of which would satisfy the required conditions : the number may be purely accidental : the scene was *not* a cave, but the *θάλαμος* of Circe (κ 340). Nor does the following scene—granting that the interpretation suggested by Pausanias (Nereids, Thetis, Hephaestus with the armour of Achilles) is the true one—correspond with any degree of accuracy to Σ 145 ff. Finally, the so-called Nausicaa in the mule-car—which Löschcke left untouched—has yielded to the solvent of criticism<sup>51</sup>—and we now recognize one long frieze of figures leading to the cave on Mt. Pelion where the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis are being celebrated. The analogy of the François vase suggests itself at once.

(c) We can no longer trace the relations of the artists to the lost epics. The Trojan cycle furnishes a few subjects—Peleus and Thetis, Judgment of Paris, Achilles and Memnon, Menelaos and Helen, Ajax and Cassandra—the Thebais provides the departure of Amphiaraos and the duel of Eteokles and Polyneikes—while from the Argonautic legend, treated apparently with fulness and freedom by the Corinthian poet Eumelos<sup>52</sup> (Willich, *Fragmente des Epikers Eumelos*, esp. p. 19) are drawn the funeral games of Pelias, the Phineus scene, the marriage of Medea and Jason. (For the *ἄλλα ἐπὶ Περίῳ* see commentary and reff.) But it is impossible to lay down any proposition in detail as to the relations between these works and the chest.

For the date of the monument it must be observed as a significant fact that *lyric* influence is not present, *e.g.* that of Stesichoros. It is just possible that Alkman may be the source of IV. 7—though our restoration presupposes the contrary.

The issue of our investigations is to prove that the chest is a work of the early decades of the sixth century, the work of an artist standing above the various schools of his time and blending their diverse elements in a

<sup>51</sup> Klein, *Kypselo der Kypseliden*, p. 64. Schneider, *Troischer Sagenkreis*, p. 78, *diminuit*.

<sup>52</sup> What Maass means by the statement in *Gött. Gelichte Anzeigen* 1899, p. 383, that the

'Hesiodic' Euphemos ὁ οἶν was 'zugleich die älteste Argonautendichtung, aus dem sechsten Jahrhundert,' is quite unintelligible.

harmonious composition—of an artist acquainted with the epic literature and influenced by the technique of the earliest workers in sculpture. No doubt he surpassed in technical ability the producers of the pottery and metal-work preserved to us: but we cannot estimate his merits. We cannot even determine with certainty the nature of the technical proceedings employed; Milchhöfer and Collignon, comparing the open-work bronze plate from Crete representing the hunter with the wild goat (*Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 165), regard the chest as constructed in the 'Daedalic' technique of *inlaying*: but the close correspondence of the types to early gold and bronze *reliefs*,<sup>52</sup> and the existence of relief-work in *ivory* (e.g. the situla of Chiusi, *M. d. I.* x. 39a—cp. *M. d. I.* vi 46), as well as the fact that some of the figures, according to Pausanias, were wrought in the cedar-wood of the chest itself, a most unsuitable material for such treatment, seem to show that the scenes were represented in low relief.

Nor can we determine with certainty the question as to the artistic conception which may have dominated the work as a whole and governed the disposition of the scenes. On such a question it is best to hear one whose capacity for entering into the spirit of early art is unequalled (Brunn, *Kunstgeschichte*, i. 176) and to admit with him that a detailed proof will never be possible.

About half a century later than the date assignable to the chest, Bathykles of Magnesia reproduced many of the same types on the throne of the Amyclaeon Apollo. To reconstruct that work from the equally full but more obscure description of Pausanias in the style of 'new Ionic' and Attic art, is a problem of which Furtwangler has indicated a possible solution, but which it must be left to others to attack.

#### § 6. PAUSANIAS V. 17, 5—V. 19. FIN.

I owe to the kindness of MM. du Rieu and de Vries, librarian and keeper of the MSS. at Leyden, an exact collation of the MS. known as Leidenensis A for this passage, and have given its variants throughout. The readings of other MSS., where given, are quoted from Schubart and Walz' edition.

- v. 17, § 5. . . . . *λάρναξ κέδρου μὲν* . . . . there is a chest made of  
*πεποιήται, ζῳδία δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐπ'* cedar-wood, and upon it are wrought  
*αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ* figures, some of ivory, some of gold,  
*αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐργασμένα τῆς κέδρου.* and some of the cedar-wood itself.  
 5 *ἐς ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα Κίψελον* In this chest Kypselos the tyrant of  
*τὸν Κορίνθον τυραννήσαντα ἀπέ-* Corinth was hidden by his mother,  
*κρυψεν ἡ μήτηρ, ἥλικα τεχθέντα* when at his birth the Bacchiadae  
*ἀνευρεῖν αὐτὸν σπονδὴν ἐποίοιεντο οἱ* sought to find him. In memory of  
*Βακχιάδαι, τῆς μὲν δὲ σωτηρίας* Kypselos' deliverance, his house,

<sup>52</sup> Whose purpose was to be riveted on to a wooden background.



10 εἵνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
γένος οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελῖδαι  
τὴν λάρνακα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέ-  
θεσαν· τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε  
ἐκάλουον Κορίνθιοι κυψέλας· ἀπὸ  
15 τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Κύψελον τῷ  
παιδί θέσθαι λέγουσιν. § 6. τῶν  
δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα  
ἔπεστι τοῖς πλείοσι γράμμασι τοῖς  
ἀρχαίοις γεγραμμένα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς  
20 εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχήματα δὲ ἄλλα  
τῶν <ἐπι> γραμμάτων βουστρο-  
φηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες. τὸ δὲ  
ἔστι τοιούδε· ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ  
ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἔπων τὸ  
25 δεύτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ,  
γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ  
ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐλιγμοῖς  
συμβалέσθαι χαλεποῖς.

called the Kypselidai, dedicated the chest at Olympia; now in those days the Corinthians called chests 'κυψέλαι,' and hence they say, the child received the name of Kypselos. § 6. Most of the figures wrought on the chest have inscriptions in archaic characters; and some of these proceed in a straight line, while others have the form which the Greeks call 'βουστροφηδόν.' This means that the second line turns backward from the end of the first as it were in the double race-course: the inscriptions on the chest, moreover, are written with windings hard to be understood.

L 1 lacunam statuit Bekkerus—λάρναξ δὲ κέδρον *La Vb.*; l. 9 βακχίδα codd.; ll. 15, 16 τῷ παιδί Κύψελον *La.*; l. 18 λέγουσιν *La.* teste de Vries; l. 17 ἐπιγραμμάτων codd., corr. Cornes; l. 21 γραμμάτων codd., correxi; ll. 27, 28, ἄλλως, ἐλιγμοῖς, χαλεποῖς codd. (ἐλιγμοῖς συμβάλεσθαι χαλεπὸς *Lo.*) corr. Siebelis.

ἀρξαμένη δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι  
κάτωθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακος  
ἡ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα. § 7.  
Οἰνόμαος δίωκων Πέλοπα ἔστιν  
5 ἔχοντα Ἱπποδάμειαν· ἐκατέρῳ μὲν  
δὴ δύο αὐτῶν εἰσὶν ἵπποι, τοῖς δὲ  
τοῦ Πέλοπος ἔστι πεφυκότα καὶ  
πτέρα. ἐξῆς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου τε ἡ  
οἰκία πεποιήται, καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον  
10 φέρει νήπιον πρεσβύτες ἦτις δὴ  
πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη τὸν  
ὄρμον ἔχουσα ἔστηκε, παρὰ δὲ  
αὐτὴν αἱ θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη καὶ  
Δημιόνασσα, καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς  
15 γυμνός. § 8. Ἀσῖος δὲ ἐν τοῖς  
ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀλκμήνην ἐποίησε θυ-  
γατέρα Ἀμφιαράου καὶ Ἐριφύλης  
εἶναι. Βάτων δὲ, δὲ ἡνιοχὲι τῷ  
Ἀμφιαράῳ, τὰς τε ἡνίας τῶν

If we begin our examination from below, the following subjects are presented by the first band. § 7. There is Oenomaos pursuing Pelops, who has with him Hippodamia; each drives a pair of horses, and those of Pelops are winged. Next in order is represented the house of Amphiaraus, and an old woman (whoever she be) is carrying the child Amphilochoi; and before the house stands Eriphyle holding the necklace, and beside her her daughters Eurydike and Demionassa, and a naked boy, Alkmaeon. § 8. Now Asios in his poems represents Alkmaeon also as the daughter of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. And Baton, who is

1. Oenomaos and Pelops.

2. Departure of Amphiaraus.

- 20 ἵππων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέρᾳ  
λόγχην. Ἀμφιαράω δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν  
ποδῶν ἐπιβέβηκεν ἤδη τοῦ ἅρματος,  
τὸ ξίφος δὲ ἔχει γυμνόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς  
Ἐριφύλης ἐστὶν ἐπεστραμμένος  
25 ἐξαγόμενός τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ,  
<ὥστε δοκεῖ μόλις> ἐφείνης ἂν  
ἀποσχέσθαι. § 9. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ  
Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστὶν ἄγων  
ὁ ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τοὺς  
(a) Herakles 30 ἀγωνιστάς. πεποίηται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς  
ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος, καὶ ὀπισθερ  
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς  
ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἄπειται ἥτις ἐστὶ  
Φρυγίαις δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐχ Ἑλλη-  
(b) Chariot- 35 νικοῦς αὐλοῖς, ἡνιοχοῦντες δὲ συν-  
ωρίδα Πίσος ἐστὶν ὁ Περιήρου  
καὶ Ἀστερίου Κομήτου, πλεῦσαι  
καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργούς,  
καὶ Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Ἀδμήτος.  
40 ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐφῆμος, Ποσειδῶνός  
τε ὢν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον  
καὶ Ἰάσονι ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ  
μετεσχηκώς· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῇ συνω-  
ρίδι νικῶν ἐστίν.
- (c) Boxers 45 § 10. οἱ δὲ ἀποτετολμηκότες  
πυκτεῦναι Ἀδμήτος καὶ Μόψος  
ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀμπίκος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ  
αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἱσθηκῶς ἐπαυλεῖ, καθ-  
ὅτι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλματι  
(d) Wrestlers 50 αὐλεῖν τῶν πεντάθλων νομίζουσιν.  
Ἰάσονι δὲ καὶ Πηλεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς  
πάλης ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκε. πεποίη-  
(e) Discus-  
thrower. 55 ται δὲ καὶ Εὐρυβώτας ἀφίεις δίσκου,  
ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δίσκῳ  
(f) Runners 60 φήμην ἔχωρ. οἱ δ' ἐς ἀμίλλαν  
δρόμου καθεσθηκότες Μελανίων  
ἐστὶ καὶ Νεοθεὺς καὶ Φαλαρεὺς,  
τέταρτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἴφικλος  
πέμπτος· τούτῳ δὲ νικῶντι ὀρέγει  
(g) Akastos 60 τὸν στέφανον ὁ Ἀκαστος· εἷη δ' ἂν  
ὁ Πρωτεσίλαον πατὴρ τοῦ στρα-  
τεύσαντος ἐς Ἰλίον. § 11. κείται δὲ  
(h) Prison καὶ τρίποδες, ἄθλα δὲ τοῖς νικῶσι,

Amphiaraios' charioteer, holds the reins in one hand and a lance in the other. And Amphiaraios has already planted one foot on the chariot, and has his sword drawn: and he is turned towards Eriphyle and is beside himself with anger, so that he seems scarcely able to keep his hands off her. § 9. Next to the house of Amphiaraios come the funeral games of Pelias and the spectators. Herakles is represented, seated on a throne, and behind him is a woman: this woman has no inscription to tell who she is, but she is playing, not on a Greek, but on a Phrygian flute. Two-horse chariots are driven by Pisos the son of Perieres and Asterion the son of Kometes, who is also said to have sailed in the Argo, and Polydeukes and Admetos, and after them Euphemos, who as the poets relate was the son of Poseidon and accompanied Jason on his voyage: and he is the victor in the chariot-race.

§ 10. Those who have ventured to box are Admetos and Mopsus the son of Ampyx. And between them stands a man who plays the flute, just as the custom now is to play the flute at the leaping-contest in the pentathlon. And Jason and Peleus are evenly matched in the wrestling-match. And Eurybotas too is represented in the act of throwing the discus—whoever he may be that had this reputation for quoit-throwing. Those who have entered for the foot-race are Melanion, Neotheus, Phalareus, Argeios and lastly Iphiklos; he is the victor and Akastos is handing him the crown: this Akastos is no doubt the father of Protesilaos who joined



καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσὶν αἱ Πελίου· τὸ  
 65 δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλεχέστιδι γέγραπ-  
 ται μόνῃ. Ἰόλαος δὲ, ὃς ἐβελοντῆς  
 μετείχε· Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν  
 ἵππων ἄρματι ἀννηρημένος νίκην.  
 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀγὼν μὲν ὁ ἐπὶ  
 70 Πελία πέπαιται, τὴν ὕδραν δὲ, τὸ  
 ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῇ Ἀμυμώνῃ θηρίον.  
 Ἡρακλεῖ τοξενῶντι Ἀθηνα παρέσ-  
 τηκεν· ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὄντος  
 οὐκ ἀγνώστον τοῦ τε ἄθλου χάριν  
 75 καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι, τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ  
 ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον. Φινεύς  
 τε ὁ Θρᾷξ ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ  
 Βορέου τὰς Ἀρπυίας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 διώκουσι.

the expedition to Ilium. And the  
 tripods are set as prizes for the  
 winners; and there are the daughters  
 of Pelias, but Alkestis only has her  
 name written. And Iolaos, who of  
 his free will shared in the labours  
 of Herakles, has won a victory with  
 his chariot and team. At this  
 point the games of Pelias come to  
 an end, and the hydra—the monster  
 which lived in the river Amymone—  
 is being shot with arrows by Hera-  
 kles, beside whom stands Athena.  
 And as Herakles is easily known by  
 the nature of the contest and his  
 equipment, his name is not in-  
 scribed. And there is Phineus the  
 Thracian, and the sons of Boreas  
 chasing the Harpies away from  
 him.

(6) Daughters  
 of Akastos.

4. Herakles  
 and the  
 Hydra.

5. Phineus,  
 Boreas and  
 Harpies.

l. 1, τόσα δὲ *La*; l. 8, τε Ἀμφ. *La*, δ' Ἀμφ. *Va*; l. 8, habet ἡ *La*, teste  
 de Vries; l. 10, πρεσβύτις codd. mell.; l. 11, ἐρυφύλη *La*, teste de Vries;  
 l. 15, αἰσιος codd.; l. 17, ἐρυφύλης *La*; l. 21, λόγχην om. *La* (additur in  
 marg.); l. 22, πιδῶν *La*; l. 23, δὲ om. *La*, om. τὸ Siebelis; l. 24, ἐρυφύλην  
*La*, ἐπιστρ. *La*; l. 26, lacunam alii aliter expleverunt, nos Kuhnii rationem  
 paulum mutauimus; l. 33, ἔπεστιν codd. (ἔπεστι *La*, ἔπεσι *Va*) corr.  
 Siebelis; l. 43, μετέχῃκώς *La*. l. 55, ἀμιλλαν *La*; l. 57, νεοθές *La*; l. 66,  
 μόνῃ om. *La*; l. 68, ἀνηρημένον *La*; l. 71, ἀμυμών *La*.

NOMINUM PROPRIORUM formas notabiliores ex picturis uascularibus  
 Corinthiis restitutae; l. 8, et saep. Ἀφιάργος *M.I.* x. 4; l. 14, Δημοφάνασσα  
*M.I.* x. 4 (cf. δημόνασσα *Va*, δημόνασσα *Fab*). l. 66, Φιόλαφος *M.I.* iii. 46;  
 l. 78, fortasse Ἀρεπυία *A.Z.* 1887, ix.

SCHOLIUM. l. 70, ὕδραν] ὅτι οὗτος τὴν ὕδραν πρὸς τῇ Ἀμυμώνῃ φησὶ  
 γενέσθαι, ἄλλων λεγόντων πρὸς τῇ Λέρνῃ (*Hermes* xxix. 148).

V. 18, 1. τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 λάρνακι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν  
 μὲν γίγνοιτο ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιόδου.  
 (1) πεποιήται δὲ γυνὴ παῖδα λευ-  
 5 κὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχονσα τῇ δεξιᾷ  
 χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ μέλατα ἔχει παῖδα  
 καθεύδοντι. εἰκότα, ἀμφοτέρους  
 δισοτραμμένους τοὺς πόδας. δηλοῖ

V. 18, 1. In examining the second  
 field on the chest, we naturally  
 make the circuit from left to right.

(1) A woman is represented sup-  
 porting a sleeping child on her  
 right arm, and on her left a black  
 child like one that sleeps; both  
 have their feet turned outwards.

SECOND  
 BAND.

1. Night,  
 Death and  
 Sleep.

10 μέν δὴ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, συνεῖναι δὲ  
καὶ ἀνευ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἔστι,  
Θάνατον τε εἶναι σφᾶς καὶ Ὕπνον,  
καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τρο-  
φόν.

2. Dike and  
Adikia.

(2) § 2. γυνὴ δὲ εὐειδὴς γυναῖκα  
15 αἰσχρὰν κολάζουσα, καὶ τῇ μὲν  
ἀπείγχουσα αὐτὴν τῇ δὲ ῥάβδῳ  
παίονσα, Δίκη ταῦτα Ἀδίκιαν  
δρῶσά ἐστι.

3. The Fates.

(3) δύο δὲ ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐς  
20 ὄλμους καθικνουμένας ὑπέρους, φάρ-  
μακα εἰδέναι σφᾶς νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ  
ἄλλως γε οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτάς ἐστιν ἐπι-  
γράμμα.

4. Idas and  
Marpessa.

(4) τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ γυ-  
25 ναῖκα ἐπομένην αὐτῷ τὰ ἔπη δηλοῖ  
τὰ ἑξάμετρα· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως·  
Ἴδας Μάρπησαν καλλίσφυρον, ἃν  
ἦοι Ἀπόλλων

5. Zeus and  
Alkmene.

ἄρπασε, τὰν Εὐάνου ἄγει· πάλιν οὐκ  
30 ἀέκουσαν.

(5) § 3. χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνδεδυκὼς  
ἄνθρωπος τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κύλικα, τῇ δὲ  
ἔχων ἔστιν ὄρμον, λαμβάνεται δὲ  
αὐτῶν Ἀλκμήνη· πεποιήται δὲ ἐς  
35 τὸν λόγον <ὑπὸ> τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ὥς συγγένοιτο Ἀλκμήνῃ Ζεὺς Ἀμφι-  
τρύωνι εἰκασθεῖς.

6. Menelaos  
and Helen.

(6) Μενέλαος δὲ θώρακά τε ἐνδε-  
δυκὼς καὶ ἔχων ξίφος ἐπείσιν  
40 Ἑλένην ἀποκτείνει, δῆλα ὡς ἀλίσκο-  
μένης Ἰλίου.

7. Aphrodite,  
Medea, Jason.

(7) Μηδείας δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνον καθη-  
μένης Ἰάσων ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ Ἀφρο-  
δίτῃ παρέστηκε· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ  
45 ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς·  
Μήδειαν Ἰάσων γαμέει, κέλεται δ'  
Ἀφροδίτα.

8. Apollo and  
Muses.

(8) § 4. πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ἄδου-  
σαι Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἑξάρ-  
50 χων τῆς ψῆδης· καὶ σφισιν ἐπί-  
γραμμα γέγραπται·  
Λατοῖδας οὐτός γα ῥίναξ ῥεκά-  
φεργος Ἀπόλλων

The inscriptions show—though it is  
easy to comprehend the scene with-  
out them—that they are Death and  
Sleep, and that she who nurses  
them is Night.

(2) § 2. There is a beautiful  
woman chastising a hideous one;  
with one hand she grips her throat,  
with the other she beats her with a  
rod. They are Justice and In-  
justice.

(3) Two other women are pound-  
ing with pestles in mortars; they  
are supposed to be skilled in poisons,  
for there is no inscription attached  
to them.

(4) The story of the man and the  
woman that follows him is told by  
the hexameter lines, which run as  
follows:—'Idas leads back again  
Marpessa of the fair ankles, whom  
Apollo stole from him, the daughter  
of Euenos, nothing loth.'

(5) § 3. A man clad in a tunic  
holds a cup in one hand and a neck-  
lace in the other, and Alkmene is  
taking hold of them. The Greek  
poets have told how Zeus knew  
Alkmene in the form of Amphi-  
tryon.

(6) Menelaos clad in a tunic, and  
holding a sword, advances upon  
Helen to slay her—plainly at the  
fall of Ilium.

(7) Medea is seated on a throne  
with Jason on her right, while on  
the other side stands Aphrodite;  
and there is the following inscrip-  
tion over them: 'Jason weds Medea  
at Aphrodite's behest.'

(8) § 4. The Muses are repre-  
sented singing and Apollo leading  
the song; and they have an inscrip-  
tion written: 'This is Leto's son,  
King Apollo that smites from afar;  
and about him are the Muses, a



Μαῦσαι δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, χαρίζεις goodly choir, whom he leads'

55 χορὸς, αἷσι κατάρχει.

(9) Ἀτλας δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὠμῶν κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐρανὸν τε ἀνέχει καὶ γῆν, φέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑσπεριδῶν μήλα, ὅστις δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔχων  
60 τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντα ἐρχόμενος ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν οὐδέν, δῆλα δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας Ἡρακλέα εἶναι, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

65 Ἀτλας οὐρανὸν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μάλα μεθήσει.

(10) § 5. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης ὄπλα ἐνδεδυκώς, Ἀφροδίτην ἄγων ἐπὶ γραμμὰ δὲ Εὐνάλιος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ.

70 (11) πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Θέτις παρθένος, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πηλεὺς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς Θετίδος ὄφεις ἐπὶ τὸν Πηλέα ἐστὶν ὁρμῶν.

(12) αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ Μεδούσας ἔχουσαι πτερὰ πετόμενον Περσέα εἰσι διώκουσαι· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ Περσεὶ γέγραπται μόνον.

(9) Atlas supports on his shoulders heaven and earth, according to the legend, and he also bears the apples of the Hesperids. The man with the sword who approaches Atlas has no inscription to tell his name, but it is manifest to all that he is Herakles. And over these is written: 'This is Atlas who upholds the heaven, but the apples he shall give up.'

9. Atlas and Herakles.

(10) § 5. There is Ares clad in armour, leading Aphrodite: and his name, Euryalos, is inscribed.

10. Ares and Aphrodite.

(11) The virgin Thetis is represented, and Peleus is seizing her: and from the arm of Thetis a snake darts at Peleus.

11. Peleus and Thetis.

(12) The sisters of Medusa pursue Perseus: they have wings and he is flying: and Perseus' name only is inscribed.

12. Gorgons and Perseus.

1. 1, ἐπὶ τῷ λάρνακι *La*; 1. 15, κομίζουσα codd. κολλάζουσα Robert (tentavit Schubart); 1. 27, ἴδα *La*, Μάρπησσαν codd. aliquot; 1. 28, et saep. digamma restitui, πόλλων *La*; 1. 29, ἐκ ναοῦ codd. Εὐανού Fröhner (*Mus. Rhén.* xlvii. 1892, p. 291), ceteras vv. dd. coniecturas referre superuacaneum; πάλιν ἄγει codd.; 1. 35, 'ἐς τὸν λόγον τῶν Ἑλλήνων uix sana uidentur' Schubart, *Præf.* xxi., <ὑπὸ> supplui; 1. 46, Μήδεαν Fick; 1. 52, οὗτος τάχ' ἀναξ codd., corr. Hauptius (*Ornsc.* iii. 466); 1. 60, ὁ post καὶ codd., deleuit Coraes, ἐρχόμενον *La*; 1. 66, μάλα μαθήσει *La* teste de Vries.

§ 6. στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος· τὸ μὲν πολὺ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοὶ, πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωριδῶν ἵππεῖς. ἐπὶ  
5 δὲ τοῖς στρατιωταῖς ἔστιν εἰκάζειν συνιέναι μὲν σφᾶς ἐς μάχην, συνιέναι δὲ καὶ ἀσπασσομένους τε καὶ ἀναγνωριούντας ἀλλήλους. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀμφοτέρω ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγη-  
10 τῶν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐστὶν εἰρημένον Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς μετὰ Ὀξύλον καὶ

§ 6. On the third field of the THIRD BAND chest are troops of warriors: most of them are footmen, but knights are represented too with two-horse chariots. And one may infer that the warriors are marching to battle, but that they will recognize and greet each other. Contrary explanations are given by the interpreters. Some have said that they are the Aetolians who came with

- Ἡλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχαίους, ἀπαν-  
 τῶν δὲ σφῶς γένους τε μνήμη τοῦ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνυμένους  
 15 ἐς ἀλλήλους, οἱ δὲ συνιέναι φασὶν  
 ἐς ἀγῶνα τὰ στρατιωτικά, Πυλίων  
 δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἀρκάδας παρά τε Φείαν  
 πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν μαχομένους  
 Ἰάρδανον. § 7. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ  
 20 ἀρχὴν ἀποδέξατο ἂν τις, ὥς ὁ τοῦ  
 Κυψέλου πρόγονος Κορινθίος τε ὦν  
 καὶ τὴν λάρνακα αὐτῷ ποιούμενος  
 κτῆμα, ὅποσα μὲν Κορινθίους ἦν  
 ἐπιχώρια, ἐκὼν ὑπερέβαινεν, ἃ δὲ  
 25 ξενικά τε καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἥκοντα ἐς  
 δόξαν, ἐτέχευτο ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι  
 αὐτῷ μέντοι παρίστατο ἑμοὶ ταῦτα  
 εἰκάζειν. Κυψέλου καὶ τοῖς προγο-  
 νοῖς ἐκ Γονούσσης ἦν γένος ἐξ  
 30 ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος, καὶ πρό-  
 γονός σφισιν ἦν Μέλας ὁ Ἀντάσου.  
 § 8. Μέλανα δὲ καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ  
 στρατὸν κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα μοι  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ Κορινθιακῇ ξυγγραφῇ οὐκ  
 35 ἤθελεν Ἀλήτης συνοίκους δέξασθαι,  
 γέγονός οἱ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν  
 ὑφορώμενος, ἐς δὲ θεραπεία τε πύσῃ  
 χρώμενον Μέλανα καὶ ὅποτε ἀπε-  
 λασθείη σὺν δεήσει ἐπαριόντα αὖθις  
 40 ἐδέξατο καὶ ἄκων Ἀλήτης. τοῦτο  
 τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τεκμαίροιο ἂν τις  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι εἰργασμένους  
 εἶναι.

Oxylos and the Eleans of old time, and that they are meeting and calling to mind their old kinship and showing goodwill towards each other; others, that the troops are joining battle and that they are the men of Pylos and the Arcadians who fought beside the city of Pheia and the river Iardanes. § 7. Now it is impossible to entertain the idea at all that the ancestor of Kypselos, being a Corinthian and causing the chest to be made for him as an heirloom, deliberately passed over the stories of his native place, and caused to be portrayed on the chest foreign tales, and those of no great fame. But I was led to make the following conjecture. Kypselos and his forefathers traced their ultimate origin to Gonussa above Sikyon and their ancestor was Melas the son of Antasos. § 8. Now Aletes, as I have before related in my account of Corinthian history, would not receive Melas and his army to dwell with him, being suspicious by reason of an oracle which he had from Delphi, until Melas by his constant attention, returning again with entreaties as often as he was rejected, induced Aletes to receive him, though unwilling. These are the troops which, as one would infer, are represented on the chest.

l. 11, ξύλου *La*; l. 12, ἀπαντῶν *La*; l. 17, φειγάλειαν *La* et sic fere cett. codd. Φειῶν Heyne coll. H 134-5; l. 18, μαχομένους *La*; l. 29, locus corruptus. codd. προγόνους ἔτεον δὲ (uel ἐκ τῶνδε—ἐκτων δὲ *La*) ἦν γένος ἐξ ἀρχῆς γονούσης (uel ἐξ ἀρχιγονούσης). Schubartii restitutionem secuti sumus; l. 34, συγγραφῇ *La*; l. 35, ἔθελεν *La*; l. 38, χρώμενον καὶ μέλανα codd. plurimi.

ΒΟΡΕΙΑΣ  
 ΒΑΝΤ.  
 1. Boreas and  
 Orithyia.

(1) v. 19, l. τέταρτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 λάρνακι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς περιέοντι  
 Βορέας ἐστὶν ἡρπακὼς Ὀρείθυιαν.

On the fourth field, as we make  
 the circuit from left to right, is  
 Boreas, who has carried off Orei-



οὐραὶ δὲ ὄφρων ἀντὶ ποδῶν εἰσὶν  
5 αὐτῶ.

(2) καὶ Ἡρακλέους ὁ πρὸς Γηρυό-  
νην <ἐστίν> ἀγών· τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες  
Γηρυόνης εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοισι προσχό-  
μενοι.

10 (3) Θησεύς δὲ ἔχων λύραν καὶ  
παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀριάδνη κατέχουσα  
ἐστὶ στέφανον.

(4) Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ καὶ Μέννωνι  
μαχομένοις παρεστήκασιν αἱ μη-  
15 τέρες.

(5) § 2. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Μελανίων,  
καὶ Ἀταλάντη παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχουσα  
ἐλάφου νεβρὸν.

(6) μοῖνομαχοῦντος δὲ Αἴαντι· Ἐκ-  
20 τος κατὰ τὴν πρόκλησιν μεταξὺ  
ἔστηκεν αὐτῶν Ἔρις αἰσχίστη τὸ  
εἶδος· εὐκύνειαν δὲ ταύτη καὶ Καλλι-  
φῶν Σάμιος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ τῆς  
Ἐφεσσίας ἐποίησεν Ἔριν, τὴν μάχην  
25 γράψας τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἑλλή-  
νων.

(7) εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι Διόσ-  
κουροι, ὃ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔχων πω-  
γένεια, μέσθι δὲ αὐτῶν Ἑλένη. § 3.  
30 Αἰθρα δὲ ἡ Πιτθίως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλένης  
τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς ἑδάφος καταβεβλη-  
μένη μέλαιναν ἔχουσα ἐστὶν ἐσθήτα.  
ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπος τε  
ἐξαμέτρον, καὶ ὀνόματός ἐστιν ἐνός

35 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξαμέτρῳ προσθήκη  
Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἰθ-  
ραν τ' Ἀφιδναθεν  
ἔλκετον.

(8) § 4. ταῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔπος  
40 οὕτω πεποίηται, Ἰφιδάμαντος δὲ  
τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κείμενον μαχόμενος  
πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κῶον  
ἐστί. Φόβος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμ-  
νονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἐπεστίν, ἔχων τὴν  
45 κεφαλὴν λέοντος. ἐπιγράμματα δὲ  
ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἰφιδάμαντος νεκροῦ  
Ἰφιδάμας οὗτός γα, Κῶων περι-  
βάρεται αὐτοῦ

thyia: he has snakes' tails instead  
of feet.

(2) And there is the contest of 2. Herakles  
Herakles with Geryon, who is repre- and Geryon.  
sented with the bodies of three men  
joined together.

(3) And there is Theseus with a 3. Theseus  
lyre and beside him Ariadne holding and Ariadne.  
a crown.

(4) Achilles and Memnon are 4. Achilles  
fighting, and beside them stand and Memnon.  
their mothers.

(5) § 2. And there is Melanion, 5. Melanion  
and beside him Atalante holding a and Atalanta.  
fawn.

(6) Ajax is engaged in single 6. Ajax and  
combat with Hector in pursuance Hector,  
of his challenge, and between them  
stands Eris hideous to look on: like  
her is the figure of Eris which  
Kallippon the Samian painted in  
the temple of Artemis at Ephesus  
when he painted the battle of the  
Greeks at the ships.

(7) The Dioscuri are represented 7. Dioscuri,  
on the chest; one of them is beard- Helen,  
less. And between them is Helen. Aithra.  
§ 3. And Aithra the daughter of  
Pittheus is lying on the ground at  
Helen's feet, clothed in black rai-  
ment. The inscription which be-  
longs to them consists of one hexa-  
meter line, with a single word added:  
'The sons of Tyndarus are bearing  
Helen away, and dragging Aithra  
from Aphidna.'

(8) § 4. Such is the verse; and 8. Agamem-  
Iphidamas the son of Antenor lies non and Koon.  
dead, while Agamemnon fights with  
Koon over his body. And Panic is  
seen on Agamemnon's shield, having  
a lion's head. The inscriptions are,  
over the corpse of Iphidamas, 'This  
is Iphidamas, Koon is fighting for  
him,' and on Agamemnon's shield,  
'This is the Panic that seizes men,

- τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι· and he that wields it is Agamem-  
 50 οὗτος μὲν Φίβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὁ non.  
 δ' ἔχων Ἀγαμέμνων.
9. Judgment of Paris. (9) § 5. ἄγει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς παρ' the goddesses to Alexandros, the son  
 'Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου τὰς θεὰς of Priam, to the trial of beauty.  
 55 καὶ ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τούτοις· They too have an inscription:—  
 'Ἑρμείας ὁδ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δείκνυσι 'This is Hermes who shows to  
 διαίτην Alexandros for trial of beauty  
 τοῦ Φεΐδεος Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθάναν καὶ Hera and Athene and Aphrodite.  
 Ἀφροδίταν.
10. Artemis. 60 (10) Ἀρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ (10) And Artemis—for what  
 λόγῳ πτέρυγας ἔχουσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ reason I know not—has wings on  
 τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει her shoulders, and in her right hand  
 πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν she holds a pard, and the other  
 λέοντα. hand a lion.
11. Ajax and 65 (11) πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Κασσάν- (11) And Ajax is represented  
 Cassandra. δραν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος Ἀίας τῆς dragging Cassandra from the image  
 'Ἀθηνᾶς ἔλκων· ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ of Athene: and beside him is this  
 ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν· inscription:—Ajax the Lokrian  
 Αἶψα Κασάνδραν ἀπ' Ἀθαναίας drags Cassandra from Athene.  
 70 Λοκρὸν ἔλκει.
12. Eteokles and 75 (12) § 6. τῶν δὲ Οἰδίποδος παί- (12) § 6. Of the sons of Oedipus,  
 Polyneikes. δων Πολυνεΐκει πεπτοκότι ἐς γόνυ Polynikes has fallen on his knee,  
 ἐπείσιν Ἑτεοκλῆς· τοῦ Πολυνεί- and Eteokles advances upon him.  
 75 ὄδοντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν ἡμερώ- And behind Polynikes stands a  
 τέρας θηρίου, καὶ οἱ καὶ τῶν χειρῶν female figure with tusks as terrible  
 εἰσὶν ἐπικαμπεῖς αἱ βρυχες· ἐπί- as a beast's, and hooked talons on  
 γραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἶναί φησι her hands, and the inscription beside  
 Κῆρα, ὡς τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπρω- her says that she is a Ker—mean-  
 80 μένου τὸν Πολυνεΐκην ἀπαχθέντα, ing that fate has snatched Poly-  
 Ἑτεοκλῆ δὲ γενομένης καὶ σὺν τῷ neikes away, and that Eteokles, too,  
 δικαίῳ τῆς τελευτῆς. justly met his doom.
13. Dionysos. (13) Διόνυσος δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ κατα- (13) Dionysos reclines in a cave,  
 85 χρυσαῦν, ἐνδοκυκῶς ἐστὶ ποδῆρη bearded, holding a golden cup, and  
 χιτῶνα· δένδρα δὲ ἄμπελοι περὶ clad in a tunic reaching to the feet:  
 αὐτὸν καὶ μηλέαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ροαί. and beside him are trees—vines,  
 apples, and pomegranates.

l. 1, τῇ om. *La*; l. 7, <ἐστὶν> suppl. *Li*; l. 8, γηρύονες *La*; l. 14, μητέρας *La*; l. 17, παρ' αὐτόν *La*; l. 19, αἰαντὶς *La*; l. 21, αἰσχίστη codd. (in *La* iota subscriptum semper omittitur); l. 22, εἰκνῖα· πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ codd. εἰκνῖαν πρὸς ταύτην Schubart (vel εἰκνῖαν ταύτῃ, *Præf.* pag. xxi.); l. 27, εἰσὶν δὲ *La*; l. 30, πικρῶς *La*; l. 30, αἶθραν δ' ἔλκετον ἀθάναθεν codd. fere omnes, corr. Bergk, *P.L.G.* II. 19, qui tamen verbum ἔλκετον poetae abjudicat.



Aliter de hoc loco emendando iudicavit Robert, *Hermes*, xliii. 39; l. 47, οὗτός τε codd. οὗτός γε Heyne, formam Doricam reposuit Fick—Κόαν codd. Κόσαν? Preger—περιμάρνεται codd. περιβάρνεται e titulis Corcyraeis reposuit Fick; l. 50, μὲν codd. μὲν secundum lapicidarum consuetudinem scripsi;

l. 56, δέικναι codd. δέκνυται Fick; l. 58, ἦρας καὶ ἀθάναν La; l. 74, <γυνή> supplevit Clavier; l. 75, τ'έχουσα La; l. 80, τὸν Πολυεῖκην uncis seclisit Siebelis; l. 87, αὐτὸ conl. Bergk, *A.Z.* 1845, p. 175—ῥ'αἱ La; l. 87, εἰς codd.

NOMINA PROPRIA. l. 11, fortasse Ἀριάνη secundum Atticorum pictorum consuetudinem scribendum. Cp. Kretschmer, *Die Griechischen Vasenschriften*, p. 198; l. 69, Αἴφας semper a pictoribus Corinthiis scribitur—Κήσανδρα in vase Corinthio legitur (*M.d.I.* 1855, xx.).

§ 7. ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτω χώρα, πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμόν εἰσι, παρέχεται μὲν ἐπίγραμμα οὐδὲν, λείπεται δὲ εἰκάζειν ἐς τὰ ἐπειρησμένα. εἰσὶν οὖν  
5 ἐν σπηλαίῳ γυνὴ καθευδούσα σὺν ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλίνῃ, καὶ σφῶς Ὀδυσσεῖα εἶναι καὶ Κίρκην ἐδοξάζομεν ἀριθμῷ τε τῶν θεραπειῶν αἱ εἰσι πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, καὶ τοῖς ποιουμένοις ὑπ'  
10 αὐτῶν τέσσαρες τε γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐργάζονται τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος εἴρηκε. Κένταυρος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πάντας ἵππου πόδας, τοὺς δὲ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν  
15 ἔχων ἀνδρὸς ἐστίν. § 8. ἐξῆς καὶ ἵππων συνωρίδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἰσὶν ἐστῶσαι πτερὰ δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις χρυσᾷ ἐστί, καὶ ἀνὴρ δίδωσιν ὅπλα μίᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν.  
20 ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πατρόκλου τέλευτήν ἔχειν τεκμαίρονται Νηρηίδας τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἶναι, καὶ Θέτιν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ τὰ  
25 ὅπλα δίδους οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἐστὶν ἔρρωμένος, καὶ ὅπισθεν οἰκέτης ἐπεται οἱ πυράγραν ἔχων. § 9. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Κένταυρον ὡς Χείρων ἀπηλλαγμένος ἦδη παρὰ ἀνθρώπων  
30 καὶ ἡξιωμένος εἶναι σύννοικος θεοῖς ῥαστώτην τινα ἥκοι τοῦ πένθους Ἀχιλλεὶ παρασκευάσων. παρθένους δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμίονον, τὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν

§ 7. The uppermost field—they FIFTH BAND.

are five in number—presents no inscriptions, but we are left to conjecture as to the scenes wrought thereon. Now there is a woman reclining with a man on a couch in a cave, and we inferred them to be Odysseus and Circe from the number of the attendant maidens and tasks performed by them: for there are four women, and they are doing the work which Homer assigns to them in his poem. And there is a Centaur whose legs are not all those of a horse, but his forelegs are human.

I. The nuptials of Peleus and Thetis.

§ 8. Next in order come two-horse chariots, and women standing in them: and the horses have golden wings, and a man is giving armour to one of the women. This they interpret with reference to the death of Patroklos; for the women in the chariots, they say, are Nereids, and Thetis is receiving the armour from Hephaestus. Besides, the man who presents the armour is somewhat lame, and he is followed by a slave with a pair of tongs. § 9. The Centaur, too, they explain by the fact that Cheiron who had left the ranks of men and was thought worthy to dwell with gods, came to offer some consolation to Achilles

τὰς ἡνίας, τὴν δὲ ἐπικειμένην κά-  
 35 λυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. Ναυσικᾶν  
 τε νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν Ἀλκίον  
 καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἐλαυνούσας ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς πλυνούς.

2. Herakles  
 and the  
 Centaurs.

τοξεύοντα δὲ ἄνδρα Κενταύρους,  
 40 τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπεκτονότα ἐξ αὐτῶν,  
 δῆλα Ἑρακλέα τε τὸν τοξεύοντα καὶ  
 Ἑρακλέους εἶναι τὸ ἔργον.

§ 10. τὸν μὲν δὴ τὴν λάρνακα κα-  
 τειργασμένον ὅστις ἦν, οὐδαμῶς  
 45 ἡμῖν δοξατὰ ἦν συμβαλέσθαι τὰ  
 ἐπιγράμματα δὲ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάχα  
 μὲν πού καὶ ἄλλος ἂν εἴη πεποιηκώς,  
 τῆς δὲ ὑπονοίας τὸ πολὺ ἐς Εὐμήλον  
 τὸν Κορίνθιον εἶχεν ἡμῖν, ἄλλων τε  
 50 ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσοδίου μάλιστα  
 ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐς Δῆλον.

in his grief. And there are two  
 maidens in a mule-chariot, the one  
 holding the reins, the other with a  
 veil on her head. These they sup-  
 pose to be Nausikaa and her hand-  
 maid driving to the washing.

There is a man shooting Centaurs  
 who has killed some of them: clearly  
 the archer is Herakles and the ex-  
 ploit is his.

§ 10. The name of the craftsman  
 who wrought the chest we were  
 quite unable to discover. But the  
 inscriptions—though another poet  
 might perhaps have composed them  
 —aroused a strong suspicion that  
 Eumelos of Corinth was their  
 author, both on other grounds, and  
 especially by comparison with the  
 processional hymn which he wrote  
 for Delos.

l. 8, *θεραπαιῶν* *La*; l. 13, *Κένταυρος* μετὰ τούτους ἵππους πόδας *La*, *K.* δὲ  
 τούτους πάντας ἵππούποδας *codd.* since *l.*, *K.* δὲ οὐ τοὺς πάντας ἵππου πόδας

β. α.

*Heyne*; l. 21, *νήρηίδας* ἐπὶ τῶν τε γὰρ *La*; l. 27, *ἔχων* *om. La*—*παρασκευάσων*  
*La teste de Vries*; l. 34, *κάλλυμμα* *La*; l. 35, *ναυσικά τε* *La*; l. 36, *ἀλκίον*  
*La*; l. 39, *κὰν ταύρους* *La*; l. 40, *ἀπεκτονότας* *La*; l. 45, *συμβαλέσθαι* *La*.

Kalkmann and Robert attribute the foregoing description of the chest  
 of Kypselos to Polemon, with whose *περιήγησις Ἑλλάδος* Pausanias was no  
 doubt acquainted, though opinions differ widely as to the extent of his  
 indebtedness to it. Specific reasons for the theory in this case are hard to  
 find; and indeed nothing further can be adduced than the following  
 facts.

(1) In v. 19, 2, if we read *Ἀθηνᾶθεν*, we may suppose that Polemon so  
 read (or misread) the inscription, and that it was in this connexion that he  
 told the story of Theseus, as quoted from him by Schol. Γ 242, introducing a  
 reference to Alkman. Pausanias may betray his acquaintance with this  
 passage in Polemon's work in l. 41, 4, where he quotes Alkman (from  
 Polemon, according to the theory) for the same story (Robert, *Hermes* xxiii.  
 439). Little weight can be attached to this tissue of conjectures.

(2) In the same section Pausanias compares the figure of *Ἐπίς* to a  
 similar figure in the painting of Kalliphon of Samos, to be seen in the  
 temple of Artemis at Ephesus. In x. 26, 5 he illustrates the costume worn  
 by Patroklos in Polygnotos' *Πυρραῖς* by a reference to the same work of



Kallippon. This latter description is supposed on other grounds to be derived from Polemon: therefore, it is argued, the description of the chest is by the same author (Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 114). To those who believe that when Pausanias wrote ἐν τῷ ἐμβασιύμῳ he usually meant what he said, such a combination will have little force.

Gurlitt successfully defends Pausanias from the charge of copying his description wholesale from Polemon (*Ueber Pausanias*, p. 163 ff.).

The questions raised by the introductory sections (v. 17, 3, 6) have already been discussed.

### FIRST BAND.

The general direction is from right to left, as is shown by the fact that Pausanias proceeds from left to right in describing the second band (v. 18, 1). He seems to describe the figures carefully in their exact order, and thus arrives at the winner in the chariot-race last. This shows that the direction of the race was from right to left, not, as Overbeck restored it, from left to right. The curiously involved terms in which Pausanias describes the scene with the Hydra also point to his desire to mention the figures in their order of position. Restoring the whole band on this principle we find that its movement is predominantly from right to left. There was no division of the separate scenes by vertical bands of ornament (v. *supr.*), and the band in fact served the quasi-architectural purpose of a continuous frieze decorating the 'plinth' of the monument.

1. OENOMAIOS AND PELOPS.—The subject is not familiar in early Greek art (a b.f. lekythos, *Jahrbuch* vi. 1891, p. 34, represents the preceding moment) and is no doubt introduced with special reference to Olympia and the victory of Periander, but is composed of the simplest elements. The chariot drawn by winged horses is a type familiar on 'bucchero nero' (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* xxxiv. 2, 3; cp. the later Etruscan b.f. amphora xxxvii. 1).

2. DEPARTURE OF AMPHIARAOS.—Restored directly from *M. d. I.* x. 4, omitting the figures not mentioned by Pausanias. From the repeated mention of the house (ἐξ ἧς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου τε ἡ οἰκία πεπολήται—μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφ. τὴν οἰκίαν) Pernice (*Jahrbuch* iii. 366) rightly concludes that, as on the vase, the palace was indicated at both extremities of the scene. Wilisch<sup>24</sup> remarks that the scene is composed of two standing types—a train of women and a chariot about to depart; these are specialized by the attitude of Amphiaraos and the necklace in the hands of Eriphyle. Robert<sup>25</sup> notes that no definite moment is represented. The scene occurs in a reduced form on the amphora Micali, *Storia* 95, which is clearly 'Ionic.'<sup>26</sup> The body of the amphora has three horizontal fields of decoration; on the topmost of these, beside Herakles (club and lion's skin) attacking Centaurs (with human forelegs) is

<sup>24</sup> *Die altkorinthische Thonindustrie*, p. 78.

<sup>25</sup> *Bild und Lied*, p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> To this Ionic class belong, e.g., Micali, 684.

*Storia* 86, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 278, Cabinet des Médailles 339, 273, Louvre

represented the departure of Amphiaraios; the scene is composed of the following figures (proceeding from left to right):—old man seated on a folding-stool, putting his hand to his head as a token of grief, chariot of Amphiaraios, the naked boy, and a female figure (presumably Eriphyle) extending both hands towards Amphiaraios, and standing on an ornament projecting from the handle. The other bands of the vase are occupied by (1) frieze of animals (including griffins and hippocamp) broken by two warriors, (2) race of seven two-horse chariots, which may well be referred to the funeral games of Pelias (*v. infr.*).

Pausanias says that Baton held a *lanx*: the vases give him a goad, which is more natural and has therefore been adopted. Pernice thinks that the seated Herakles described by Pausanias really belongs to the scene, comparing the figure 'Αλιμήδης on *M. d. I. x. 4* and the seated figure of Micali, *Storia* 95. But this is wrong, since Herakles' name must have been inscribed, and the flute-player was standing *ὀπισθεῖν αὐτοῦ*, which words Pausanias adds to show that he is departing from the strict order.

3. FUNERAL GAMES OF PELIAS.—These are combined with the previous scene on *M. d. I. x. 4*, from which vase the throned Herakles, the chariot-race, and the wrestlers were directly taken (Schneider, *Prolegomena*, p. 51 note, thinks the chariot-race as there represented impossible in relief, and would therefore restore from 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887 v., but this seems unnecessary), the rest of the figures being composed in the same style.

Athletic contests were early represented in Greek art (cp. the tripod vase of Tanagra, *A. Z.* 1881 iii.), and the chariot-race, from its simple 'paratactic' composition, soon acquired decorative importance. A fine 'Protocorinthian' lekythos in the museum at Taranto represents a race of 'παῖδες κεληρίζοντες,' with tripods as prizes.

The popularity of the Argonautic legend led to the specialization of such contests as the *ἄθλα ἐπὶ Πελοῖα*, a subject treated not only by Stesichoros at a date somewhat later than that of the chest, but also by 'Homer' (Simonides *Fr.* 53 Bgk.), i.e. in some early Epic composition.<sup>52</sup> The catalogue of the Argonauts was however not fixed in the popular mind (represented by the vase-painters &c.), still less their assignment to the several contests. In spite of the close correspondence between the chest of Kypselos and *M. d. I. x. 4*, the names of the competitors are in most cases different. Both however agree in making Euphamos the winner in the chariot-race (whereas Amphiaraios was the winner according to Stesichoros). This may perhaps serve to date both monuments some little time after the founding of Cyrene—Euphamos being the mythical ancestor of the Battiad kings and thus gaining a place in the list of Argonauts (Studniczka, *Kyrene* p. 107). The artist of the chest introduces Pisos because of the connexion with Olympia (Jessen, *op. cit.* p. 29). Argeios, who is a judge on the vase but a runner on the chest, is identified by Robert (*A. d. I.* 1874, p. 97) with Argos, the builder of the

<sup>52</sup> Cp. Gröger, *De Argonauticis fabulis* and Jessen, *Prolegomena in Catalogum Argonautarum historiae quæstiones selectas* (Vratislaviae 1889): (Berlin 1889).



Argo. Iphiklos (according to Jessen, *op. cit.* *Sententia* vi.) is the son of Thestius the Aetolian, not the Thessalian son of Phylakos.<sup>58</sup> Neotheus and Phalareus are possibly names added without special significance by the artist.

δπισθεν γυνή αὐτοῦ].—Benndorf (*ap.* Klein, *Kypselé der Kypseliden* p. 61. note) pointed out that we have here a mistake of Pausanias. The flute-player was male, but wore the long ungirt chiton in which flute-players are regularly represented, and this costume was misunderstood by Pausanias.

Φρυγίοις δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς αὐλοῖς].—The difference consists in the presence of the curved tip of horn inserted in one of the pipes (Baumeister, *Denkmäler* p. 560 and Abb. 594).

ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἐστῆκώς ἐπανλεῖ].—This is the *only* figure on the chest which—as it would seem—must be restored *en face*. The artist of the François vase has once attempted such a figure (Dionysos). For flute-playing at a boxing-match cp. Micali, *Mon. Ined.* xxxii. 1, 2 (oenochos of 'bucchero' with figures in relief), and the bronze λέβης from Capua (*M. d. I.* v. 25).

θυγατέρες εἰσιν αἱ Πελίον].—Like the tripods, they formed prizes for the successful competitors. Cp. Nik. Dam. *Fr.* 55 (= Müller *F. H. G.* iii. 389) τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ἡγάγοντο ὡς ἀν καθαρὰς φόνου οἱ ἄριστοι.

4. HERAKLES AND THE HYDRA.—There are two types of this scene in early art (1) the Peloponnesian type, represented by the Corinthian vases *A.Z.* 1859 Pl. 125 and *M. d. I.* iii. 46, 2 = Rossbach, *Griechische Antiken des arch. Museums in Breslau* (*Festgruss zur Görlitzer Philologenversammlung* 1889), and by the 'Corintho-Attic' vases Nos. 22 and 60 in Holwerda's list.<sup>59</sup> Both Herakles and Iolaos are actively engaged in combating the Hydra. (2) The Eastern type, of which the best known examples are the amphora *A.V.* 95, 6—which Klein classed as Chalcidian, but whose provenience has been disputed by Studniczka and others—and the poros pediment of the Acropolis 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1884 vii. Whatever be the origin of the vase—Hauser's combinations in *Jahrbuch* viii. 1893 p. 100 give reason to believe that it was painted in Attica under Chalcidian influence—the type is undoubtedly 'Eastern.' Iolaos is present, but stands in the chariot and turns to witness the combat. It is possible but not certain that the type is borrowed on another 'Peloponnesian' work—viz. the bronze-relief from the Ptoon, *Bull. Cor. Hell.* xvi. 1892, Pl. X.

Brunn (*Rhein. Mus.* v. 1847, p. 336) first pointed out that the chariot of Iolaos was wrongly reckoned by Pausanias to the games of Pelias.

The curiously inverted order of words is no doubt due to Pausanias' desire to mention the figures—τὴν ὕδραν... Ἡρακλεῖ..... Ἀθηνᾷ—in the order in which he saw them.

The σχῆμα of Herakles to which Pausanias alludes must not be interpreted to include the lion's skin, which, as Furtwängler remarks, is not found

<sup>58</sup> Schol. Ap. Rh. l. 45 expressly says, ὅτι οὐδ' Ἰφίκλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις.  
<sup>59</sup> *Jahrbuch*, v. (1890), p. 252.

on any monument earlier than cent. vi. (in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Sp. 2145)—and on no early Peloponnesian monument. It came from Cyprus, and appears on early Ionic and Etruscan monuments—e.g. the amphora, *Micali Storia* 95 referred to above. It is quite in keeping with this geographical distribution of the type that Peisandros of Kamiros is said to have been the first to introduce it in the epic (Strabo xv. 688) and also to have given the *hydra* many heads instead of one (Paus. ii. 37, 4 = Fr. 2 Kinkel).

5. PHINEUS, BOREADS AND HARPIES.—Directly restored from the Würzburg cylix, *M. d. I.* x. 8—omitting superfluous figures. Cp. von Duhn, *Bemerkungen zur Würzburger Phineusschale (Festschrift zur Karlsruher Philologenversammlung 1882)*. The myth formed a part of the Argonautic legend, and thus appropriately finds a place near the funeral games of Pelias. Phineus was originally an amphibious being with prophetic powers whose home was on the Thracian Bosphorus, and who might be induced to show sea-farers the way to the Black Sea. He is to be classed with the various *ἄλιος γέροντες* who performed like functions—e.g. Triton for Jason (Hdt. iv. 179), Proteus for Menelaos (3 351—490). The Byzantines held that the *ἄλιος γέρων* par excellence had shown the Argonauts the way (Dionys. Byz. *de Navigatione Bospori* p. 20 Wescher, cp. von Duhn, *de Menelai itinere Egyptio* p. 34, Furtwängler, *Goldfund von Vötersfelde* p. 29, Escher, *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles* p. 58), but the common account was that Phineus—originally smitten with blindness for showing Phrixos the way—directed the Argonauts in return for the service performed by the Boreads (Schol. Ap. Rh. ii. 181 and Schol.  $\mu$  69 from Asklepiades). Though the Ionic type of the fish-tailed *ἄλιος γέρων*<sup>66</sup> penetrated the Peloponnesian work-shops (Olympia, *Bronzen* 699 with Furtwängler's note), the subject before us can only be illustrated from the certainly Ionic Würzburg cylix. The two pairs of wings—a feature said to be characteristic of Ionic art, and of the Etruscan art which follows it—have been retained.

## SECOND BAND.

This band cannot be said to have any predominant movement. It was composed of detached scenes no doubt enclosed by bands of ornamental framework, probably grouped in some measure about a centre. If we follow Welcker, Brunn, Robert and Furtwängler in combining the marriage of Medea and Jason with Apollo and the Muses in one central scene, the three smaller scenes which follow on each side seem fairly symmetrical. It would then seem necessary to break down the partitions between the three first (so-called 'mystical') scenes, and form a long scene corresponding to the pursuit of Perseus (so Furtwängler). Without denying that these conjectures have a

<sup>66</sup> 'Chalcedian' bronze handles from Italy (e.g. *Notizie degli scavi* 1886 I.); frieze of Aegina, coins of Cyzicus, gold-fish of Vötersfelde, vase of Dümmler's 'Pontic' fabric, porous pedi-

ments of the Acropolis (in one case corresponding to the *hydra* scene), ivory relief, *M. d. I.* vi. 46. See Brückner, op. Escher, op. cit. p. 114.



measure of probability I have thought it better to be rigidly conservative in adhering to the text of Pausanias. Where he uses the particle δέ, I place a vertical band of 'guilloche,' adapted from the 'Argive' bronze-reliefs.

I. NIGHT, DEATH AND SLEEP.—Hes. *Theog.* 211—2 (original), 756—7 (interpolated), *v. supr.* Klein would restore Night in profile to right (to give the direction of the band) with the children standing on her arm (cp. Apollo and winged figure on coins of Caulonia, Gardner, *Types* I, 1), but this is impossible. Löschcke, *A.Z.* 1876, p. 113 note, indicated the type in the figure of Leto with her children (*A.V.* 55, Mus. Greg. ii. 39, with Hermes and Dionysos; cp. Micali *Storia* 85, with Dionysos and Satyr). In the absence of monumental tradition, Night has been restored with wings—a feature in keeping with the spirit of archaic art, and supported by the later conception (*Ar. Av.* 695 Νύξ μελανόπτερος).

μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα].—Abstraction being made of colour in the reproduction, no attempt has been made to indicate this. It seems very probable that the figure was inlaid in ebony, a material used by the 'Daidalidae'—*e.g.* Endoios' statue of the Ephesian Artemis, Plin. *N.H.* xvi. 214, according to most authorities (incompletely given by Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* 353), and Dipoinos and Skyllis' statues of Anaxis, Mnasinous, Hilaieira and Phoibe (*O.* S. 324).

καθεύδοντι ἐοικώς].—There is no need to insert τῷ with Schubart, cp. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 522 (the converse conception).

διστραμμένον τὸν πόδα].—The word does not necessarily imply malformation, but may mean simply 'turned outward.'

2. DIKE AND ADIKIA.—Hes. *Theog.* 902'f. (interpolated, *v. supr.*) makes Δίκη the sister of Νύξ. Cp. Roscher, *Philologus* xlvii. 1889, p. 709. She is armed with a ῥόπτρον by Eur. *Hipp.* 1171 τῷ τρόπῳ Δίκης | ἔπαισεν αὐτὸν ῥόπτρον; A scene corresponding closely to the present<sup>61</sup> occurs on the b. and r.f. amphora in the style of Nikosthenes in Vienna, *Oesterreichisches Museum* 319 = Fig. 22 in Masner's catalogue. But the most valuable monument for the restoration of the type is the 'Argive' bronze-relief of Olympia (No 699), probably representing Herakles in combat with Γῆρας (see Furtwängler's description and references). The features of the supposed 'Γῆρας' have been reproduced in our representation: I have no doubt that the type was taken over to serve as the expression for the new conception, female figures being substituted for males.

3. THE MOIRAI.—Restored with the aid of the lost vase figured by Heydemann, *Illupersis* p. 24, from a drawing left by Gerhard to the Berlin Museum: I found a drawing of the same vase in the Institute at Rome (Portfolio presented by Braun v. B 38). It is an Attic amphora (of the class '2 B Gruppe 1' in Furtwängler's Berlin Vase-Catalogue). Plate 40 must clearly be the reverse of the same vase, and represents Hermes κριοφόρος followed by a woman in a mantle. This is noteworthy, as it may point to

<sup>61</sup> Δίκη wields an axe, otherwise the agreement is exact.

Boeotia (Paus. ix. 22, the well-known cult at Tanagra). On the vase only *one* mortar is represented—the meaning of the scene having been lost. This is really a reversion to the original *Egyptian* type (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs* (ed. 1878) ii. p. 204), which has no mythological meaning. The double pestle, as I am kindly informed by Mr. Henry Balfour, has a very wide ethnographical distribution—Africa (Masailand and the Niger district)—North America—the Malay Archipelago (Sumatra) &c. See an illustration in Lander, *Along with the Hairy Aina*, p. 215.

The subject has been determined by Roscher, who refuted an attempt made by Kern (*Jahrbuch* iii. 1888, pp. 234 ff.) to interpret the figures as Adrasteia and Eide with the aid of passages from the Orphic theogony. It is true that Orphic poems existed in the sixth century (so Kern, *De theogoniis*, 1888, Susemihl, *Dissertatio de theogoniis Orphicis forma antiquissima* Greifswald 1890, Gruppe, *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, Supplementband* xvii. 1890, who in his second excursus also refutes Kern's theory as to the scene represented on the chest), but not likely that they would influence the artist of the chest; and the picture drawn by Kern of Adrasteia and Eide beating tambourines with bronze pestles (from Hermias ap. Plat. *Phaedr.* 148, cp. *Apollod.* i. 1. 7) is ludicrous. The figures undoubtedly represent the Fates preparing good and ill—ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε Hes. *Theog.* 219 = 905 (an interpolated passage). Cp. δ. 230 φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ. The duality is noteworthy. It is proved for Delphi by Paus. x. 24, 4 (ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο) and Plut. de EI apud Delphos 2 (v. Mommsen, *Delphika* p. 101); and while Nicander, quoted by Antoninus Liberalis 29, relates that the Μοῖραι delayed the birth of Herakles, Paus. ix. 11, 3 describes an *archaic* relief at Thebes representing the φαρμακίδες who were responsible for the delay according to the local story. This duality may be implied in the original version of the *Theogony* of Hesiod (v. *supra*).

#### 4. IDAS AND MARPESSA.—Cp. I 557 *sqq.*

κούρη Μαρπήσσης καλλισφύρου Εὐηνίης  
 Ἴδεώ θ', ὅς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν  
 τὼν τότε, καὶ ῥα ἄνακτος ἐναντίον εἴλετο τάξον  
 Φοῖβου Ἀπόλλωνος καλλισφύρου εἵνεκα νόμφης.

On the story and (later) monuments see Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, pp. 46—56; note that in some of its features the myth is a doublet of the story of Pelops and Hippodamia (Simonides ap. Schol. K 55, Bacchylides ap. Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* iv. 92).

τὰν Εὐανού].—The MSS. read τὰν ἐκ ναοῦ; but Fröhner (*Rhein. Mus.* xlvii. 1892, p. 291) restored Εὐανού from the passage of Homer quoted above.

5. ZEUS AND ALKMEKE.—Löscheke (*Dorpater Programm* 1879) explained the scenes of the well-known Spartan stele (Friedrichs-Wolters, *Bausteine* 55) as representing this and the following subject (Menelaos and Helen).



Milchhöfer had previously (*Ath. Mitt.* ii. 462) compared with the stele a group of Etruscan 'bucchero' reliefs, which Lischke regarded as representing 'the older general type from which both the mythical subjects of the Spartan stele were developed by differentiation.' In his later work (*Anfänge der Kunst*, pp. 186—194) Milchhöfer defends the impersonal explanation of the scenes; and this is perhaps equally probable.

The type depicted on the chest is less developed than those of the stele. Its origin may be traced by comparison with the Etruscan 'bucchero' reliefs published by Micali, *Storie* xx. On these reliefs figures are mechanically reproduced in all possible combinations. It is important for our purpose to note the following nos.

- (1) 4. Two seated figures, each holding one handle of a *cantharos*.
- (2) 13. One seated and one standing figure, each holding the same *crown* in both hands.
- (3) 21. Two figures seated at table; the *cantharos* suspended in mid-air to fill the space between them—for which compare the *situla* from the Certosa of Bologna (Zannoni Pl. 35).<sup>62</sup>

Just such a simple and symmetrical combination is the type before us; and we may find a close parallel from Peloponnesian bronze-work in the relief from the Ptoon (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* xvi. 1892, Pl. XI.) where two male figures, symmetrically placed, are connected by means of a crown.

6. MENELAOS AND HELEN.—The earliest occurrence of the type is on the Spartan stele: on Attic b.f. vases it is not uncommon (e.g. Gerhard, *Etrusk. und Camp. Vasenbilder* xxi.; A.V. 129). This is not the place to discuss the 'miniature Homeric question' raised by Robert and Klein as to the existence of a comprehensive *Iliupersis* in archaic times. The truth seems to be that the parts (of which two occur on the chest—the present scene and IV. 11) are prior to the whole. They represent a number of individual types formed in the Peloponnesian school.

7. MEDEA AND JASON.—(This may have formed one scene with the next subject, *v. supr.*) The subject may be regarded as one introduced by the artist with special reference to his native place, especially as it does not form part of the common stock of early types. In restoring the scene a parallel was sought in the introduction of Herakles into Olympus, as represented on the cylix from Rhodes (*J.H.S.* Pl. XLI.); the gesture of Jason is a constant one with Herakles in this scene. I have adhered strictly to the order of the figures as given by Pausanias. Overbeck's draughtsman declared himself unable to reconstruct the scene with that arrangement, and Overbeck was thus led to believe that Pausanias had mistaken Aphrodite for Medea, and *vice versa*. But the supposition is gratuitous, and involves the representation of a full-face seated figure, which is most improbable for the chest.

Medea and Jason ruled in Thessaly in the oldest form of the legend, but were brought to Corinth by the poet Eumelos (Wilisch, *Fragmente des*

<sup>62</sup> For a further development cf. Schneider, *Prolegomena*, p. 47 L.

*Epikeros Eumelos*, p. 9; cp. Gröger, *op. cit.* p. 31, who assumes Chalcidian influence in the transmission of the story).

8. APOLLO AND THE MUSES.—Hes. *Ἄσπις* *Ἡρακλέους* 200—202. The subject occurs on a Melian vase (Conze Pl. IV.; Apollo and two Muses in a chariot). It belongs therefore to the earliest stock of types, and has been reconstructed in the simplest manner by the threefold repetition of the 'Dreifrauengruppe.'

9. ATLAS AND HERAKLES. Hes. *Theog.* 517 ff.

*Ἄτλας οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης  
[πείρασιν ἐν γαίῃς πρόπαρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων  
ἰσθηὸς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτοισι χέρεσσι.]*

Cp. vv. 215, 6 (Hesperides children of Night), 746 ff. (interpolated—Atlas stands where Night, with her children Sleep and Death, and Day meet). Cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 742 ff.

The inscription

*Ἄτλας οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα μεθήσει*

is a conscious parody (Robert, *Hermes* xxiii. 440<sup>7</sup>).

The current form of the legend, according to which Atlas fetched the apples while Herakles upheld the heaven, was told by Pherekydes (*Fr.* 33 Müller), and is represented on a b.f. lekythos (Cent. V.) published in *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. III. and on the metope from Olympia (misinterpreted by Pausanias). But the type on the chest—secured against misunderstanding—does not correspond to any known version of the story, nor is it easy to reconstruct an account which will allow Atlas to support the heaven and hold the apples at once. It seems possible that the artist regarded Atlas himself as the guardian of the apples, and placed them in his hands as the simplest method of indicating this, using the types most ready to hand in combination. Thus the type of Atlas recurs as Sisyphos on the Cyrenaic cylix, *A. V.* 86, from which it is here restored with the necessary modification.

*οὐρανὸν τε ἀνέχει καὶ γῆν*.—Cp. Paus. v. 11, 2 (painting of Panainos). In both cases the expression is a loose reminiscence of *a* 52, 3

*ἔχει δὲ τε κίονας αὐτός  
μακρὰς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἄμφω ἔχουσιν.*

10. ARES AND APHRODITE.—The type = No. 4, the direction no doubt being reversed; see the discussion of that No.

11. PELEUS AND THETIS.—Two moments are represented in art (1) Pelus lying in wait for Thetis (*Jahrbuch* i. 1886, Pl. X., and probably the ivory situla from Chiusi, *M. d. I.* x. 39a, 1, 1a), a 'paratactic' composition, and (2) the wrestling schema—on which see Gräf, *Jahrbuch*, *loc. cit.* This Löschke considers, as a 'closed' type, to be Ionic in origin. Gräf and Löschke suppose the legend to have a local origin and to have been unknown



in literature: to which Schneider, (*Prolegomena*, p. 37 note 4) demurs, pointing out that it may be presupposed by Σ 432 ff. (Thetis is speaking of Zeus.)

ἐκ μὲν μ' ἁλλῶν ἁλιάων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν,  
Αἰακίδῃ Πηλῇ, καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνήν  
πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα.

The transformations of Thetis are indicated by the snake only (so *only* Graf 10 = *Campana* iv. 563).

12. THE GORGONS AND PERSEUS.—The type and its elements are among the commonest decorative subjects in early art. Hes. Ἄσπις Ἡρακλέους 216—237; the attitude of Perseus (πετόμενον in Paus.), which is constant on the early monuments, is indicated by l. 217

οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπιψαύων σάκεος ποσὶν, οὐθ' ἐκὰς αὐτοῦ.

The most important of the early monuments are:—

- (1) The cylix from Rhodes, *J.H.S.* Pl. XLIII.
- (2) The early Attic amphora, *Antike Denkmäler* i. 57 (from which the Gorgons are adapted in the restoration): Perseus is absent.
- (3) The early Attic λέβης from Aegina, *A. Z.* 1882, Pl. ix. (Perseus only: Harpies on the reverse).
- (4) The tripod vase from Tanagra, *A. Z.* 1881, Pl. iii. (the scene distributed over several square fields).

A comparison of these monuments will show how the type is composed of independent decorative figures. (Löscheke *A. Z.* 1881, p. 31, thinks that the bearded type of Perseus is Corinthian, the beardless type Chalcidian.)

αἱ ἀδελφαὶ Μεδούσης].—The words do not necessarily exclude Medusa herself.<sup>12a</sup> She has been introduced to complete the scene in accordance with the monuments.

### THIRD BAND.

We may put aside the mythological excursus of Pausanias, as well as the interpretations of the Olympian *cicconi*. The band was no doubt occupied by one of those processional scenes which were so well adapted to fill a long horizontal field. Actual scenes of battle—such as those on the cylix of Archikles and Glaukytes (*W. V.* 1889 ii.)—seem to be practically excluded by the nature of the explanations given: but there seems no reason why groups of warriors with levelled spears on the point of meeting should not have been represented; cp. the cylix with Στροῖδος καλός, *A. V.* 190, 191 (v. Klein, *Lieblingssamen*, p. 27). Combining these with, e.g., the processions of chariots on the Corinthian cylix, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1885 vii., and the departure-scene, *M. d. I.* 1855 xx.—compared with the Chalcidian departure scene, *A. V.* 190, 191—I have attempted to produce a composition such as

<sup>12a</sup> Cp. III. 18. 13 Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηροόνας βοῆς ἔλασεν, where Geryon was no doubt also present.

an archaic artist might have employed to decorate such a surface as that of the third band of the chest. Two points have been kept in view (1) *symmetry* about the centre (2) *gradual progress of the action* within the limits of the scene—both of which are characteristic of early art.

#### FOURTH BAND.

This band has the same general features as the second. Brunn and Furtwängler transpose the Judgment of Paris and Artemis in order to obtain a symmetrical response of the scenes, which then fall into two groups, (a) of 1-2 figures—almost square, (b) of 3-5 figures—oblong, and are arranged alternately about the central group of the Dioscuri, Helen and Aithra.

Thus we get

7. Dioscuri &c. (central group).

- |                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 6. Ajax and Hektor.       | 8. Koon and Agamemnon.       |
| 5. Melanion and Atalanta. | 9. Artemis.                  |
| 4. Achilles and Memnon.   | 10. Judgment of Paris.       |
| 3. Theseus and Ariadne.   | 11. Ajax and Cassandra.      |
| 2. Herakles and Geryon.   | 12. Eteokles and Polyneikes. |
| 1. Boreas and Oreithyia.  | 13. Dionysos.                |

I have not however adopted the transposition in the restoration, as my principle has been throughout to adhere as rigidly as possible to the terms of Pausanias' *description*, while admitting considerable latitude of interpretation. But there is a certain degree of probability in the conjecture: though no reason can be assigned for the transposition of the sections in the MS., and the mistake may be due to Pausanias himself when working up his notes from memory.

1. BOREAS AND OREITHYIA.—As Löschcke showed, the word *ἡρπακώς* clearly implies that Boreas is carrying Oreithyia in his arms. The type thus belongs to the group discussed by Furtwängler, *A. Z.* 1882, 348ff. and Löschcke, *Boreas und Oreithyia*, p. 9—who compares three scenes from the throne of Amyclae, Zeus and Poseidon carrying off Taygete and Alkyone, the rape of the Leukippidai, Theseus and Peirithoos *ἡρπακότες Ἑλένην*—and held by them to be of Ionic origin. Löschcke in his above-named dissertation shows that the myth represented is not the current Attic legend, but an Ionic version. Oreithyia is a Nereid in Σ 48 (in a list athetised by Zenodotos as *Ἡσιόδειον ἔχον χαρακτῆρα*), and her father Erechtheus (in the Attic myth) is really an Ionic form of Poseidon (von Duhn, *Bemerkungen zur Würzburger Phineasschale* 104ff.). The story is really a doublet of that of Peleus and Thetis. A variant of the type occurs on the acroterion of Delos (*A. Z.* 1882, p. 342) where the *horse* reminds us of the story of Boreas and the mares of Erichthonios (T 219E). For the snake-feet of Boreas we may compare 'Chalcidian' bronze Tritons in the form of decorative handles



(e.g. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1886 Pl. I.), and for a Triton carrying off a nymph see Furtwängler, *Goldfund*, p. 26, note 3 (Chalcidian bronze handle in the Louvre). (Robert *ap.* Hiller von Gärtringen, *De fabulis ad Thracas pertinentibus*, 1886 p. 8, explained the figure on the chest as Typhon, comparing *A. V.* 237, a vase which furnished hints for the restoration. But Boreas' name was certainly inscribed.)

2. HERAKLES AND GERYON.—Löschke carefully distinguishes two archaic types of Geryon (the latest discussion in *Boreas und Oreithyia* p. 5f., and by Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, Sp. 2203f.), of which the first—Geryon winged, one pair of legs—is represented by two Chalcidian amphorae, *A. V.* 105, 6 (from which the restoration is adapted) and *A. V.* 323, the other—Geryon wingless, three complete bodies—by the Corinthian and Attic monuments (of which the earliest is the pyxis *J. H. S.* v. p. 176). Löschke argues that the words *τρεις ἄνδρες ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι* imply the Peloponnesian type: but this is not absolutely conclusive: the three bodies are quite distinct, and Pausanias does not, for example, mention the wings of the Boreads on Band I. 5. The phrase *ὁ πρὸς Γηρυόνην ἀγών* wears the appearance of a summarized description—note that in describing the throne at Amyclae (iii. 18, 13) Pausanias uses the vague expression *Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηρυόνας βοῦς ἐλαύει*—and without some extension of the *ἀγών* it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement of the scenes to fill the left-hand side of the chest.

3. THESEUS AND ARIADNE.—Cp. Pallat, *de fabula Ariadnae*, Berlin 1891, p. 7 ff., who thinks that Pausanias may have mistaken the crown for the fillet (?) held by Ariadne on the vase of Archikles and Glaukytes (*A. V.* 235, 6). But it may simply indicate the musical skill of Theseus. Later writers identified the constellation of the lyre with the instrument of Theseus; so 'Anacreon' *ap.* Hyg. *Astr.* ii. 6 = Bergk *P. L. G.* iii.\* 280

Ἄρχου δ' Ἀλγείδω Θησέος ἐστὶ λύρη.

Milani, *Mus. Ital. di antichità classica* iii. 274, refers the inner subject of the cylix of Kachrylion *W. V. D.* vii. to this scene.

4. ACHILLES AND MEMNON.—The first of three duel-scenes on this band derived from the Trojan story. This scene belongs to the early stock of art-types, as is seen from its occurrence on the Melian vase, Conze Pl. III.

5. MELANION AND ATALANTA.—A simple composition, the figure of Atalanta being adapted from one of the early types of Artemis, represented by the Melian vase, Conze Pl. IV. (compare the fragment from Thera, *A. Z.* 1854, Pl. 61). Atalanta is in fact in origin an Arcadian form of Artemis.

6. AJAX AND HECTOR.—This scene may possibly have been represented on the Olympian bronze-relief No. 700a (fragmentary inscr., cp. Furtwängler's note). Eor Ἐρις, who was certainly represented with a Gorgon's

head, see Gerhard, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Plate XL = *A. d. I.* 1839 tav. P (Chalcidian skyphos).

7. THE DIOSCURI, HELEN AND AITHRA. Cp. Dio Chrysostom xi. p. 325R. ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἑωρακὸς εἶην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ τοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἐκείνης ἐν τῇ ξυλλογῇ κεινοτῇ τῇ ἀνατεθείσῃ ὑπὸ Κυψέλου τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἔχοντας τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Αἰθρας καὶ τῆς κόμης ἔλκουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ γράμμα ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἀρχαίοις γράμμασιν.

For this scene only we have the independent description of an eyewitness (Robert attributes this also to Polemon in *Hermes* xxiii. 438!). Unfortunately neither account gives us a clear idea of the scene. Robert's suggestion that ἔχοντας τὴν Ἑλένην implies that the Dioscuri were carrying Helen,<sup>42</sup> and that her feet hung down over Aithra's head while she dragged her by the hair, is ludicrous. The artist was composing freely, not drawing on the common stock of types, and it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory restoration. But Dio Chrysostom's words ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Αἰθρας must not be taken literally, and if we combine his phrase τῆς κόμης ἔλκουσαν with the words of Pausanias ἐς ἑδάφος καταβεβλημένη we may arrive at a result such as that shown in the restoration. As Pausanias does not mention the horses of the Dioscuri they have not been represented: and this seems to have been commonly the case in the Peloponnese; cp. the relief from Sparta (*Ath. Mitth.* viii. 1883, Pl. XVIII., cp. *Ath. Mitth.* ii. 1877 p. 316, No. 17). No attempt has been made to reproduce the black garments of Aithra (v. *supr.* Band II 1).

There has been much discussion of late years as to the version of the story represented on the chest: Robert *Hermes* xxiii. 1888, 436 (and *Aus Kydathen*, p. 101, note 2), Maass *Parerga Attica* (*Index Lectorum Graecarum*, 1889—90) and Gött, *Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1890, p. 556, Töpffer *Aus der Anathia* 1890, p. 36 ff., Kirchner *Attica et Peloponnesiaca* Greifswald 1890, p. 57 ff., Wagner *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca* 1891, p. 153 f., Prigge *de Theset rebus gestis* Marburg, 1891, pp. 35—38, Preger *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* 1891, p. 135, cp. Wide *Lakonische Kulte* 1893, p. 321. The facts are as follows. Alkman is quoted by Paus. i. 41, 4, in the following terms:—*Ἀλκμᾶν ποιήσας ἔσμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκούρους, ὡς Ἀθήνας ἔλοιεν, καὶ τὴν Θησείως ἀγύγαιεν μητέρα αἰχμάλωτον, ὅμως Θησεία φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπεινᾶν.* The scholia on Γ 242 relate how on this occasion Ἀφιδνα πόλις Ἀττικῆς πορθεῖται: they continue οἱ δὲ Διοσκούροι Θησείως μὴ τυχόντες λαφυραγοῦσι τὰς Ἀθήνας. (So the Scholia Veneta: the Scholia Didymi have Ἀφιδνας.) The note professes to come partly from Polemon and the cyclic poets καὶ ἀπὸ μένους παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶν τῷ λυρικοῦ, Bergk (*P. L. G.* iii<sup>4</sup> 19) would read Ἀφιδνας in both places and emend the text of the inscription on the chest of Kypselos to Ἀφιδραθεν, thus correcting the faulty metre: he thinks moreover that the artist interpolated

<sup>42</sup> But cf. v. 17, 7, Πέλοπας ἔχοντα ἰπποδάμους, and the restoration.



the word *ἐλακτον* in the verse supplied him by the poet—a supposition in which he has naturally found no followers. The reason of the changes is of course that the current version of the story as told by Herodotus (ix. 73), Hellanicus (*Fr.* 74 *ap.* Schol. Γ 144) and subsequent writers is to the effect that Helen was recovered from Aphidna in Attica. Herodotus tells us that the Deceleans assisted the Tyndaridae and in return received privileges at Sparta which they retained down to his own time, and moreover that their land enjoyed immunity from devastation during the Spartan invasions in the Peloponnesian war.

A new element was introduced into the discussion by Robert, who called attention to the fact that Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a place of the name *Ἀφιδνα* in Laconia. Robert argued that an Attic local legend—which he would suppose, following Niese's most improbable conjecture,<sup>64</sup> to have originated during the Peloponnesian war—could not possibly have been represented on the chest of Kypselos. Accepting Bergk's emendation, he upheld that the scene was laid in the Laconian Aphidna. Maass replied that Theseus being an Attic king would not deposit his prize in Laconia, and vigorously defended the reading *Ἀθάναθεν*, contending that the form of the legend given by Alkman, in which Athens was sacked, was the genuine Peloponnesian version and therefore represented on the chest.

Topffer defended Bergk's position, and removed the improbability of the presence of an Attic legend on the chest by pointing to the fact that Eumelos, the Corinthian poet, told how Marathon colonized the Tetrapolis from Corinth, and to the relationship between the Philaidae in Attica and the Kypselids.

Wagner supported Maass, and showed that in Apollodorus (iii. 10, 7), where the same confusion occurs in the MSS, as in the case of Schol. Γ 242, the newly-discovered epitome proves the reading *Ἀθῆνας* right.

Meanwhile Kirchner—though himself disposed to think that *Ἀθάναθεν* referred to a version based on the worship of Theseus and Peirithoos at Κολωνός *Ἰππῖος*—showed that Theseus has left traces of his presence in the Peloponnese and particularly at Tegea as well as at Troezen and in Attica. Wide regards this as a confirmation of the theory that the *Laconian* Aphidna is the scene of the myth (but does not state an opinion as to the chest). Of the other writers Prigge follows Maass, and Preger Bergk. The latter course seems to me the most reasonable, though the corruption *Ἀθάναθεν* is no doubt a MS. corruption (as shown by the parallel cases) and not to be explained as a misreading of the inscription. Bergk's theory that the artist altered the poet's verse is quite untenable. It may be impossible to find a satisfactory explanation for the metrical phenomenon, but we must adhere rigidly to Pausanias' account of the facts as he observed them.

8. AGAMEMNON, IPHIDAMAS, KOON.—Λ 248—263. The combat over a fallen warrior is a common type here specialized with reference to the *Iliad*.

<sup>64</sup> *Herms*, xxiil. 84.

The description of Agamemnon's shield A 36-7, where the Gorgoneion is named as the device, while Φόβος occupies a subordinate position, is interpolated (v. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 1702). For the lion-headed figure of Phobos the nearest parallel is the Etruscan amphora, *Mus. Nap.* lix., for which Furtwängler compares a Cappadocian relief, Perrot, *Exploration de la Galatie* 48 M.<sup>95</sup> in proof of its Asiatic origin. It was a type eliminated by the struggle for existence in Greek art, like the Kép in No. 12.

9. JUDGMENT OF PARIS.—On the type see Jane Harrison, *J.H.S.* vii. 196 ff. and Schneider, *Prolegomena*, p. 21 note 2. Miss Harrison's type b (p. 203) has been reproduced in accordance with the earliest monuments—pinax at Florence (*J.H.S.* vii. p. 198), and amphora, also at Florence (*J.H.S.* Pl. LXX.).

10. ARTEMIS.—The type is of wide diffusion in early Greek art. It will be sufficient to name among the earliest monuments the gold pendants from Camirus (Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros* I.), the Boeotian 'geometrical' casket (*Jahrbuch* iii. 1888, p. 357), the 'Inselstein' (Milchhöfer, *Anfänge* 56a), and the terra-cotta relief from Mycenae (*A. Z.* 1886 A). The two last are wingless.

Knoll, *Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst*, Bamberg, 1890, pp. 58—85, maintains that Pausanias attached the name Artemis to this figure on account of the animals (as the πόρνια θηρῶν), but that in reality the figure was merely a 'decorative Flügelfrau' derived from the Semitic Ishtar.<sup>96</sup> The type is of course principally a decorative one, as is shown by its use e.g. on the handles of the François vase or the gold pendants of Camiros: but there can be no doubt whatever, from the expression used by Pausanias, that the name Artemis was inscribed. The type is commonly known as the 'Persian' Artemis, and compared with the Iranian goddess Anahita; but as Studniczka (*Kyrene*, p. 155 ff.) rightly maintains, this identification is wholly untenable. The Greeks borrowed the type of the *male* figure with animals symmetrically disposed (to the list of such figures must now be added the gold ornament from Aegina of late Mycenaean style, *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 201, and the bronze-relief of the Acropolis, *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 259, the first wingless, the second winged) and, changing the sex, transferred the type to their native goddess Artemis. Like Eos (Studniczka, p. 156) she afterwards lost her wings, as well as her heraldic attitude, though as a decorative figure the type remained in subordinate use, e.g. on the diadem of the Nemesis at Rhannus (Dümmler *ap.* Studniczka, p. 160<sup>100</sup>).

11. AJAX AND CASSANDRA.—There are two early examples of the type:

- (1) Bronze-relief from Olympia, No. 705, Furtwängler p. 104.
- (2) Interior of cylix from Rhodes, *J.H.S.* Pl. XL with the aid of which the scene has been restored. The figure of Athena, according to Furt-

<sup>95</sup> From Boghaz-Köi (Pteria).

<sup>96</sup> The nearest Oriental parallel is a wingless

figure on a hematite cylinder from Salamis (Perrot, *III* fig. 429, p. 638).



wangler, is conceived as living. It is hard to say in what school the type—not a very simple one—was created. How meaningless it could become in the hands of an unintelligent artist may be seen by comparing the h.f. amphora, *A.Z.* 1848, xiii.

12. ETEOKLES AND POLYNEIKES.—The scheme of the duel in which one warrior sinks on his knee is familiar in early art. Cp. the lower band on the Amphiaraios vase, *M. d. I.* x. 4, and the remains of the uppermost scene on the bronze-relief from the Acropolis, *Ath. Mitth.* xii. 1887, 123 note 3. The Ker, as has already been shown, corresponds precisely to the description of the *Kēpes* on the Hesiodic *Ἄσπις*, but to no ancient monument. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 1707, holds that it should be restored with the face of a Gorgon, and this is certainly the most obvious solution: but in that case it is difficult to give the figure its due place in the action—that of being ready to seize the falling warrior—and a comparison of the Harpies on the *λέβης* from Aegina (*A. Z.* 1882 ix.) suggests that that type may have been modified by our artist somewhat in the way represented. His invention did not, however, win its way to acceptance by other artists.

13. DIONYSOS.—Note that the train of Satyrs and Maenads is entirely absent; on the significance of which see above. There is no close parallel, but a comparison with the 'Dionysos at sea' of Exekias (*A. V.* 49) suggests itself. For the cave indicated by a rock cp. the cave of Pholos, *J.H.S.* pl. i.

## FIFTH BAND.

This was a continuous frieze, like Bands I. and III. (see above). The scene in which Hephaestus hands the armour to Thetis formed a central group. Apart from the mule-car<sup>67</sup> (of Aphrodite?) the movement was divergent on either side of the group.

I. THE NUPTIALS OF PELEUS AND THETIS.—For the subject see above, § 5. The most valuable hints for the reconstruction were obtained from *M. d. I.* vi. 33 (Herakles the guest of Eurytos etc.). A man and woman share the same *κλίνη* on the similar *vaso a colonnette* in the Louvre 629. The type of Cheiron (to whom has been assigned the branch with game suspended in accordance with the monuments) remained a standing one even in the fifth century. Cp. *J.H.S.* pl. ii. (white-ground oenochoe) and the great Amazon vase from Ruvo at Naples (on the neck). The indication of the lameness of Hephaestus is difficult to carry out. The restoration is of course only conjectural.

<sup>67</sup> This is the only serious argument for retaining Pausanias' interpretation, and as such is strongly pressed by Schneider. We should in

that case have to reverse the direction. But a scene consisting only of one mule-car seems out of place in the present frieze.

2. HERAKLES AND CENTAURS.—Freely composed, with the aid of such early monuments as :—

(1) The Protocorinthian lekythos in Berlin, *A. Z.* 1883 pl. x.

(2) The Corinthian skyphos in the Louvre, *J.H.S.* pl. i.

(3) The Cyrenaic *deinos*, *A. Z.* 1881 pl. xi. Cp. also the frieze of Assos.

When adapted to a circular field the scene forms a closed ring in which the figure of Herakles acts as a clasp (so Schneider, *Sachs. Berichte* 1891, p. 217); but the original type is no doubt that of a frieze with Herakles at one end, as here.

The ornament is adapted from the 'Argive' reliefs (the *guilloché* in its simple form), and from the bronze-work of the Acropolis published by Mr. Bather (*J.H.S.* xiii. 1892-3, Figg. 22, 24, 26). These were selected from motives of economy and simplicity, but it is likely that beside the simple *guilloché* used in the framing of the scenes on bands II. and IV. much more elaborate ornament was also employed on the original. Furtwängler's sketch (*Meisterwerke*, p. 731) will show how this may have been. The use of the Palmette and Lotos chain (*Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 125, 12a is a fine specimen) and the ornament figured in *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1892 xii. l. 2] (cp. *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 124, 12a) seems to me very probable.

HENRY STUART JONES.

[NOTE.—Since the above was written, Studniczka has contributed to the *Jahrbuch* (1894, pp. 51-54) an article dealing primarily with the figure of Herakles on Band I. 2 (v. 17, 9), whom he regards as introduced to see fair play at the *τέρμα* of the race-course, like Phoenix in *Ψ* 358ff. He also (p. 52, note 16) adopts Sittl's view as to the cylindrical form of the *κυψέλη*, pointing to the fact that the words *λάρναξ* and *κιβωτός* are used by Pausanias of the *cista mystica* preserved at Patrae, of which Imhoof and Gardner trace a representation in the cylindrical object appearing on coins ('Numismatic Commentary' Q 1-4). He would explain the alternating direction of the *περίοδος* by the supposition that the *κυψέλη* was placed so near to the wall that it was impossible to walk round it. S. further suggests that it may have originally formed the base of the golden colossus.]



## ANIMAL WORSHIP IN THE MYCENAEAN AGE.

## I.—THE CULT OF THE ASS.

ἦν ἄρα καὶ κἀνθῶσι τύχη χαλεπή τε καὶ ἐσθλή.

*Anthol. Pal.* II. xi. 383.

AMONG the many discoveries made by the Greek Archaeological Society at Mycenae in 1886 there is one which, for the student of primitive religion, possesses a quite exceptional interest—I refer to the strange fresco here reproduced (Fig. 1). It was recovered at the excavation of a chamber belonging to the oldest period. The fresco itself was found on a wall somewhat to the south of this chamber, but evidently connected with the

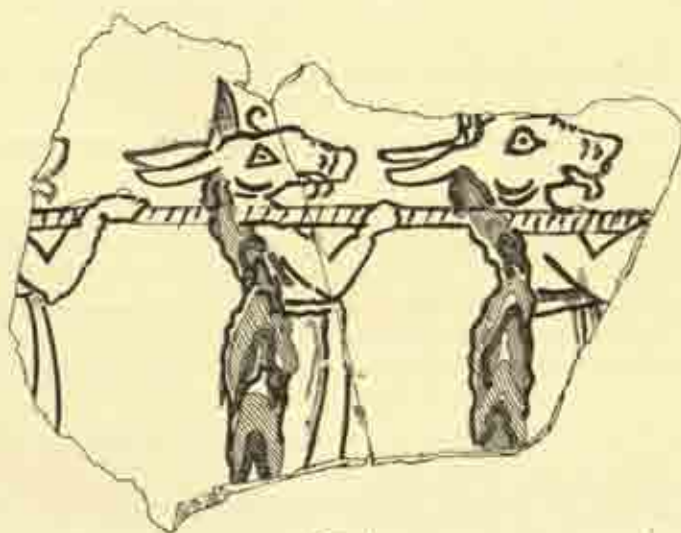


FIG. 1.

same group of buildings. M. Tsountas, the able director of the operations, describes<sup>1</sup> it as εὑρεθὲν κάτω πλησίον τοῦ οἴκου—οὐχὶ ἐν αὐτῷ—παρά τι ἀγγεῖον ἐκ μολύβδου ἔχον σχῆμα λουτήρος. It may be well to quote further his own account of the find. 'It represents,' he says, 'three figures

<sup>1</sup> *Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1887, pp. 160-161, Pl. X.

bearing on their shoulders a pole, which they grasp with their right hands—the left in each case not being shown. On the head of the central figure may still be seen an excrescence of some sort, which probably denoted a tassel of the creature's hair: the ears slope backwards, and from their roots depends the rest of the animal's long tresses, which are plaited; at least, this I take to be the meaning of the colours employed: they also wear a girdle about their loins. The bodies, including that of the central figure, are not preserved sufficiently to enable us to decide whether they are the bodies of beasts or of men. About the pole is wound a fillet; though its extremities, from which a pair of corresponding objects was probably hung, are now lost. The heads are not those of horses but of asses, as is evident from the long ears and the general outline of the mouth with its lips and nostrils.

As to the precise significance of these curious figures no very satisfactory conclusion has yet been reached. M. Tsountas himself, and indeed the majority of archaeologists, is content to refer to Dr. Milchhöfer's work *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* as containing a sufficient explanation of the scene. The chapter in question deals with the so-called 'Island stones'; and in it the author seeks to prove that a large proportion of the subordinate Greek divinities,—including the Harpies, Winds, Gorgons, Centaurs, Satyrs and Sileni, as well as Demeter, Erinys, Pegasus, Areion, Iris, the Minotaur and the Dioscuri—all group themselves around the central figure of the Horse, and are in fact differentiations of that same primitive cult. Whether this is so or not, I shall endeavour to determine later on. For the present it is enough to point out that Dr. Milchhöfer's essay deals only with the Horse,—he does not so much as mention the Ass;—and therefore he can hardly be said to have provided a satisfactory solution of the picture before us.

Since the discovery of this stucco-painting at Mycenae a very different explanation has been offered by Dr. Winter,<sup>2</sup> who regards such figures as 'mistaken copies of the sacred Hippopotamus, the Egyptian goddess Thueris.'<sup>3</sup> With this interpretation Dr. Walter Leaf<sup>4</sup> was formerly disposed to agree. But I would urge against it two objections. In the first place it is hard to see why her figure should have been thus repeated three times in a single scene. And in the second place we have direct evidence that Mycenaean art was much better acquainted with the shape of the hippopotamus than this theory would lead us to suppose. For among the terra-cotta vases found at Hissarlik in the debris of the second city (the Homeric Troy) were several in the form of animals, one of them giving a very fair idea of the hippopotamus.<sup>5</sup> In short, though a single figure within the

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrbuch des K. d. Instituts*, 1899, p. 108 (Arch. Anzeiger).

<sup>3</sup> 'The hippopotamus Ta-ur stood for a Typhonic or evil divinity, and was more an object to be prayed against than prayed to. Its temple was at Papremis. Naville calls it the emblem of impudence. Set took the body

of a red hippopotamus.' J. Bonwick, *Egyptian Belief*, p. 227 *ff.*

<sup>4</sup> *Schliemann's Excavations*, Eng. ed. 1891, p. 292, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 72. Cf. Keller, *Thiere des klassischen Alterthums*, p. 205.



small compass of a lenticular gem might conceivably be accepted as a distortion of Thueris, a comparison of the three lively figures on our fresco either with the above-mentioned Mycenaean portrait of the hippopotamus, or with the Egyptian statues of Thueris herself,<sup>6</sup> will make any such explanation appear arbitrary and improbable.

Admitting then that these figures are neither horses nor river-horses, but simply asinine,<sup>7</sup> we have to account for their peculiar appearance, and to offer some solution as to their significance. It will, I think, be well to remember two facts with regard to their provenance. They were discovered, as I have said, on the citadel of Mycenae; and connected with the spot where they were unearthed was a court-yard, which contained remains of an old sacrificial pit similar to the one disclosed at Tiryns by Dr. Dörpfeld. There is therefore a certain amount of *à priori* probability for attributing to them some religious meaning.

Bearing this in mind, let us turn for a moment to another citadel of the Mycenaean civilization, the Akropolis at Athens. Here, in the days when 'the strong house of Erechtheus' was still standing, there was performed a ceremony which, thanks to scattered notices in the extant classics, can be partially reconstructed. It would appear that even in the time of Aristophanes girls between five and ten years of age were accustomed on certain occasions to celebrate a propitiatory rite in honour of Artemis Brauronia. This was done within the precinct of the Akropolis. Clad in saffron robes, which they afterwards presented to the goddess, they mimicked the action of bears (*ἀρκτεόεσθαι*): indeed they were themselves called *ἄρκροι* and their festival *τὰ ἀρκρεία*. Further, it is possible that the saffron robes were the substitution of a more polished age for the rude bear-skins donned by less civilized worshippers.<sup>8</sup>

Applying this analogy to the case before us, we may maintain that there is no antecedent improbability against the prevalence of a similar ceremony at Mycenae. And if it could be shown that the ass was an animal

<sup>6</sup> See the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1888, Pl. I. No. 6; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 276; Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, Eng. ed. vol. I. p. 63, Fig. 42. An Egyptian picture of the 'Nilferd' may be seen in Keller, *op. cit.* p. 296, Fig. 41. Even the Bushmen of S. Africa show greater skill in drawing this animal than Winter would allow the early Greeks; cp. a cave-painting in A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 295, Fig. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. A. J. Evans writes to me that he is collecting fresh evidence against Winter's theory. M. Cavradias, *Feuilles de Lycosaure*, Livr. I. p. 12, n. 2, agrees with M. Tsountas in his interpretation: 'Les figures monstrueuses, peintes sur un fragment de stuc trouvé dans le palais de Mycènes, sont, à mon avis, des figures humaines à tête d'âne, vêtues d'une tunique taléine.'

Similarly Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. vi. p. 885, 'Ceux-ci ont, sur un buste et avec des bras d'homme, des têtes d'âne.'

<sup>8</sup> So A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, p. 213, n. 1: 'The bear-skin seems later to have been exchanged for a saffron raiment.' This derives dubious support from a fragment of the figured peplos belonging to Demophon's group of Demeter, Despina, Artemis, and Anaktos; a female with the head of a bear dances in company with other animal forms. A parallel case would be Catlin's picture of the Indian bear-dance (pub. by Currier and Ives, New York), which shows a ring of warriors crouching like bears, some of them wearing bear-skin masks that conceal the whole head, and one a complete skin covering back, arms, and legs.

likely to be worshipped by the early dwellers on the citadel, the details of our fresco would receive a clear and simple solution. For I would suggest that we have here a representation of three worshippers, dressed in asses' heads and skins, engaged in some religious function. The colouring of the skins which they wear on their backs shows them to have been some such conventional substitute as the *κροκωτός* at Athens.<sup>9</sup> The girdle round the waist was used to attach the skins to their bare bodies; and the human head was probably covered by an artificial mask—this is indicated both by the flesh-tint of the face and by the two semi-circular marks under the jaw.<sup>10</sup> Lastly, just as the *ἄραιοι* were said<sup>11</sup> *μυστήριον ἄγειν*, so here we may find an explanation of that curious old proverb *ὄνος ἄγει μυστήρια*.

This interpretation of the painting is to some extent strengthened by a consideration of certain Island stones. There are at least three gems on which, if I have read them aright, we have scenes from the same ritual. Two out of these three were found in Crete; and though the exact source of the third is unknown, the Cretan goat upon it suggests the same island.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 3.

The first (Fig. 2) is a lenticular carnelian, now in the Berlin Museum.<sup>12</sup> It affords in some respects the closest parallel to the Mycenaean fresco. A figure clothed in the head and skin of an ass bears on his shoulder a pole—presumably the *ἀσίστα* or *ἀνάφορον* of Aristophanes, *Progs* 8<sup>13</sup>—which he steadies with his right hand, the left not being shown. From the ends of this pole hang two slaughtered quadrupeds, 'due lioni o pantere uccisi,' according to Helbig. The pose of the arm, and the skin coat gathered in at the waist, recall the details of the larger drawing and raise a presumption that here too we have a similar scene portrayed. The second gem (Fig. 3), a lenticular chalcedony,<sup>14</sup> repeats the motive. This time, however, as the victim is not so heavy, it is simply slung across the left shoulder. The girdle is

<sup>9</sup> Cp. Pollux, 2. 56: *ἴονι Μ' ἐν καὶ κίχαιον ἐσθῆτοι χρώμα, τὸ ἐν ἀράγων καλούμενον. ἄλλος γὰρ τὸν ὄνον αἱ Δαμῶν καὶ κίχαιον τὸν ἀσπιδίου λέγουσιν.*

<sup>10</sup> Cp. Figs. p. 106 and p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> Schol. on Aristophanes *Eps*. 645.

<sup>12</sup> Milchhofer, *op. cit.* p. 55, Fig. 44b; Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 147, Fig. 71; Maxime Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Gr.* p. 67, Fig. 35; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 845, Fig. 428, 3; Brunn,

*Gr. Kunstgeschichte*, p. 41; Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, p. 683, Fig. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Similar exx. of the *ἀσίστα* in Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and Cyprus*, vol. I. p. 318; Roscher, *Lex.* col. 1167; Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 684, Fig. 259; and two engravings in the *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, 1891, pp. 365, 367. Cp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, new ed. s.v. *Asilla*.

<sup>14</sup> Milchhofer, *op. cit.* p. 55, Fig. 44c; Lajard, *Recherches sur Mithra*, Atlas, 13, 43, No. 10.



better shown, and the tassels down the back as well as the crest between the ears again remind us of the fresco. The third gem (Fig. 4), a glandular lacematite, also in the Berlin Museum,<sup>13</sup> represents the same figure once more with girdle and decorated skin, but in a different attitude. He is here in the act of presenting a sacred vessel; and this in all probability was another part of the same ritual, for it will be remembered that in M. Tsountas' account close to the fresco was found a strange *ἀγγεῖον ἐκ μολύβδου ἔχον σχῆμα λουτήρος*.

Thus far, then, assuming that the ass was the object of a special cult at Mycenae, we have found an explanation for the figures on the fresco that may at least be called consistent with the representations on the Island stones. But—it will be asked—are we justified in our assumption? Have we a right to assign any religious importance to the ass? Certainly with the Greeks as with other nations that animal was often cited merely as a symbol of stubbornness and stolidity. It is in this character only that Homer, for example, mentions it.<sup>14</sup> Hence too come such proverbs as *ὄντι τις ἔλεγε μῦθον οἱ ὄνον ὑέται*. And Horapollo, whose ignorance of hieroglyphics does not preclude his acquaintance with Hellenic custom, informs us<sup>15</sup> that the Egyptians 'portray with the head of an ass' the man who has never left his own land, as being one who has no turn for enquiry and knows nothing of foreign travel. Cornelius de Pauw, commenting on sundry interpretations of that passage, remarks:<sup>16</sup> 'Asininum caput pro capite humano sumtum loco symboli, ad denotandam hominis stupiditatem. Hoc aptum. Alia non sunt unius assis.' But *a priori* argument provokes *a priori* answer:—

"The gods?"

What and where are they? "What my sire supposed,  
And where you cloud conceals them! "Till they 'scape  
And scramble down to Leda, as a swan,  
Europa, as a bull! why not as—ass  
To somebody?"

*Aristophanes' Apology, p. 87.*

At any rate it will be worth while to ask whether ancient mythology attached any peculiar significance to the ass, and if so, how far such significance will explain the details and accessories of our problematic painting.

Now the fact that among Eastern nations the ass possesses a dignity which his Western congener has lost prepares us to learn that in the

<sup>13</sup> *Mittheilungen, op. cit.* p. 68, Fig. 46a; Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 147, Fig. 72; see also Helbig, *Dahl*, 1875, p. 41, and Orsbeck, *Ör. Kunsthistorie*, bk. iv, p. 682, Fig. 4. Is this the prototype of the St. Petersburg gem published by Miss Harrison in *Myths of the*

*Odyssey*, p. 70, Pl. XX, c†—A human figure with a swine's head, one of the comrades of Odysseus. He holds in his hand the fatal cup.

<sup>14</sup> *Iliad* xi. 558; *Od.* 8. 57; *ibid.* a. t. l.

<sup>15</sup> *Hieroglyphics*, l. § 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ed.* 1727, p. 40.

Rigvedas he is invested with supernatural powers,<sup>19</sup> appearing now as a demi-god, now as a semi-demon. He is on the one hand a victorious warrior,<sup>20</sup> terrifying men with his discordant voice,<sup>21</sup> and endowed with generative strength beyond his compeers.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand his demoniacal aspect is also prominent,<sup>23</sup> he dwells in the darkness of a cavern or the gloom of hell, 'and this cavern and hell sometimes assume the form of an ass's skin, or of an ass simply.'<sup>24</sup>

The conception of the celestial ass as a great warrior was naturally confined to those countries in which the terrestrial ass was employed in war. Aelian, for example, makes the following statement:<sup>25</sup>

Σαρακόροι δὲ οὔτε ἀχθοφόρους, οὔτε ἀλόνοντας ἔχουσι τοὺς ὄρους, ἀλλὰ πολεμιστὰς· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν γε τοὺς ἐνοπλίους κινδύνους ὑπομένουσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων. ὅστις δ' ἄρα παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνων ὀγκωδέστερος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῦτον τῷ Ἄρει πρυσάγουσιν ἱερόν.—

and Strabo says<sup>26</sup> of the Carmanians:

χρῶνται δ' ὄνοις οἱ πολλοί, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον σπάνει τῶν ἵππων ὄνον τε θύουσι τῷ Ἄρει, ὥνπερ καὶ σέβονται θεῶν μόνον, καὶ εἰσι πολεμισταί.—

adding that when Darius attacked the Scythians, his contingent of asses proved most effective in routing the enemy's cavalry—

πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταρύσσοντο.

The few traces of the warrior ass that occur in classical literature may be collected here. Eratosthenes<sup>27</sup> relates that in the Gigantomachia, when Zeus summoned all the gods to the rescue, Dionysus, Hephaestus, and the Satyrs, came riding upon asses, which, though frightened themselves, so alarmed the giants by their braying that the battle was won.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>19</sup> De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. I. p. 364.

<sup>20</sup> Rigveda I. xxxiv. 9, Trans. Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. I. p. 96, 'When will be the harnessing of the powerful ass, that you may come to the sacrifice?' i.e. the ass was the steed of the Asvins.

<sup>21</sup> Rigveda I. xxix. 5, Trans. Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. I. p. 74, 'Indra, destroy this ass, (our adversary), praising thee with such discordant speech; and do thou, Indra, of boundless wealth, enrich us with thousands of excellent cows and horses.'

<sup>22</sup> The *Āitareya Brahmanam* of the Rigveda. Trans. Martin Haug, vol. II. p. 273 = *Alt. Br.* IV. II. 9, 'The Asvins were the winners of the race with a carriage drawn by donkeys; they obtained (the prize). Thence (on account of the excessive efforts to arrive at the goal) the donkey lost its (original) velocity. . . . The Asvins, however, did not deprive the sperm of

the ass of its (primitive) vigour. This is the reason that the male ass (vāṭ) has two kinds of sperm (to produce mules from a mare, and asses from a female ass).'

<sup>23</sup> Bāmāyana II. 71, Trans. Griffith: Bharat in a dream sees his dead father carried off by a team of asses—a token that portends 'departure for the abode of Yama.'

<sup>24</sup> De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* p. 376.

<sup>25</sup> *de Nat. An.* xii. 34.

<sup>26</sup> XV. II. 14: *cp.* Arnobius IV. xxv.: 'Quis si (sc. Marti) canes ab Caribus, quis ab Scythiis asinos immolaret? non principaliter cum ceteris Apollodorus!'

<sup>27</sup> *Calist.* xi. p. 246, ed. West.

<sup>28</sup> According to Rochart, *Hieroglyphica*, vol. I. pp. 153-9, ed. Rosenmüller, the same story is told by an unpublished Scholiast on Aratus: he refers to the *Schol. Germ. Arat. Phaen.* p. 51, ed. Buhle.



Pausanias (X. xviii. 4) informs us that the Ambrakiots dedicated an ass of bronze in gratitude for a night-victory over the Molossians, in which the foe had been routed by a timely bray. Similarly in Aesop's fable of the Ass and the Lion as partners in the chase,

'auritulus  
Clamorem subito totis tollit viribus  
Novoque turbat bestias miraculo.'

PHAEDRUS I. xi. 6.

Lastly<sup>29</sup> Pliny mentions<sup>30</sup> the superstition that 'pellis asini iniecta impavidos infantes facit.'

As an intermediate link between Eastern and Western mythology we have the Phrygian legend of Midas. This somewhat complex tale represents Midas as the king and forefather of the Phrygian people. In his childhood ants conveyed grains of corn into his mouth,<sup>31</sup> indicating—says Cicero<sup>32</sup>—that one day he would become the richest of all men. During the progress of Dionysus from Thrace to Phrygia Silenus strayed into his rose-gardens, and bound with wreaths of flowers was brought before him. Midas received the delinquent kindly; and Dionysus in return granted his request that whatever he touched should become gold—a favour that the king was soon glad to have cancelled. It is further stated<sup>33</sup> that Midas belonged to a race of Satyrs. Being visited by one of his kinsmen, who with voice and flute ridiculed him on account of his Satyr's ears, Midas mixed wine in a well, induced his detractor to drink, and so caught him. This well was still shown at Ancyra in Pausanias' time,<sup>34</sup> though others maintained that the true spot was near Thymbrium.<sup>35</sup> Better known is the story which tells how Apollo, angered because Midas preferred Pan's piping to his own harping, changed the ears of the monarch into those of an ass. For a while Midas concealed them under his Phrygian cap. But at length the servant who cut his hair discovered them, and—being unable to keep silence—dug a hole in the ground, into which he whispered the fatal news. The hole was filled up; but roots springing from the spot betrayed the secret as they rustled in the wind.

These are the main incidents of the Midas myth. It must not of course be treated after the manner of the later mythographers as necessarily a consistent whole. But inasmuch as it regards the figure of the ass-king under several different aspects, it will form a convenient starting-point from

<sup>29</sup> Epictetus acc. Arrian (*Ep. Diss.* I. xviii. 29) bade a man walk in the way of the upright ἀρχὴ τῆς μεγάλῃς πεποιθὸς τοῦ σώματος, ὡς τὴν ἀθλητῆς. οὐ γὰρ διὰ δυνεὶ ἀήττητόν ἐστιν δεῖ. But this may be only a reference to the simile of *Iliad* xi. 558. Another doubtful ex. is Suidas, vol. ii. col. 1129, s.v. Ὀνος εἰς Κεφαλοῦς, where it is said—παρὰ Κεφαλοῦς ἐθέλει φοβερόν ἐστιν ὁ ζῷον, καὶ αὐτὰ τρυφεροὶ τοῖς

κα ποὺς πάντες ἔσας Κεφαλοῦ σωμαίου καὶ χαλῶν φοβερότερον ἐστὶν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις.

<sup>30</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 258 (ed. Billig).

<sup>31</sup> Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 45.

<sup>32</sup> *de divin.* i. 36.

<sup>33</sup> Philostrat. *Vita. Apoll.* ci. 27, 2 tells the tale.

<sup>34</sup> Paus. I. iv. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Xenoph. *Anab.* I. ii. 13.

which to consider the various interpretations of this symbolism current among the Greeks.

(1) In the first place, then, we note a certain connection—whether positive or negative—between the ass and *music*. The Satyr derides Midas *οὐ μόνον ᾄδων ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν*. And it is for his lack of musical taste that Apollo imposes the 'auriculas asini.' Elsewhere we learn that the ass was sacrificed to Apollo; Pindar speaking of the Hyperboreans says:—<sup>28</sup>

παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας,  
δῶματ' ἐσελθὼν,  
κλειτὰς δ' ὧν ἑκατόμβας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῷ  
ῥέζοντας· ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον  
εὐφαιμίαις τε μέλιστα· Ἀπόλλων  
χαίρει, γέλῳ θ' ὀρών ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδῶλον.

Clemens too remarks:<sup>29</sup> 'Let the Scythians continue to sacrifice their asses, as Apollodorus says and Callimachus in his line—

Φοῖβος Ὑπερβορέοισιν ὄνων ἐπιτέλλεται ἱρούς—

or again in another place—

τέρπουσιν λιπαραὶ Φοῖβον ὄνοσφαγαίαι.'

Antoninus Liberalis is more circumstantial. He tells<sup>30</sup> how a certain Babylonian, Kleinis by name, travelled to the temple of Apollo in the country of the Hyperboreans and—like Perseus before him—saw *ἱερουργομένας αὐτῷ τὰς θυσίας τῶν ὄνων*. Returning to Babylon he attempted a similar sacrifice himself; but Apollo forbade it, *τὴν γὰρ τῶν ὄνων θυσίαν ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις ἀγομένην αὐτῷ καθ' ἡδονὴν εἶναι*. Two of Kleinis' sons disobeyed the command and drove asses to the altar. The god in vengeance maddened the beasts, which devoured Kleinis and all his family. However, before they died, Apollo at the request of Leto and Artemis *μεταβαλὼν ἐποίησε πάντας δρυῖδας*.<sup>31</sup> Despite Apollo's predilection for the Hyperborean breed there was an annual sacrifice of asses at Delphi: this we gather from an important inscription<sup>32</sup> in which occurs the line—

τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰ ἱερῆα ἀθρόα συναγόντων, τοὺς δ' ὄνους, τὸν δοκιμα...

Emendations have been proposed; but Boeckh's comment is just: 'de asinis non est quod dubites; non Graeci Hyperboreos fecissent Apollini asinorum hecatomben offerentes, nisi in Graecia quoque asini mactati Apollini essent.' It may be plausibly conjectured that, just as in the Vedic hymn 'the god Indras... is requested by the poet to kill the ass who sings with horrible

<sup>28</sup> *Pyth.* x. 31 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Cohortatio ad Gentis*, vol. i. col. 101, ed. Migne.

<sup>30</sup> *Ed.* Koch, p. 28 ff.

<sup>31</sup> This is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the expression *ὄνων θύειν* in Aristophanes, *Birds*, 721.

<sup>32</sup> Boeckh, *C.I.G.* vol. i. p. 807, line 14.



voice,<sup>41</sup> so in Hellenic legend the braying ass is devoted to Apollo in his office of *μουσαγέτης* and *λυροκτύπος*.<sup>42</sup> From some such sense of propriety arose the adage<sup>43</sup> *ὄνος λύρας (ἰκάνει or ἄπτεται)*, and the saying explained by Suidas<sup>44</sup>—*ὄνος πρὸς αὐλόν*. In the same vein Plutarch with reference to the Phrygian bone flute remarks<sup>45</sup> that the ass *παχύτατος καὶ ἁρμονιότατος ὢν τᾶλλα, λεπτότατον καὶ μουσικώτατον ὕστερον παρέχεται*. To which Niloxenos replies: *Ἀμέλει ταῦτα καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ναυκρατίταις ἐγκαλοῦσι Βουσιρίται· χρώμεθα γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ὄνοις εἰς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἀκούειν ἀθέμιτον, ὥς ὄνῳ φθεγγομένης ὅμοιον ὄνον δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων ἴστε δῆπον διὰ Τυφῶνα*<sup>46</sup> *προπηλακιζόμενον*. Aelian too informs us that the worshippers of Serapis detest the ass, and that Ochus the Persian, knowing their feelings on the subject, *ἀπέκτεινε μὲν τὸν Ἄπιον, ἐξεθέωσε δὲ τὸν ὄνον*,<sup>47</sup> *ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα λυπήσαι θέλων τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους*. 'However,' he adds, 'it is said that the ass was τῷ Τυφῶνι προσφιλέ.' These scraps of Egyptian lore<sup>48</sup> are cited by Aelian ἡ πρόρος of a Pythagorean maxim to the effect that the ass *μόνον τῶν ζώων μὴ γεγυμέναι κατὰ ἁρμονίαν*. ταύτη τοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον τὸν τῆς λύρας εἶναι κωφότατον. A striking illustration is supplied by a mosaic at Palermo<sup>49</sup> which represents Orpheus playing, and among the animals listening to him even an ass.

There is therefore a certain amount of evidence for supposing that the ass was traditionally deficient in musical skill. I am, however, inclined to suspect that this deficiency was not primitive, but an effect of later rationalism. Indeed the early mind would be far more likely to consider the ass a great vocalist than to reflect that the notes he produced were harsh and discordant. It is as a popular critic of music that Aesop, for example, makes him judge the contest between the nightingale and the cuckoo; and a genuine love for singing may be detected in his endeavour to imitate the

<sup>41</sup> De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 374.

<sup>42</sup> Roscher, *Lex.* col. 435, 40-1.

<sup>43</sup> *Paroemiogr. Graec.* ed. Lutsch and Schneidewin, vol. I. pp. 291-2. The proverb occurs in several forms: *ὄνος λύρας ἴκανε καὶ σάλπιγγος* *ἔρ:* *ὄνος λυρίζων:* *εἰ γὰρ κοινὸν φασὶ λύρας καὶ ὄνῳ:* *ὄνος ἄπτεται αὐλῶντος τῆς λύρας:* *εἰς.*

<sup>44</sup> Suidas, vol. II. col. 1129: *παροιμία ἐστὶ τῶν μὴ συγκατατιθεμένων, μηδὲ ἐκαινούντων διὰ τὸ παντελῶς ἀναίσθητον τοῦ ὄνου.*

<sup>45</sup> *Sop. Comic.* v. For this use of ass-bones, *cp.* Eustathius, *Opusc.* ed. Tafel, p. 58, 63, *ἀπὸ δὲ ὄνων ὄντων, ὄντα καὶ ἀπὸ τεβρίων αὐλοὶ ἐγίνοντο*, and Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 215, '*asinorum (ossa) ad tibias canora*': *Idem*, xvi. 172.

<sup>46</sup> *Cp.* Plut. *de Isid. et Osirid.* 50.

<sup>47</sup> *Cp.* Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 8. with *de Nat. Anim.* x. 28.

<sup>48</sup> On the ass in Egypt, *see* J. Bonwick, *Egyptian Belief*, p. 228. Prof. Robertson

Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 448-9, collects the evidence for supposing that the ass was a sacred animal among the Semites; he adds, 'An actual ass-sacrifice appears in Egypt in the worship of Typhon (Set or Sutech), who was the chief god of the Semites in Egypt, though Egyptologists doubt whether he was originally a Semitic god. The ass was a Typhonic animal, and in certain religious ceremonies the people of Coptus sacrificed asses by casting them down a precipice, while those of Lycopolis, in two of their annual feasts, stamped the figure of a bound ass on their sacrificial cakes. . . . It has been supposed that the Golden Set, worshipped by the Semite Hyksos in the Delta, was a Sun-god.' It was, by the way, an Egyptian grammarian—Apion by name—who first promulgated the tale that the Jews worshipped an ass's head of gold in the temple at Jerusalem.

<sup>49</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, vol. xxvii. 40.

grasshopper by dint of feeding on dew. Phaedrus and the later fabulists adopt the less naïve view :—

'Asinus iacentem vidit in prato lyram.  
Accessit et temptavit chordas ungula;  
Sonuere tactae. Bella res, sed mehercules  
Male cessit, inquit, artis quia sum nescius.  
Si repperisset aliquis hanc prudentior,  
Divinis aures oblectasset cantibus.'

PHAEDR. *App.* xii.

But to find the ass as a veritable musician we must go back to the East. In the fifth book of the *Panchatantra*<sup>20</sup> the ass Ouddhata plays truant along with a jackal. Turning a deaf ear to the arguments and entreaties of the latter he insists upon singing, having first proved his minute and accurate knowledge of musical laws :

'Après que cela fut fait, l'âne tendit son cou et se mit à crier. Puis le garde des champs, quand il entendit le cri de l'âne, grinça les dents de colère, prit un bâton et accourut. Lorsqu'il aperçut l'âne, il lui donna tant de coups de bâton, que Ouddhata, accablé de coups, tomba à terre.'

Again, this animal has been identified<sup>21</sup> with the Vedic 'gandharvās,' who amongst other offices taught music and dancing to the gods.<sup>22</sup> Now Prof. Kuhn holds that these 'gandharvās' are, both in name and nature, the Oriental counterpart of the Hellenic κένταυροι.<sup>23</sup> Possibly therefore the Centaurs, who in Greek legend and Greek art are constantly represented as teaching or playing instruments of music, were originally asses. On migrating westwards to a land where the Eastern ass was largely replaced by the horse, their mythical rôle was to some extent transferred to the latter animal. However popular tradition kept as a collateral type the older asinine beings, calling them ὄνοκένταυροι to distinguish them from the usurping ἐπιοκένταυροι. They are described by Hesychius<sup>24</sup> as—τριχῶντες, δαιμόνων τε γένος, καθύλον καὶ σκοτεινὸν τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ—and more in detail by Krates.<sup>25</sup>

(2) A second<sup>26</sup> trait in the Midas legend connects the ass-king with corn and wine. When a child, ants convey grains of corn into his mouth.

<sup>20</sup> *Panchatantra* V. vii. Trans. E. Lancereau, p. 339 ff. A very similar tale occurs in the *Tutî-Namêh* (ed. Rosen, pt. 218), a collection of Oriental myths translated from the Turkish version. Benfey in his *Einführung* to the *Panchatantra* (§ 188, p. 463) regards this as the source of the proverb 'Asinus ad lyram.'

<sup>21</sup> De Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 385.

<sup>22</sup> Monsieur H. Fauche in vol. ii. p. II. of his Trans. of the *Ramayana* describes the Gandharvās as 'musiciens célestes, Demi-Dieux, qui habitent le ciel d'Indra et composent l'orchestre à tous les banquets des principales Divinités.'

<sup>23</sup> See E. H. Meyer, *Gandharven-Kentauren*, Berlin, 1883, and the authorities quoted by O. Gruppe, *Culte und Mythen*, 1887, p. 103, n. 2. Are the words κένταυρος, κενθήλιος of the same derivation?

<sup>24</sup> ed. Schmidt, vol. iii. p. 209.

<sup>25</sup> ed. Wachsmuth, p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> The link between the ass *qua* musician and the ass *qua* attendant on the corn-deities is furnished by the recent excavations at Lycosura. On the border of Demeter's peplus appears a female figure with an ass's head and hands, playing upon the *cithara*. The same



In later life he treats the flower-wreathed Silenus kindly and is rewarded by Dionysus. He captures the Satyr by mixing wine in a well. These are but slight indications of a wide-spread symbolism. For the ass is regularly associated with the worship of Demeter and Dionysus. Hesychius, in explaining the proverb *ὄνος ἄγει μυστήρια*, remarks<sup>57</sup> τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐξ ἄστεος (εἰς Ἑ)λευσίνα κομίζουσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν διὰ τῶν ὄνων. τότε μάλιστα εἶχον τοὺς ὄνους ἀχθοφοροῦντας. And a terra-cotta from Athens, now in the British Museum,<sup>58</sup> shows the scene: an ass carries certain sacrificial objects, among which are apparently a fish and a ram's head. Dionysus often employs the ass as a means of transport. In Aristid. *Dion.* i. 49 we read: καὶ δύναται ἂν καὶ ὄνους πτεροῦν (ὁ Διόνυσος) αὐχ' ἵππους μόνον. It was an ass that once carried the deity in safety across a river<sup>59</sup>—a service for which it was endowed with human speech, and afterwards placed along with its companion among the stars,—

ὄνων τ' ἀνὰ μέσσον ἄμαυρή  
φάττη σημαίνουσα τὰ πρὸς πλεόν εὐδία πάντα.

THEOCRIT. xxii. 21.

It was on an ass too that Dionysus succeeded in bringing back Hephaestus to Olympus: καὶ μὲν καὶ τὴν Ἥραν λέγουσιν ὡς μόνος θεὸν τῷ νιῷ διήλλαξε κομίσας τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἄκοντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ταῦτά γε ἀναθεὶς ὄνῳ.<sup>60</sup> In the *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique* for 1863<sup>61</sup> is a vase-painting which shows Dionysus and Ariadne riding together on an ass. Inghirami<sup>62</sup> mentions several analogous vases; and Mionnet<sup>63, 64</sup> describes coins of Mende and Nakona, which represent the wine-god mounted on or attended by an ass. The example set by Dionysus was followed by his satellites. Athenaeus (v. 196 ff.) describes a Dionysiac procession in the time of Ptolemy II at which hundreds of Sileni and Satyrs were carried by asses. Indeed Silenus is commonly<sup>65</sup> represented as riding 'pando asello'; and in the collection at Marbury Hall (Cheshire) is a small marble group of a Satyr on an ass, from the Villa Mattei: nor can we forget the Xanthias of the *Frogs*. A Bacchant rides the same beast in Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler* ii. no. 576, Inghirami, *Vasi Pittul.* vol. iii. pl. CCLX, and elsewhere.<sup>66</sup> Similar scenes are sometimes portrayed on sepulchral

double reference distinguishes a carnelian in the Vidoni collection (Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. no. 515): in front of a rock on which is a small shrine of *Dioskuros* or *Priapus* sits a Silenus playing the *lyre*, while an ass accompanies the music with his brays.

<sup>57</sup> ed. Schmidt, vol. iii. p. 209. The schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 159, has almost the same words: cp. also Suidas, vol. ii. col. 1128.

<sup>58</sup> Terra-cotta Room: central case, No. 19.

<sup>59</sup> Lactant. *Divin. Inst.* i. xxi. ed. Le Brun, p. 28.

<sup>60</sup> Aristid. *Dion.* p. 49, ed. Dind.

<sup>61</sup> Atlas, Pl. V. No. 3. Three parallels are

cited, *Compte Rendu*, p. 229, n. 3.

<sup>62</sup> *Vasi Pittul.* vol. iii. Pl. CCLXII—CCLXVIII.

<sup>63</sup> Vol. i. pp. 477–478: suppl. vol. iii. p. 82, Pl. VII. 1–4.

<sup>64</sup> Vol. i. p. 261: suppl. vol. i. Pl. XI. 11.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, ii. No. 574, and the literary ref. collected in the *Compte-Rendu* for 1863, p. 239, n. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Further exx. in the *Compte-Rendu* for 1863, p. 238, n. 1. In the Brit. Mus. (T. & C. Room, central case C) there is a fragment of a moulded vase which has the same design.

reliefs. A sarcophagus in the Berlin Museum shows a crowd of Bacchants and Silenī drawn by a pair of asses, stumbling under the load. Otto Benndorf, who discusses this 'argumentum' in the *Arch. Zeit.* for 1864,<sup>67</sup> quotes two parallels: one from a sarcophagus in Paris, on which a number of Erotes are shown playing with Dionysiac animals—three of them being drawn in a car by a pair of asses: and a second from a sarcophagus-frieze in the Vatican, where several Bacchic revellers are similarly escorted. Of Lityerses, another harvest divinity, it is said on the authority of Sosithēos the tragedian:—<sup>68</sup>

Ἔσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς τρεῖς δρὸν καὶ θηλίον  
 τρεῖς τῆς βραχέας ἡμέρας· πίνει δ' ἕνα  
 καλὸν μετρητὴν τὸν δεκάμορον πίθον.

But if the ass be thus appropriated to the service of the corn-deities, it might be argued that we have here on Greek soil an instance of the corn-spirit being represented—as it was represented elsewhere<sup>69</sup>—by an ass. A clearer example of this is the Roman custom of leading in procession an ass decked with loaves of bread and flowers. Joannes Lydus (*de mens.* iv. 59) describes the scene:—

τῇ πρὸ πέντε Εἰδῶν Ἰουνίων ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἑστίας. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐώρταζον οἱ ἄρτοποιοί, διὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὸν ἄρτον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς Ἑστίας<sup>70</sup> κατασκευάζειν· οἳ δὲ ἐστεφανωμένοι ἡγοῦντο τῆς πομπῆς, διὰ τὸ τούτοις ἀλείσθαι τὸν σῖτον.

And Ovid<sup>71</sup> brings it into connection with Lampsacene ritual:—

Lampsacus hoc animal solita est mactare Priapo:  
 Aptasini flammis indicis exta damus.  
 Quem tu, diva (i.e. Vesta), memor de pane monilibus ornas,  
 Cessat opus, vacuae conticuere molae.

Lactantius<sup>72</sup> corroborates the poet: 'Apud Lampsacum Priapo litabilis victima est asellus; cuius sacrificii ratio in Fastis haec redditur.' After telling the Ovidian story he continues, 'Hac de causa Lampsacenos asellum Priapo, quasi in ultionem, mactare consuevisse; apud Romanos vero eundem Vestalibus sacris in honorem pudicitiae conservatae panibus coronari.'

<sup>67</sup> Vol. xxii. Pl. CLXXXV—CLXXXVI.

<sup>68</sup> Athen. 415 a.

<sup>69</sup> J. G. Fraser, *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii. p. 55: 'Other animal forms assumed by the corn-spirit are the stag, roe, sheep, bear, ass, &c.'

<sup>70</sup> In the *Arch. Zeit.* for 1863, vol. xxi. col. 84\*, Anselmer, a gem is mentioned representing 'einer weiblichen Figur mit verhüllten Haupte, Scepter und Patra, die auf einem Throne sitzt,

neben dem zwei Esel stehen.' Brunn conjectures that this is *Vesta*, R. Peter that it is the goddess *Epousa*. Q. Winows in the *Annali dell' Inst.* for 1883, pp. 160-164, quotes a considerable number of Pompeian pictures and one marble relief that bear out Brunn's supposition.

<sup>71</sup> *Fasti* vi. 345 seq. and 313, 'ecce coronatis panis dependet asellus.' Cp. Prop. V. l. 21, 'Vesta coronatis pauper gaudet asellus.'

<sup>72</sup> *Divin. Instit.* I. xxi. ed. Le Brun, p. 28.



The mention of Priapus and the context of the passages quoted warrant us in passing from this custom to the ass as a phallic animal. Cornutus<sup>72</sup> has a suggestion worth recording: τάχα δ' ἂν χαίροι τοιοῦτον θύματι ὁ Διόνυσος διὰ τὸ ὀχεντικὸν εἶναι τὸν τράγον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ ὄνος<sup>73</sup> ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ θαμίζει. I have already observed that this side of his nature was prominent in the Hindoo mythology; and traces of the same are not wanting in Greece and Italy. Lactantius in the chapter quoted above comments on a phallic contest between the ass and Priapus.<sup>74</sup> Plutarch in answer to the question<sup>75</sup> Τίς ἡ παρὰ Κυμαίοις ὄνοβάτης; describes a custom observed till within recent times in some parts of Europe; τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ληφθεῖσαν ἀγαγόντες εἰς ἰγγοράν... ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπ' ὄνον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ περιαχθείσαν... ὄνοβάτην προσαγορευομένην. Perhaps Suidas κ.τ. ὄνος εἰς Κυμαίους hints at the same practice when he says: <sup>76</sup> τὸ ἐπ' ὄνον φέρεσθαι τινα γυμνὸν τῶν ἀτιμιῶν ἢ μεγίστη Παρθναίης νερόμισται. Again, the priests of Cybele—the Galli—made their drums of asses' skins.<sup>77</sup> Palladius preserves a curious piece of superstition which bears on the point; seed sown may be kept from harm by putting up an ass's skull as a scare-crow.<sup>78</sup>

'Item equae calvaria sed non virginis intra hortum ponenda est, vel etiam asinae. Creduntur enim sua praesentia fecundare, quae spectant.'

This affords a clue to the meaning of the tale told by Diogenes<sup>79</sup> about Empedokles—

ἐτησίῳ ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὥς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμῆ-  
ρασθαι, κελεύσας ὄνον ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἄσκους ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τοὺς  
λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρίας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα· λήξαντος  
δὲ, Κωλυσανέμαν κληθῆναι—

and tallies with the evidence of Pausanias—<sup>81</sup>

τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ λεγόμενα ἐς τὸν ὄνον, ὡς ἐπιφαγὼν ἀμπέλου  
κλῆμα ἀφθονώτερον ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνε τὸν καρπὸν, καὶ ὄνος σφίσιν ἐν  
πέτρᾳ πεποιημένος διὰ τοῦτο ἐστίν ὅτι ἀμπέλων διδύξας τομήν, παρήμι οὐκ  
ἀξιόλογα ἡγούμενος.

The fertilizing powers of the ass may also be inferred from the love-charms described by Pliny (*N.H.* xxviii. 251 and 261). For the testimony of the vase-paintings see a black-figured lekythos<sup>82</sup> mentioned in the *Arch. Zeit.* vol. vi. p. 286 n. Bachofen<sup>83</sup> conjectures that no. 35 (p. 24) of the *Marmora Taurinensia* refers to the same trait. Visconti discusses<sup>84</sup> an inter-

<sup>72</sup> *De Nat. Deor.* ed. Orelli, p. 181.

<sup>73</sup> Cp. Micalli, *Monumenti Inediti*, tav. II, 5.

<sup>74</sup> So Hygin. *Prod. Ast.* II. 23.

<sup>75</sup> *Quaest. Graec.* 2.

<sup>76</sup> Vol. II. col. 1129.

<sup>77</sup> *Phaedrus* iv. 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Palladius* I. xxxv. 16.

<sup>79</sup> *Diog. Laert.* VIII. II. 86.

<sup>80</sup> *Paus.* II. xxxviii. 2.

<sup>81</sup> *K. K. Vasamammlung* in *Wien*, No. 176.

<sup>82</sup> *Gräberinschrift der Alten*, p. 375.

<sup>83</sup> *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iv. pp. 246-258, pl. XXXIV.

<sup>84</sup>

esting sarcophagus-relief, which shows Prometheus making the first woman, and adding to his handiwork the characteristics of the various animals; an ass and a bull are standing by, marked ASINVS and TAVRVS: the former may well relate to the erotic propensities of the ass. Finally, it is on this aspect of the asinine nature that the entire plot of Apuleius' novel 'The Golden Ass' is based. The hero, one Lucius, is owing to the magic ointment of his mistress transformed into an ass (Bk. iii.). After passing through sundry striking adventures, he at length regains his human shape by dint of eating rose-leaves (Bk. xi.). The whole tale is, except for the famous interlude of Cupid and Psyche, a mere expansion of Lucian's story Λούκιος ἢ Οἶος, where the hero bears the same name, undergoes the same metamorphosis, and meets with much the same adventures. Among his numerous escapes is one occasion on which he carries off a certain virgin from a band of robbers; they are recaptured, and the robbers propose to punish them by sewing up the virgin in the skin of the ass Lucius, her face alone being left visible.<sup>50</sup>

(3) Thirdly,<sup>51</sup> the Midas-myth displays some touches of Chthonic import. The Satyr was caught by wine *urged in a well*, which well was afterwards claimed by the people of different localities. The attendant, too, who discovered the secret, *dug a hole in the ground* and buried it there:

'secedit, humumque  
Effodit, et, domini quales aspexerit aures,  
Voce refert parva terraeque innumurat haustae;  
Indiciumque suae vocis tellure regesta  
Obruit, et scrobibus tacitus discedit opertis.'

OVID, *Mét.* xi. 185-9.

With regard to this underground affinity, it will be remembered that in the Hindoo poems the ass dwells in the darkness of a cavern or the gloom of hell. Greek mythology preserves the tradition. Aristophanes more than once mentions a certain gnome or goblin called Ἐμπουσα, and the scholiast on two passages<sup>52</sup> remarks that she is known also as Ὀνόσκελις or Ὀνόκωλος. Eustathius, commenting on *Od.* xi. 634 μή μοι Γοργείην κεφαλὴν κ.τ.λ., makes the following statement: 'Persephone sends a Gorgon-head to terrify men just as Hekate sends Empusa. For Empusa, they say, is a demoniacal phantom sent by Hekate, which some call Ὀνόκωλος and others Ὀνόσκελις.' In the *Tagenistae* (*frag.* 426) Aristophanes goes so far as to identify Empusa with

<sup>50</sup> Similarly in Perrault's *Fopular Tales* (ed. A. Lang, pp. 83-105) the princess Peau-d'Âne to escape the importunities of the king dons this strange disguise:—

'Pour vous rendre méconnaissable  
La dépouille de l'Âne est un masque admirable;  
Cachez-vous bien dans cette peau,  
Ou ne croira jamais, tant elle est effroyable,  
Qu'elle renferme rien de beau.'

<sup>51</sup> Again, a connecting link between the

phallic and the chthonic nature of the ass is not absent. Plutarch (*Parallelæ* 29) claims the authority of Aristotle for his statement that a certain misogynist *ἄνθρωπος ἐμίσγετο ἢ δὲ κατὰ χάριν ἔκταν ἡμέραν εὐδαιμονίᾳ*, Ὀνόσκελις ὀνόματι. Cp. also the legends of Tages and Oknos mentioned below, and the quotation from the book of the Mainyo-i Khird on page 98.

<sup>52</sup> *Eccles.* 1056 and *Rav.* 293.



Hekate herself. The former was wont to appear in many shapes, one of which was that of a mule and a second that of a woman.<sup>85</sup> Lucian, relating an adventure supposed to have befallen him on a certain small island, says: <sup>86</sup> 'I then saw that the legs were not those of a woman, but the hoofs of an ass ... And she, sorely against her will, admitted that her tribe consisted of ladies of the sea called *Ὀνοσκελῆαι*, and that they were accustomed to devour such strangers as came to their coasts.'

The Chthonian<sup>87</sup> character of the ass finds further support in the legend of Tages as told by Cicero in his *de Divin.* II. xiii. 50,—

'Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi; quum terra araretur, et sulcus altius esset impressus, exstitisse repente et eum affatus esse, qui arabat.'

For among other deeds this 'terrae filius' taught men to preserve their crops from blight by fastening up the skull of an Arcadian ass—

'Hinc caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli  
Tyrhannus fixisse Tages in limite ruris.'

COLUMELLA x. *de cult. hort.* vv. 344-5.

It is perhaps as a Chthonian animal that the ass possesses oracular powers. Aristophanes, who makes one district of Hades *Ὀνὸν Πόδας* (*Frogs*, 186), mentions also *ὄνον ὄρνιν* (*Birds*, 721). The scholiast *ad loc.* comments:

λέγεται γάρ τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς συμβολικὸς (i.e. a soothsayer) ἐρωτῶμενος περὶ ἀρρώστου εἶδεν ὄνον ἐκ πτώματος ἀναστάντα, ἀκήκου δὲ ἐτέρου λέγοντος, βλέπε πῶς ὄνος ὦν ἀνέστη. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, ὁ νοσῶν ἀναστήσεται. καὶ ἀνέστη.

The same predictive function is recognized by Plutarch, who in his *Life of Antony* (lxv. § 2) gives the following incident:

Καίσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν ἔτι σκότου ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλῳ περιῶντι πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἄνθρωπος ἐλαύνων ὄνον ἀπατήσαι, πυθομένην δὲ τοῦνομα γνωρίσας αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν. 'Ἐμοὶ μὲν Εὐτυχὸς ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ὄνῳ Νίκων.' Διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὕστερον ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὄνον καὶ ἄνθρωπον.

Similarly in *frag.* xxxiii. θ. (ed. Dübner, p. 50) he says of Tiberius:

'Ἀλλὰ καὶ Τιβερίῳ ὄνος... ἔτι μεираκίῳ ὄντι, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ἐπὶ λόγοις ῥητορικοῖς διατρίβοντι, τὴν βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παθήματος προσηνύσεν.

<sup>85</sup> Aristophanes, *Frogs* 289, παντοδαπὴν γοῖν γίγνεται· ποτὶ μὲν γε βαῖν, ποτὶ δ' ἀρῶν, ποτὶ δ' αὖ γυναι, Bekker, *loc. cit.* p. 250, l. C. Cf. the Testamentum Salomonis, col. 1341 A, ed. Migne, καὶ ἄλθοι πρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν μὲν τριδόντα ἔξ κνήματα... ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἔσαν ἀνθρωπόμορφαι

ὄνοκρόστωι, βασιλοκρόστωι, καὶ πτεροκρόστωι.

<sup>86</sup> *Ver. Hist.* II. § 46.

<sup>87</sup> Müller-Wiendler, *Deus* II. No. 916, a gem in Berlin Mus. = Demeter enthroned with torch in hand: behind her a horse (see pages 142 ff.); in front an ass or mule.

And in his *Life of Alexander* an ass which kills a favourite lion with a kick is accounted an evil omen. Such superstitions lasted on into mediaeval times. Johannes Sarisberiensis mentions the ass as a 'Wegthier,' which it is unlucky to meet.<sup>91</sup>

The most satisfactory evidence on the point is, however, the occurrence of the ass as a stock denizen of the underworld. Photius *s. v.* 'Ὀνον πόκαι quotes Aristarchus' solution of the phrase: διὰ τὸ Κρατῖνον ὑποθέσθαι ἐν Αἴδου σχοινίον πλέκοντα· ὄνον δὲ τὸ πλεκόμενον ἀπεσθίουτα.<sup>92</sup> The scene was painted by Polygnotus as part of his Nekyia in the Lesche at Delphi. Pausanias (X. xxix. 1-2) gives a description of it, together with a suggestion as to its meaning:

μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ καθήμενος, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ὀκνον εἶναι λέγει τὸν ἄνθρωπον πεποιεῖται μὲν πλέκων σχοινίον, παρέστηκε δὲ θήλεια ὄνος ὑπεσθίουσα τὸ πεπλεγμένον αἰεὶ τοῦ σχοινίου· τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Ὀκνον φίλεργόν φασιν ἄνθρωπον, γυναῖκα δὲ ἔχειν δαπανηράν· καὶ ὅποσα συλλέξαιτο ἐργαζόμενος, οὐ πολὺ ἂν ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἐκείνης ἀνῆλωτο. ταῦτα οὖν ἐς τοῦ Ὀκνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐθέλουσιν αἰνίξασθαι τὸν Πολύγνωτον. οἶδα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, ὅποτε Ἰδοίεν τινα ποιοῦντα ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ ὠνησιν φέρουσι, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρημένον, ὥς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτὸς συνάγει τοῦ Ὀκνου τὴν θώμιν· γὰρ Ὀκνον δ' οὖν καὶ μάντεων οἱ ὀρώντες τοὺς οἰωνοὺς καλοῦσιν ὄρνιθα, καὶ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ ὄκνος μέγιστος μὲν καὶ κάλλιστος ἐρωδιῶν, εἰ δὲ ἄλλος τις ὀρνίθιον, σπάνιος ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος.

Pausanias' interpretation, whatever its source may be, seems based on the phallic nature of the ass. But the reference to a particular man Oknos and the moralizing turn given to the whole indicate the invention of an age that had half-forgotten the meaning of its mythology. A safer conclusion may be reached from a consideration of the company in which Oknos and his ass are found. Baumeister reproduces<sup>93</sup> the sculptured mouth of a Roman spring, which shows Oknos plaiting his rope and the ass devouring it; behind the animal stands a Danaid with a water-pot on her head. Another illustration was published by Campana<sup>94</sup> in 1841 from the frieze of a Roman tomb: Oknos and his ass are here put into a division of the painting separate from, but adjacent to, that of the Danaïds. A third representation<sup>95</sup> was found in 1832 on the frieze of a Columbarium near the Porta Latina: the Danaïds are no longer visible, unless the female figure to

<sup>91</sup> Hopf, *Thiermärkel und Orakelthiere*, pp. 30, 75.

<sup>92</sup> Mr. Frazer tells me that the tale 'occurs in one of the Buddhist *Jatakae*, with the substitution of a jackal for the ass (*Folklore*, I. 1899, p. 409).' This variation is not unique. De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. II, p. 126, relates the Hindoo myth of the jackal who 'passes himself off as a peacock of the sky. The animals make him their king, but he be-

trays himself by his voice. . . . This is a variety of the ass dressed in the lion's skin.'

<sup>93</sup> *Denkmäler*, vol. III, p. 1923, Fig. 2041; Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, 1820, vol. IV, Pl. XXXVI.\*; Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik der Alten*, Pl. II. 2.

<sup>94</sup> *Due sepolcri romani*, Rome 1841, Pl. II. c and Pl. VII. n, p. 10; Bachofen, *op. cit.* Pl. III. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Bachofen, *op. cit.* Pl. I.



the left formed part of their group. In a fourth picture, drawn by Visconti<sup>96</sup> from the bas-relief on a round marble altar, Oknos twisting a rope and his ass grazing occur in company with the Danaids and their *πίθος* *τετρημένος*. Finally, Oknos and the ass occupy the whole scene on a wall-painting from the Columbarium of the Villa Pamfili.<sup>97</sup> So far all has been correct, conventional, Roman. Oknos and his ass are stereotyped figures traditionally associated with the daughters of Danaus. If an older version of the myth is extant, it must be sought among the treasures of Greek ceramic.

Now an archaic black-figured vase in the Munich Museum<sup>98</sup> represents four winged *ειδωλα καμώντων* emptying pitchers into an enormous jar sunk in the earth. Their characteristics as Danaids are at a minimum, and—were it not for the statements of later mythographers—they would have been compared to the souls of the departed as shown on the Greek funeral jars. The explanation thus hinted at is confirmed by a *lekythos*<sup>99</sup> found in a grave near Monte Saraceno, and now in the Museum at Palermo. This most instructive picture is apparently conceived in a spirit of caricature: it represents men and women hastening in comic attitudes to empty amphorae into a huge vessel. The vessel disappears behind the figure of an ass, which is kicking lustily as one of the male water-bearers plucks its tail. In front of the ass sits a man looking in a distressed way at four lines—possibly strands of a rope.<sup>100</sup> Here at least it is evident that the water-carriers are not Danaids, or not Danaids alone. They recall Pausanias' description (X. xxxi. 9-11) of the figures at Delphi:—

αἱ δὲ...φέρουσιν μὲν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἐν κατεαγρόσιν ὑστράκοις: πεποιήται δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐτι ὥραία τὸ εἶδος, ἡ δὲ ἥδη τῆς ἡλικίας προήκουσα: ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ ἔστιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις εἶναι σφᾶς τῶν οὐ μεμνημένων.....ἔστι δὲ καὶ *πίθος* ἐν τῇ γρυφῇ, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἀνθρώπος, ὃ δὲ ἐτι παῖς, καὶ γυναῖκες, νέα μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ

<sup>96</sup> *Mon. Piv. Class.* vol. iv. pp. 254 ff., Pl. XXXVI.

<sup>97</sup> Jahn, *Columb. Paus.* p. 245; Sacks, *Ber.* 1856, p. 287, Pl. II., III. Bachofen, *op. cit.* Pl. II, 4; III. 1. The last writer discusses all five designs and gives a valuable collection of literary ref. He omits to represent Visconti's altar: it appears, however, on a reduced scale in Smith, *Sm. Classical Dict.* s.v. Danaus, p. 137, without the figure of Oknos.

A mural painting from Ostia, now in the Lateran Museum, shows Oknos and his ass together with Pluton, Orpheus and Eurydice, etc.—the Danaids being apparently absent (*Mon. dell. Inst.* 1866, vol. viii. pl. 28, 1). The design is, however, somewhat fragmentary, and their absence cannot be proved.

<sup>98</sup> Inghirami, *Fasces Pitture*, n. 135; Panofka, *Mus. Boeot.* Pl. IX.; Baumeister, *Dunkelalter*,

vol. iii. p. 1624, Fig. 3040; Rouch, *Lec.* vol. 950.

<sup>99</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1870, vol. xxviii. pp. 42 ff. pl. 31.

<sup>100</sup> Personally I do not feel at all sure that the common interpretation of these four lines is correct. I surmise that Oknos is looking in this distracted fashion at *σφᾶς* (the *versands* of Paus. X. xxviii. 1) flowing past—'rusticus exspectat'—and that we have here an earlier and most interesting variant of the legend. The parallelism between Oknos and the Danaids indicated below would then be more complete than ever. At the same time I cannot follow the view first put forward, I believe, by Dr. Waldstein that OKNOC = OK[EA]NOC, the EA having been accidentally obliterated in some work of art.

πέτρα, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰκονία ἐκείνη τὴν ἡλικίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φέροντες ὕδωρ ἔτι, τῇ δὲ γράϊ κατεᾶχθαι τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰκάσεις· ὅσον δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ λαιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐκχέουσά ἐστιν αὖθις ἐς τὸν πίθον. ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτους τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἐλευσίνι ἐν οὐδενὸς θεμένων λόγῳ· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν πάντων, ὅποσα ἐς εὐσέβειαν ἦκει, τοσαύτῃ ἡγῶν ἐντιμότερον, ὅσῃ καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιπροσθεν ἡρώων.

With which agrees Plato's account in the *Gorgias*, 493 A, B:—

οὗτοι ἀθλιώτατοι ἂν εἴεν οἱ ἄμύητοι καὶ φοροῖεν εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ὕδωρ ἐτέρῳ τοιοῦτῳ τετρημένῳ κοσκίνῳ.

In short, it seems highly probable that the Danaid myth originated in the belief that those who did not take part in a certain mystic ὑδροφορία on earth would hereafter be condemned to it as a perpetual punishment.

But—it may be asked—what has all this to do with the ass? How is it that Oknos and his beast are associated with these λουτροφόροι? Two answers to this question suggest themselves. On the one hand the water-bearers of the lower world are probably engaged in the λουτροφόρος χλιδή of Euripides *Phoen.* 348, the well-known marriage ceremony, which they have neglected during their lifetime: and we have already seen the ass symbolizing sexual relations. That a phallic animal should appear in such company is surely more than a mere coincidence.

On the other hand the ass was traditionally connected with water in general, and the water of the underworld in particular. How that connection arose we have no means of determining. It may have been strengthened by the employment of the ass as a water-carrier;<sup>101</sup> and by the observation that it commonly avoids treading in water,<sup>102</sup> being, as Aristotle says,<sup>103</sup> ψυχρὸν ζῶον...δύσμενον τὴν φύσιν. At any rate it is certain that Hellenic superstition did associate the ass with water.<sup>104</sup> Plutarch<sup>105</sup> seeks to explain the alleged

<sup>101</sup> Athen. 456e—457a.

<sup>102</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 169. 'Si rivus minimus interit, horrent ita ut pedes omnino caveant tingere. nec nisi assumptis potant fontes, quae sunt in pecuariis, atque ita ut si eo tramite ad potum eant, nec fontes trancant, per raritatem eorum translucentibus fluviiis, minusque dictu, altius: et si immutentur aquae, ut bibant cogoulas exorandae sunt.' Cp. the *Ass* of Herodot. iv. 192.

<sup>103</sup> *de an. gen.* B 748a 23.

<sup>104</sup> So in the mythology of other Aryan peoples. Prof. A. A. Bevan tells me that in the Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard, a Persian catechism of about the sixth century A.D. (ed. West, ch. lxii. 6, 36-27). 'The Sage asked the Spirit of Wisdom . . . where stands the ass of three feet? . . . The ass of three feet stands in the midst of the ass of Varkash; and water of

every kind, which rains on a corpse, and the menstrual discharge, and the remaining corruption and putridity, when it arrives at the ass of three feet, with watchfulness he makes every kind clean and pure.' This 'Khar i an pād' (three-legged, i.e. lame, ass) is further described in the Bundehesh (xliv. 4—xlv. 19 = ch. xix. of Ferdinand Justi's trans.) which observes that, among other peculiarities, the three-legged ass has a horn of gold wherewith he demolishes the animosity of all evil monsters. In the Zendic Yagna, xli. 28, 'by braying he terrifies the monsters and prevents them from contaminating the water' (De Gub. op. cit. i. 379; ed. Spiegel, p. 169). Again, the Kharnāhl (Ass-fish) is 'the chief of water creatures and fish, ten of whom . . . swim around the Ham-tree' (Mainyo-i-Khard, ed. West, p. 124).

<sup>105</sup> *Symp.* iv. Quæst. 5, ii. § 10.



Jewish worship of the ass by saying: *τὸν ὄνον ἀποφύοντα πηγὴν αὐτοῖς ὕδατος τιμῶσιν*. And Tacitus<sup>106</sup> expands the same idea: 'Nihil aeque (Iudaeos in deserto) quam inopia aquae fatigabat. Iamque haud procul exitio totis campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in rupem, nemore opacam, concessit. Secutus Moses coniectura herbidi soli largas aquarum venas aperit....Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante, errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere.' Aelian<sup>107</sup> relates the fable—belonging to the Promethean cycle—of the ass, which desires to drink at a snake-guarded fountain and pacifies its protector by means of a *φάρμακον γήρας ἀμυντήριον*. It was indeed customary among the Greeks to have drinking-vessels shaped like an ass's head.<sup>108</sup> In the second Vase-room of the British Museum<sup>109</sup> is an archaic Kantharos, the form of which is merged in that of an ass's or mule's head; it is decorated with a painting of Dionysus astride a mule, attended by Satyrs and Maenads. This seems the prototype of the later forms.<sup>110</sup> In the third Vase-room<sup>111</sup> is a fine sample of the rhyton shaped like the head of an ass or mule. And in Vase-room four is a similar, though poorer, specimen adorned not inappropriately with a figure of Eros.

But especially was the ass connected with *underground* waters. I have already alluded to the well of king Midas and to the orifice of a Roman spring. References of a more directly Chthonian character are to hand. Aelian<sup>112</sup> states that—

*ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ γῇ γίνονται ὄνοι κερασφόροι, καὶ στέγει τὰ κέρατα ἑκείνα τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν τὸ καλούμενον τῆς Στυγός, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀγγεῖα διακίπτει πάντα, κἂν ᾗ σιδήρου πεποιημένα.*

Sopater, he says, brought one of these horns to Alexander of Macedon, who dedicated it to the Delphian Apollo<sup>113</sup> with the legend:

*σοὶ τόδ' Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδὼν κέρας ἄνθετο, Παιάν,  
κύνθωνος Σκυθικοῦ, χρῆμά τι δαιμόνιον,  
ὃ Στυγὸς ἀχράντη Λουσηίδος οὐκ ἰδαμύσθη  
ρένματι, βάσταξεν δ' ὕδατος ἠγορέην.*

Philostratos<sup>114</sup> tells a somewhat similar tale about the horned ass of India. And Plutarch<sup>115</sup> has a variant that is free from such geographical restrictions:

*τὸ περὶ Ταίναρον, ὃ δὲ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ καλοῦσιν, ἐκ πέτρας γλίσχρους συλλεμβόμενον οὕτω ψυχρόν ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀγγεῖον*

<sup>106</sup> Hist. V. iii. 3, 4: cp. Tertallian, *Apolog.* cap. 16.

<sup>107</sup> *de Nat. An.* vi. 51.

<sup>108</sup> Probably this is the meaning of the *ὄνοι* . . . *ἀνὰ μισθὸν* mentioned in Arist. *Pol.* 316.

<sup>109</sup> Cass. 22, B 376.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. Inghitami, *Vasi Etruschi*, vol. ii. Pl.

CXVIII., and the further ext. cited in the *Compte-Rendu* for 1863, p. 241, n. 8.

<sup>111</sup> Cass. 42.

<sup>112</sup> *de Nat. Anim.* x. 40.

<sup>113</sup> Cp. *supra* the sacrifice of asses to the Delphian Apollo.

<sup>114</sup> *Vit. Apoll.* III. ii. 1.

<sup>115</sup> *de primo frigido*, xx. 3.

ἄλλο, μόνον δὲ ὁ πλὴν ὄνου στέγειν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα διακόπτει καὶ ῥήγνυσιν.

Admitting, then, the close connection between the ass and the water of the underworld,<sup>116</sup> we can see a further reason why Oknos and his beast should be always found associated with the 'Danaiids' and their punishment. *The two stories are but different modes of expressing the same idea.* Those who on earth have deferred (ἀκρύν) initiation into the mysteries of a certain hydrophoria, οἱ αὖ μεμνημένοι, are after death condemned to be ever pouring their jars into a well that is never satisfied. In symbolic language, Procrastination (Ὀκνος) must constantly feed the Ass of the nether waters. But why feed him in this peculiar fashion? Why make him swallow a rope for all eternity? Not, I think, because the rope signifies the endless generations of men;<sup>117</sup> nor because the μυθοποιός has misread the μυθογράφος;<sup>118</sup> but for the simple reason that the ass denotes the well, and that when the bucket is lowered into it, the ass is said to swallow the rope.<sup>119</sup>

Having completed this survey of the symbolic meanings attached by the Greeks to the figure of the ass, we are now in a position to settle the significance of the fresco from Mycenae. We have seen the ass on Greek soil (1) as a musician, (2) as a servant of the harvest-gods with phallic aptitudes, and (3) as representing the waters of the underworld. To which of these aspects can we refer the Mycenaean figures?

Topographical considerations suggest the last. Mycenae is about twenty miles from Lake Stymphalus, and thirty from Pheneos where<sup>120</sup> the Στυγὸς ὕδωρ took its rise. Plutarch's legend that this water could only be held by a ὄπλῃ ἔνον accords well with the ὕδροφορία represented on the Berlin haematite (p. 84), Helbig's 'pezzo oblungo di metallo' (*Bull.* 1875, p. 41), which shows an ass-figure in the act of carrying a sacred vessel: it also explains the bowl found near the fresco on the citadel. To determine the exact nature of the ceremony is at present impossible in view of our limited data. But the fact that the ὕδροφορία at which Oknos and his beast assisted was almost

<sup>116</sup> Miss J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 90, Pl. XXVIa, gives a Roman design from the tomb of Quintus Naas on the Via Flaminia, representing Hades, in which 'our soul in the form of an ass is drinking the waters of Lethe.' This has, however, been interpreted as a metempsychosis-scene.

<sup>117</sup> As Bachofen, *op. cit.*, suggests.

<sup>118</sup> Miss Harrison, in lecturing on Greek vase-painting at Cambridge some years ago, suggested that the rope was originally used by Oknos to drag the ass after him, the notion about the ass swallowing it being a mere misunderstanding. I suspect that this explanation of myth-making by means of graphic misinterpretation is being carried too far.

<sup>119</sup> As a possible survival of this primitive belief, I would call attention to the design on an ass-head rhyton in the British Museum (Vase-room III., case 42, no. E 477), mentioned above. It is a fine specimen of polychrome Helladic pottery, belonging to the best period (B.C. 440-320). On the upper part of the animal's head are painted two draped figures: the one holds a rope, and behind the other is a wall-pulley. If, as seems probable, the designs on these rhytons may have reference to their animal shape, it would appear that on this vase we have a reminiscence of the ass in its character as a well-daemon.

<sup>120</sup> Aelian, *de Nat. Anim.* x. 40.



certainly a bridal rite raises a presumption that the action of the Mycenaean asses had a kindred significance.

Again, the *ὄνοι κερασφόροι* of Aelian (p. 99) and Philostratos, and the golden horn of the three-legged ass in the Bundelesh (p. 98, n. 104), remind us that in the Mycenaean painting there is an excrescence between the ears of the asinine heads,<sup>121</sup>—and serve to strengthen our case, inasmuch as the horned ass is everywhere associated with the nether waters.

Another point in the picture becomes clear when viewed in this connection. Over the shoulders of the asinine figures passes a twisted rope, which they are grasping with their right hands. Archaeologists, misled by the analogy of the *ἀνύφορον*, have called this 'a pole used to carry the spoils of the chase';<sup>122</sup> but the markings clearly indicate a rope. It may perhaps be a representation of the well-rope, the *ἱμονιά* of the later<sup>123</sup> Greeks, which would naturally enter into any ritual connected with a well. Whether the rite here enacted had reference to the celebrated spring at Mycenae, known as Perseia,<sup>124</sup> must remain uncertain. I should, however, point out that it very possibly gave rise to the *κόρδαξ* dance of after-times. The passages descriptive of that dance are collected by Blaydes on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 537. I notice four points of resemblance between it and the fresco in dispute:—

(i.) The figures on the stucco are wearing masks: and Theophrastus<sup>125</sup> condemns the man who can *ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα καὶ προσωπεῖον μὴ ἔχων ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ*.

(ii.) The rope plays a prominent part in both. The Mycenaean rite corresponds in some sort to an Egyptian custom described by Diodorus Siculus (i. 97):

*ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθῶν πόλει...πίθον εἶναι τετρημένον, εἰς ὃν τῶν ἱερέων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὕδωρ φέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου. τὴν τε περὶ τὸν Ὀκρον μυθοποιῶν δεικνύσθαι πλησίον κατὰ τινα πανήγυριν συντελουμένην, πλέκοντος μὲν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρχὴν σχοινίου μακράν, πολλῶν δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω λύνοντων τὸ πλεκόμενον.*

And Harles (ed. *Ar. Nub.* p. 101) describes the *κόρδαξ* as 'Saltatio...in qua praesultor ductitabat restim (hinc εἰλακσεν dixit Comicus<sup>126</sup>), et reliqui eum sequebantur tenentes manibus eandem restim.' Terence (*Adelphi*, IV. vii. 34)

<sup>121</sup> A similar excrescence occurs on the sea-head rhytons in the British Museum. It is, I think, merely—as M. Tsountas suggested—a tassel of the creature's hair: the special sanctity assigned to it will be explained later (page 122f.).

<sup>122</sup> Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 292: cp. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 385, 'une longue perche.' Since writing the above I find that M. Paul Girard, in his book *La Pelasgique Antique* (p. 29), published the year

before last, also takes this to be a rope.

<sup>123</sup> Herondas v. 11, τῆς ἱμονήθης τοῦ κάδου. Mr. Carr Bosanquet compares Benndorf and Niemann's *Herodes von Gyllobonide-Tegus*, pt. i. Figs. 115, 117.

<sup>124</sup> Paus. II. xvi. 4. See the *Jahrbuch des h. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1891, vol. vi. p. 72 (Anzeiger).

<sup>125</sup> ed. Jabb, *chir.* xvi.

<sup>126</sup> Arist. *Nub.* 537 ἐκ δὲ κόρδακ' ἐπὶ φέρον· κατέσθ' ἦτις... αὐτὸν κόρδακ' εἰλακσεν.

has 'Tu inter eas restim ductans saltabis'; and Petr. *Frag. Trag.* p. 35 'Cordacem melius nemo ducit.'

(iii.) Prof. Percy Gardner<sup>127</sup> observes: 'The ancients regarded the dance *cordax* as imported into Greece from Phrygia by Pelops.' Now the ass-king was according to the legend (p. 87) forefather of the Phrygians; and that Phrygian influence in general was strong at Mycenae is abundantly manifest.

(iv.) Both the *cordax*-dance and the Mycenaean mummery appear to partake of a religious and perhaps phallic character. The upright pose and lolling tongues of the asses on the fresco are aptly described by the ὄρθια κνωδάλων in which Apollo delights. And an inscription<sup>128</sup> has been found within the walls of Apollo's temple at Minoa, which mentions κόρδακες in honour of that god.<sup>129</sup>

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ οἱ | [κορδακι]στα[ι] | τῶν περ | τὸν Πύθι- | [ον] Ἀπόλλωνα  
κορ- | δάκων | [Πρότ]ειμον δ, θέσει δὲ | [...ο]ν, φιλοσέβα- | στον, τὸν ἑαυτῶν  
εὖ- | [εργέτην] χορηγήσαν- | [τα].....

A detail that still calls for explanation is the fact that on two at least of the Island stones the *ass-figures have the legs of lions*. This combination will however, become more intelligible when we have discussed the nature of the leonine cult (see p. 119f.). For the present I merely note that it is by no means unique, and will be found to support that connection between the ass and the water of the underworld, which is illustrated by both the fresco and the gems.

This much at least we may claim to have rendered probable: that on the citadel of Mycenae and also in the island of Crete there existed in pre-Homeric times the cult of a Chthonian deity—a well-spirit—conceived as embodied in the form of an ass. The devotees of this deity were wont to dress themselves in artificial masks and skins, thereby symbolizing their relationship to him.<sup>130</sup> Their ritual involved on the one hand a mystic hydrophoria—perhaps a marriage custom—and on the other a ceremonial rope-dance.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>127</sup> *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 82. Cp. the Delphin Terence, vol. ii. p. 765 n. — 'Lusus est natus, ut refert Donatus, ab eo fons, quo equus ligneus Graecorum in Troiam introductus est.'

<sup>128</sup> Boeckh, *C.I.G.* vol. ii. p. 1035, No. 2264, α.

<sup>129</sup> With this we should compare the Ἀρτεμὶς Κερδακί at Elis (Paus. VI. xxii. 1). The adoption of such a rope-dance by these deities may be explained by the principle of 'contaminatio,' though Artemis at least has distinct claims to

be considered as a 'Quell- und Fluss-göttin' (Roscher, *Lex.* coll. 559–561).

<sup>130</sup> 'The ordinary meaning of skin-wearing in early religion is to simulate identification with the animal whose skin is worn.' Prof. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 454.

<sup>131</sup> Another Cretan rope-dance connected with animal worship may underlie the legend of the Minotaur. Beundorf supposes that the famous 'clue' was the rope used in the χορὴς of Ariadne (*Jl.* xviii. 590).



## II.—THE CULT OF THE LION.

αὐτὴ δίπους λέαινα.

ÆSCH. *Agam.* 1258.

In the preceding section I have dealt with a figure that appears comparatively seldom in the art-remains of the Mycenaean epoch. Far more frequent is the representation of a fiercer animal, the lion; so frequent indeed that one cannot help suspecting the existence of some symbolical association to account for its constant recurrence. But here caution is needed. For most nations in their earliest artistic efforts have shown a taste and a talent for animal life; and it is certain that down to quite classical times lions survived in the more desolate parts of the Greek peninsula. Pausanias<sup>122</sup> speaks of them as still to be found in Thrace. Herodotus<sup>123</sup> mentions them in Macedonia; Aristotle,<sup>124</sup> in the region lying between the rivers Achelous and Nessus. At a remote date they must have been more widely distributed—witness the legends of formidable lions at Megara, Nemea, and Mount Olympus. Again, the history of Greek Archaeology should warn us that esoteric meaning is not to be imported into scenes of a simple and natural character unless circumstances not only justify but render strictly necessary such procedure. Nevertheless it may fairly be doubted whether—even as early as B.C. 1400—the lion was sufficiently common in Greece and the Archipelago to warrant its persistent use as a motive for all decorative purposes. And the conjecture of an underlying religious cause rises into certainty when we consider some clearer claims to symbolism, which have recently come to light.

In the first rank of importance must be placed the fragments of a bronze bowl, brought by Cesnola from Cyprus, and now in the New York Museum. They comprise a rim and two handles attached to it, all being neatly decorated with *repoussé* designs. Round the rim runs a row of oxen, apparently pursued by a lion. On each handle are three *βουκράνια*, and above them six lion-like figures arranged in pairs. These figures stand upright facing one another in heraldic fashion (Fig. 5); they bear in their hands pitchers, and seem to be wearing a kind of ornamental back-covering or cloak, which at once recalls the garb of the Mycenaean asses.

It has been held by M. Perrot<sup>125</sup> that 'ce sont des lions, mais qui portent sur le dos une peau de poisson, comme le dieu assyrien Anou. . . . On

<sup>122</sup> Paus. VI. v. 4.

<sup>123</sup> Herodot. vii. 125, ποταμὸν ἔχει τῶν λέοντες αἱ ἐπιθήκασιν κ.τ.λ. This is confirmed by the type of the coins of Akanthos—a lion devouring a long-horned bull. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 182.

<sup>124</sup> Arist. *Hist. An.* 579b 7, and 866b 14, ἐν δὲ λίαντες μὲν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μᾶλλον, καὶ εἰς Εὐρώπῃ ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχελαιοῦ καὶ Νέσσου. The statement is transcribed by Pliny *N. H.* viii. 45.

<sup>125</sup> *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 794.

dirait, à leur attitude, qu'ils remplissent une fonction religieuse.' Similarly M. E. Babelon<sup>126</sup> says: 'ce sont des lions, debout sur leurs pattes de derrière, tenant des conchoïdes, et vêtus d'une peau de poisson, comme le dieu Anou dans la symbolique assyro-chaldéenne.' But, though it is known that worshippers of the god Dagon or Anou used to robe themselves in the skins of fish,<sup>127</sup> I am unable to adopt this explanation of the Cyprian figures. For, in the first place, Anou's worshippers wore not only the skin, but also the head of a fish, as may be seen from any manual<sup>128</sup> of Eastern antiquities. And, in the second place, there is no very obvious connection between a fish and a lion.

Rejecting therefore the theory that the curious coat in which these creatures are dressed was intended for a fish-skin, I would again suggest that we have here worshippers of the lion clad in the skin and called by the name of the animal which they worshipped.



FIG. 5.

This suggestion will probably be criticized on two heads. It may, on the one hand, be urged that the coat in question does not resemble the shaggy hide of a lion any more than it resembles the scaly skin of a fish. But I maintain that it is quite conceivable for an artificial lion-skin to have been represented in this conventional manner. The first step towards it is seen on a very archaic fragment from Mycenae, now in the British Museum, which 'appears to have been part of a triangular relief filling the space above a doorway.'<sup>129</sup> It shows the head and shoulders of a lion

<sup>126</sup> *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 308.

<sup>127</sup> See Mûnaut, *Glyptique Orientale*, vol. II, p. 63 ff.; *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 274, 416. Philostrat. *Vita Ap.* III. 55: *καὶ οὖν οὗτοι ἰχθυόφθοροι ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν ἔσθον ἰχθυόφθορον, καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν ἐσθον ἰχθυόφθορον* perhaps refers to the same custom. In Greek mythology Ichthys was son of the

Syrian queen-goddess Atargatis: see Roscher, *Lex.* col. 84 s.v. Ichthys.

<sup>128</sup> E.g. Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit. vol. II, figs. 9 and 224.

<sup>129</sup> *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the Brit. Mus.* 1892, by A. H. Smith, p. 15; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. VI, p. 646, fig. 291.



standing upright on its hind legs. Upon the hide of the beast are still visible the engraved lines which marked out a quadrifoil pattern, and were doubtless originally filled in with colour. Later art sometimes adorned the lion's skin with similar spots. On a vase by Sosias, for example, it is marked like a panther's hide.<sup>140</sup> Another instance of the same process of conventional metabolism is afforded by Athena's aegis, which—though it began as a mere goat-skin—came to be portrayed with fish-scales of silver. So too Plutarch<sup>141</sup> considers the Jewish High Priest a devotee of Dionysus because he was *νεβρίδα χρυσόπαστρον ἐνδυμένος*. There was in fact a decided tendency among the Greeks to embellish the simple garb of skin. And this tendency was strong in Mycenaean times. Two terra-cotta oxen from Ialysus, presented by Prof. Ruskin to the British Museum, are painted with zebra-stripes. The same collection<sup>142</sup> contains early Athenian models of a horse and a dog decorated with parallel bands of colour. Even the human skin, to judge from a fragment of vase-painting found at Tiryns, was not free from a similar tattoo adornment.<sup>143</sup>

On the other hand it may be objected that what we have here is not a worshipper dressed in a lion's skin but a *lion* dressed in a lion's skin, which is—as Prof. Robertson Smith remarks—much like 'gilding gold.' To this I would answer that the worshippers, as we shall afterwards see, were themselves called *λέοντες*; and that consequently the artist symbolized them as actual lions, while yet—in order to distinguish them from merely natural lions—he retained their sacrificial garb and ritual act.

The first part of this argument may be established by a couple of analogous instances. A Greek stele published by Le Bas<sup>144</sup> has a fine bas-relief of a lion, bearing the legend ΛΕΩΝ ΣΙΝΩΠΕΥΣ. And Pausanias (I. xxiii. 1) narrates that on the Athenian Akropolis was a bronze lioness erected to the memory of a certain woman, Lenina by name. Now if a man called *Leon* and a woman called *Leaina* were represented as actual lion and lioness, worshippers called *Leontes* might very possibly be portrayed in similar fashion.

My further contention that the artist added the ceremonial cloaks and vessels in order to differentiate these worshippers from ordinary lions is less easy to prove. A case in point, however, is the *πρόβατον κωδὶς ἐσκέπασ-*

<sup>140</sup> Müller-Wiemeler, *Denkm.* I. 210. Cp. Otto Keller, *Thiere des Classischen Alterthums*, p. 397.

<sup>141</sup> *Synops.* 672A.

<sup>142</sup> Vase-room I. case 12.

<sup>143</sup> Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 132. Cp. the tattoo-marks on the arms of the colossus of Amathus now in the Imperial Mus. at Constantinople: Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, vol. II. p. 165, fig. 116.

<sup>144</sup> *Voyage Archéologique*, vol. I. pl. 78. Cp. also Herodot. vii. 180 *ἱερεῖας τὸν ἄλκον τοῦ Ἑλλάδων πρῶτος καὶ κάλλιστος. τῷ δὲ σφραγισ-*

*θετος τούτῳ ἀνέστη ὅς τις λέων ἐλάττω δ' ἔκρετο καὶ τοῦ ἀνέματος ἐπύοντο*. Lenormant and De Witte, *Étude des Monuments*, vol. I. p. 226, suggest that the lion on the tomb of the courtesan Iphis (Paus. II. ii. 4) was intended to pressure her name (quasi λέω, λέισσα). In the legend of St. Marcellus—'A lion having appeared to the saint in a vision as killing serpent, this appearance was considered as a passage of good fortune to the enterprise of the Emperor Leo in Africa' (De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. II. p. 159).

*ménon* which, according to Joannes Lydus (*de mens.* iv. 45), was sacrificed to the Cyprian Aphrodite. I take it that the sheep dressed in the sheep-skin was the substitution of a later age for a man called a 'sheep' and dressed in a sheep-skin. Such substitutions for human sacrifice<sup>145</sup> are not unknown on Greek soil. Pausanias (IX. viii. 2) preserves the tradition that 'at Potniae in Boeotia it had formerly been the custom to sacrifice to the goat-smiting Dionysus a child, for whom a goat was afterwards substituted.'<sup>146</sup> And a similar practice seems to underlie the legend of Iphigeneia at Aulis.<sup>147</sup> Now if a man called a 'sheep' and dressed in a sheep-skin was thus replaced by an actual sheep in the old sacrificial fleece, the leonine worshippers at their ritual observance may well have been depicted as we see them on Cesnola's bowl. I would also draw attention to the fact that the sheep-cult in question prevailed, according to Lydus, in Cyprus; and it was from Cyprus that Cesnola brought the lion-bowl: so that the comparison here instituted between the two is not without some geographical warrant.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.

I shall again seek support for my interpretation among the extant examples of the Island *gema*. The *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1889<sup>148</sup> published a couple of stones found in the Vapheio tomb near Amyclae. One of these (Fig. 6) is a lenticular agate representing, according to the account of M. Tsountas, 'two lions standing upright on either side of a tree. Each

<sup>145</sup> Why a human victim called by the name of the sacred animal should have been sacrificed rather than the sacred animal itself, is not clear. As regards the lion-cult an obvious explanation would be that the lion is an animal not readily to be obtained; but this of course will not apply to the sheep, the goat, or the stag. Prof. A. A. Bevan's suggestion that in the text of Lydus we should read *ποσάνας καὶ ἐκτεταμένους γούδους* (they sacrificed a man clothed in a fleece) leaves this difficulty untouched. And Prof. Robertson Smith's correction *ἐκτεταμένους*, the participle describing the worshippers,—though it gives good sense and accords with known custom (*The Religion of the Semites*, p. 450 ff.),—introduces grammatical difficulties: the singular *καὶ* for the plural *καὶ* would be unusual, and the transcriber's alteration of *ἐκτεταμένους* to *ἐκτετα-*

*μενους* unexplained if not inexplicable. On the whole I incline to keep the MS. text as sound, and to suppose that the human victim called by the animal name was sacrificed to the animal god in order to cement a supposed relationship between the god and the worshippers. Somewhat similar is the sacrifice of the human *καπερ* (described on p. 137) to the wolf-god, though in that case there is no question of relationship.

<sup>146</sup> *The Golden Bough*, vol. i. p. 329.

<sup>147</sup> See the vase-painting described on p. 125; and *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 390.—'The animal victim at Laodicea ad Mare was a stag, but the story was that in former times a maiden was sacrificed.'

<sup>148</sup> Pl. 10, Nos. 35-6: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 843, fig. 426, 16, and p. 847, fig. 431, 6.



lion holds aloft a ewer (*πρόχους*) with both forepaws, wearing a girdle about his loins and an ornamental hide over his back. The tree is a palm-tree, and seems to grow from a vessel placed on a plinth; the only analogy to it that I know in the circle of Mycenaean remains is the silver cup described in the *Mittheil. des Inst. Athen.* for 1883, pl. I. These representations must have some mythological meaning. The two lions holding their vessels above a tree may be most plausibly interpreted as *δαίμονες τῶν ὑδάτων.*<sup>148</sup> In addition to M. Tsountas' remarks I may point out that the skin coat worn by these figures terminates in a crest between the ears similar to that which we noticed on the asses' fresco at Mycenae and on Lajard's chalcedony (p. 84).<sup>149</sup> The second Vapheio gem (Fig. 7) is a glandular sardonyx showing a single lion of like aspect.<sup>150</sup> He stands upright bearing a vase in his paws and clad in a coat of shaggy skin. The girdle is here not very clearly distinguished; nor has the engraver marked the two crescent-shaped lines under the jaw, which I take to indicate both in the Mycenae fresco and on the first Vapheio stone the fact that the head was only a mask; further, the small curly line on the shoulder, noticeable on the last gem,<sup>151</sup> is absent in this case. With respect to the watering of a sacred palm-tree, I observe that a gold ring from the same tomb portrays what is apparently an incident from tree-ritual.<sup>152</sup> On the left grows a palm-tree from some large vessel. A man wearing nothing but a girdle approaches it in an attitude of adoration. Behind him dances a woman; and lastly, a large shield with the man's raiment (?) occupies the right hand side of the picture. Again, Milchhöfer as early as 1883 was able to cite<sup>153</sup> a conical steatite from Cyprus, now in the Berlin Museum, which—coming from the same island as Cesnola's lions—reproduces the same design (Fig. 8). For, though Milchhöfer in his *φιλανπία* assumed that it depicted the horse, the leonine mane is unmistakable and conclusive. The hide is covered as before with a decorative pattern. It is probable too that the verde antico gem from Salonica,<sup>154</sup> also in the Berlin Museum, represents once more a man dressed in a lion's skin with a dead ox slung across his shoulder (Fig. 9). Different again is the pose of a leonine figure on a carnelian found at Athens, which seems to represent an animal dance (see p. 116). In brief, we have found the lion appearing in the same three postures as the ass: bearing a slaughtered beast; presenting a ewer; and taking part in a mimetic dance.

From the foregoing evidence I gather that in the Mycenaean age there still existed an actual lion-cult in which the worshipper, 'aptans

<sup>148</sup> A coin of the gens Caecilia, figured in Morrell's *Thesaurus Num.* Tab. iii. 1, shows a lion-headed goddess between whose ears there is a similar excrescence.

<sup>149</sup> 'Le lion, sur ces intailles, ressemble souvent un chien ou un renard.' M. Reinach, *Épaves Archéologiques*, p. 117.

<sup>150</sup> Cp. the shoulder of the water-bearing ass on p. 84.

<sup>151</sup> *Ep.* *Ap.* 1889, Pl. 10, No. 39: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 844, 'une scène d'un culte orgiaque.' Cp. a vase from Thaleron discussed by M. Louis Courva in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for 1893, p. 25 ff. Pl. III.

<sup>152</sup> *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 68, fig. 466.

<sup>154</sup> Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 55, fig. 44d.

humero capitiq. leonem,' performed various ceremonial rites.<sup>125</sup> Apart from the mere offering of animal victims, he seems to have carried a sacred vessel, and—in one case—watered a sacred tree. It is at least clear that both water and palm-tree were connected with his cult. To elucidate that connection we must examine the traces of lion-worship which survived the Dorian invasion.

(1) In the first place it will be remembered that the lion appears repeatedly as the symbol of Dionysus—a god of vegetation. The seventh Homeric hymn tells the tale of Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος who was captured by pirates: ὁ δ' ἄρα σφί λέων γέμετ' ἐνδοθι νηός,—while the vessel was filled with spreading vine-leaves and clambering ivy. To him the chorus in Euripides (*Bacchae* 1017) pray:—

φάτηθι ταῦρος ἢ πολύκρανος ἰδεῖν δράκων  
ἢ πυριφλέγων ὀρᾷσθαι λέων.

And Agave when she returns with the head of Pentheus fancies in her madness that she holds an ἄγραν λεοντοφυῖα (*Bacchae* 1190):—

ΚΑ. τίνος πρόσωπον δῆτ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔχεις;  
ΑΓ. λέο ττο ς, ὧς γ' ἔφασκον αἱ θηρώμεναι.

*Ibid.* 1278—9.

Nonnos (*Dion.* i. 10) declares with reference to the same god:—

εἰ δὲ λέων φρίξειεν, ἐπαυχενίην τρίχα σείων,  
βάκχον ἀνευύξω, βλοσυρῆς ἐπὶ πήχει 'Ρεῖης  
μαζὼν ὑποκλέπτοντα λεοντοβότοιο θεαίης.

And Horace (*Od.* ii. 19, 23) adds by way of eulogy:—

Rhoetum retorsisti leonīs  
Unguibus horibilique mala.

Bentley's objection to the last line misses the point altogether: 'Nihil verba haec vetant, quin verum Leonem intelligas; quales cum Tigridibus et Pardis multos in comitatu habere solitus est Bacchus.' It is true enough that lions regularly take part in Dionysiac processions.<sup>126</sup> But they do so because Dionysus was himself conceived as a lion.<sup>127</sup> At Samos there was a temple κεχηρῶτος Διούσου.<sup>128</sup> Pliny (*N.H.* viii. 56—58) relates the story of

<sup>125</sup> The Louvre, among other Cyprian monuments, has the upper portion of a limestone statue, which represented a man standing with his hands raised to his hair: the human head is capped by that of a lion (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicie et de Dependances*, vol. ii. p. 141, fig. 94). It is possible that this unexplained type refers to the ritual of lion-worship: cf. the description of τὰ λεοντά on p. 117 ff.

<sup>126</sup> *E.g.* *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, vol. xlii. Pl. CLXXXVI. (2): Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Cleém.* vol. i. Pl. XXXIII. Gerhard, *Ausgrabungen* gr.

*Vasenbilder*, vol. i. Pl. XXXVIII. shows Dionysus holding a wine-cup and a lion at his feet looking up at him.

<sup>127</sup> The artistic evidence for Dionysus Leontomorphos is collected by Dr. Sandys in his edition of the *Bacchae*, pp. cxliii.—cxliv.

<sup>128</sup> *Asiatic N.J.* vii. 48. Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* p. 32 (ed. Potter) says κεχηρῶτος 'Ἀπολλωνος', prob. by a more slip. De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 158, states that 'Apollo passes into the form of a lion to vanquish the monsters'—but I do not know on what authority



its foundation. A certain Samian, Elpis by name, encountered a lion on the African coast, and fled for refuge to a tree, calling aloud on Liber Pater. The lion lay at the foot of the tree moaning with pain, till the Samian descended and plucked out from its jaw a bone that was troubling it. 'Qua de causa Libero Patri templum in Samo Elpis sacravit, quod ab eo facto Graeci κεχηνότος Διονύσου appellavere.' Aelian, after narrating the legend of Androcles and the lion, alludes to the Samian tale as told by <sup>150</sup> 'Eratostrhenes, Euphorion, and others also.' That it is an aetiological myth, pointing to a worship of Dionysus in lion form, can hardly be doubted. The currency of Samos from as early as B.C. 675 bore a lion's scalp as its constant device.<sup>151</sup> Again, the story emphasizes the connection with the tree-god. Fronto<sup>152</sup> mentions 'arborem multorum ramorum, quam ille suum nomen catachannam nominabat': L. Preller explains the word as a corruption of (δένδρου) κεχηνός or κατακεχηνός. However that may be, the lion as a tree symbol is known from other sources. M. de Longpérier<sup>153</sup> published the so-called 'Bouclier d'Annibale,' a large silver disc, the central space of which represents a lion standing in front of a palm-tree. This design was perhaps copied from the reverse of what Mr. Barclay Head calls 'the finest known coin of Carthage.'<sup>154</sup> It is possible, then, that the palm-tree watered by lions on the first Vaphaio gem<sup>155</sup> may find its nearest analogue among the coast-dwellers of North Africa.

(2) In the second place the lion, as the strongest and most terrible of beasts, denoted death and the powers of the underworld.<sup>156</sup> This accounts for its occurrence on sepulchral monuments of all sorts. In 1881 Prof. Ramsay discovered near the Phrygian village of Ayazéen a relief of two

the statement is made. Roucher, *Lex.* col. 444 shows that the griffin (= Lion + Eagle) was an Apolline attribute, but not the Lion alone. However, see Head's *Hist. Num.* pp. 130-131, 132, and esp. 236, on coins of Leontini, Syracuse, Miletus, and Apollonia.

<sup>150</sup> Aelian, l.c. Schneider (ed. Callim. vol. 1. p. 428) on the 49th Epigram of Callimachus — ἐγὼ δ' ἀνὰ τῆδε κεχηνός | κείμαι τοῦ Σαμίου Σικλῶος, ὁ τραγικός | παῖδας δὲ Διονύσου ἐπέκασε — writes: 'Simus delinquit Dionysii (sic) κεχηνός tragicum personam cumque magno hiato conspicuam, qui hiatus duplo maior fuit eo, quam habebat Διονύσιος (sic) κεχηνός, cui templum Elpis Samius dedicaverat.' Lion-masks of this sort occur as vase-decorations, e.g. Micali, *Mon. Inedit.* Pl. XXIX. 2.

<sup>151</sup> See for ex. Head, *Coin of the Ancients*, Pl. I. 5: II. 25: XI. 85: XIX. 28: XXIX. 31.

<sup>152</sup> Ed. Nieb. p. 88.

<sup>153</sup> *Monum.*, ed. Schlumberger, vol. vi. pl. 4.

<sup>154</sup> Head, *Coin of the Ancients*, Pl. XXVI. 41.

<sup>155</sup> Among the Mycenaeum Intagliés is one which represents two lions standing on either

side of a tree (Ep. *App.* 1888, Pl. 10, No. 16), and another of two lions and three palm-trees (*ibid.* No. 26): see further Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 343, fig. 426, 2, 6. On several exx. the lion appears along with a palm-branch, e.g. one drawn by Otto Roschach in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Pl. XVI. 8. M. Reinach, *Revue Archéologique*, p. 45, gives an early amulet-mould, now in the Louvre, on which is engraved 'un lion . . . tenant une branche d'arbre entre ses pattes.' And on the triangular sepulchral relief from Mycenae in the Brit. Mus. a lion occupies the corner behind the lion. In all these cases the tree or branch is probably to be explained as a topographic symbol for a landscape background; cp. the collocation of 'lions and palm-trees,' in 1 Kings vii. 36.

<sup>156</sup> In districts where the lion was unknown the next formidable animal would be chosen. On a tomb-painting from Orvieto, Hades (Eita) appears in a cap made out of a wolf's (or lion's?) head: see Roucher, *Lex.* col. 1805 with fig. on coll. 1807-8.

lions rampant guarding the entrance to a grave; and near by the fragment of a second tomb surmounted by a colossal lion's head.<sup>166</sup> The resemblance of these figures to the Lion-gate at Mycenae is so striking that a common explanation must be postulated. If the lion symbolizes Chthonian power, it is probable that the relief over the gateway was intended to put the citadel under the protection of the Chthonian deities—a supposition that agrees well with the Mycenaean cult already investigated. In the British Museum there is a collection of archaic sculptures brought by Sir Charles Fellows from Xanthos in Lycia: the best known of these are the slabs that decorated the famous 'Lion Tomb'.<sup>167</sup> On the south side was a lion recumbent; on the north a lioness playing with her cubs; and in one division of the west side a naked man contending with a lion. Fragments of four other Lycian tombs show portions of lion or lioness.<sup>168</sup> Cyprus too has furnished several analogous examples. Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvii. 66) states that on the tomb of Hermias in that island stood a marble lion having 'inditos oculos ex smaragdis, ita radiantibus etiam in gurgitem, ut territi refugerent thynni'! And modern excavations have brought to light a considerable number of leonine monuments. The Athienu sarcophagus in the New York Museum<sup>169</sup> has a lion couchant at each corner. A limestone lion in the same collection<sup>170</sup> formerly stood on a Cyprian grave. The top of a sepulchral stele found by Cesnola shows a pair of recumbent lions back to back.<sup>171</sup> The same custom had spread to Etruria at a very early date. In the necropolis at Vulci several stone lions have been found; and Jules Martha<sup>172</sup> states that 'Des lions de pierres sont souvent placés, comme de féroces sentinelles, à l'extérieur des tombeaux étrusques.'

It is perhaps as a death-dealing goddess that Artemis is called a lioness. Homer at least seems to indicate that this is the reason when he makes Hera boast:

χαλεπή τοι ἐγὼ μένος ἀντιφέρεσθαι  
τοξοφόρῳ περ εὐούρῃ, ἐπεὶ σε λέοντ' αἰ γυναιξίν  
Ζεὺς θῆκεν, καὶ ἔδωκε κατακτάμεν, ἣν κ' ἐθέλησθα.<sup>173</sup>

Dr. Walter Leaf *ad loc.* observes: 'Death is commonly personified under the form of a lion in Semitic mythology,<sup>174</sup> and some traces of this appear even

<sup>166</sup> *J.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 33 ff. with Quarto Plates XVII-XVIII.

<sup>167</sup> Scharf's drawing of this is reproduced in the Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Sculpture, vol. i. Pl. II.

<sup>168</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Sculpture, vol. i. Nos. 83, 84, 89, 90.

<sup>169</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, vol. II. figs. 143, 144, 145.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II. p. 127, fig. 131.

<sup>171</sup> Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 110. In Micall, *Museum Ineditum*, Pl. XXII. 1, a funeral-acum is backed by a gable on which sits a pair of lions.

<sup>172</sup> *L'Art Etrusque*, 1889, p. 216. figs. 167, 168.

<sup>173</sup> *Iliad* xxi. 482-4.

<sup>174</sup> Bronze masks of lions' heads were a frequent ornament of Sidonian sarcophagi (Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, vol. I. p. 199, fig. 137). It is worth mentioning that in the *Persica* of Ctesias (*op. cit.* Gilmore, p. 132) 'Ἀστυλαί μεγάλας περὶ ἐνδόν καὶ ἐκτὸς πόλεως ἐκ δὲ πόλεως αὐτοῦ διέκρινον ἑκατόν- λέκτους γὰρ αὐτοῦ. . . . πόλιν Περσέων ἐκάλετο Ἰλθίε καὶ ἀνακαθεῖν, ἰφθάλωντος τοῦ νεκροῦ.



in Greek symbolism, of which the present passage is the clearest. For Artemis as a death-goddess see Z 205, 428 &c. She is said to have been worshipped in Ambrakia in the form of a lioness.<sup>175</sup> Aeschylus<sup>176</sup> mentions her as delighting in *δρόσιον μαλερῶν λεόντων*: Euripides<sup>177</sup> speaks of her as *σχῆμα λεαίνης | ἐξαλλάξασα*: and Theocritus<sup>177</sup> tells how a devotee of hers—

*θηρία πομπεύσκε περισταδόν, ἐν δὲ λέαινα.*

A tangible commentary on such passages may be found in several archaic representations of the goddess. On a bronze plate discovered at Olympia,<sup>178</sup> and on one of the handles of the François vase,<sup>179</sup> the so-called 'Persic' Artemis stands upright holding in either hand a lion. A remarkable series of Artemis terra-cottas has been found at Corfu in an ancient precinct of the goddess: she is represented as attended by various animals, and among them 'le lion a fourni six modèles différents'.<sup>180</sup> In the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*<sup>181</sup> for 1893 Dr. Paul Wolters discusses an early Boeotian vase on which Artemis appears with a lion rampant on either side, though she is not actually grasping them. It may however be doubted whether this animal as an attendant of Artemis is not due to her character as *πότνια θηρῶν* (Il. xxi. 470), protectress of wild beasts in general, rather than to any special thought of her death-bringing visitations.<sup>182</sup>

Less questionable is the lion as servant and symbol of the Chthonian Cybele. The cult of this goddess spread westward from its original home in Phrygia and Crete. The name 'Cybele' is itself a Phrygian word denoting 'caverns',<sup>183</sup> and in a cavern on Mt. Dindymon near Pessinus was her most sacred image—a meteoric mass. 'The tendency of her worship was to dwell on the opposites of birth and death; as is seen in the Phrygian story of<sup>184</sup> Atya, and the Cretan tales of the birth and death of Zeus. Her connection with the lion was a commonplace in ancient art, and appears in orthodox tradition. Hippomenes and Atalanta, who profaned one of her cavern-shrines, were transformed into a lion and lioness:—

*Luminis exigui fuerat prope templa recessus.*

*Speluncæ similis, nativæ punice tectus,*

*Religione sacer prisca,...*

*Hunc init et vetito temerat sacraria probro.*

*Sacra retorserunt oculos; turritaque Mater,*

*An Stygia fontes, dubitavit, mergeret unda.*

<sup>175</sup> *Agam.* 141. Alkman *frag.* 24 probably refers—as Mr. Farnell states (*Greek Lyric Poetry*, p. 315)—to a Maenad.

<sup>176</sup> *Helen.* 384. Barnes vol. 1694, p. 271, has a characteristic comment: 'Figura Lemæne, &c. Utina'!

<sup>177</sup> *Idyll.* ii. 68.

<sup>178</sup> Roscher, *Lex.* col. 564. Also on gold plaques found at Camiros: Sulzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. 1.

<sup>179</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pl. 74: cp. Michel, *Museum Insidit*, Pl. I. 3 and 23.

<sup>180</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, vol. xv. p. 83.

<sup>181</sup> Col. 213 ff., Pl. 8-10.

<sup>182</sup> On the lion as associated with Artemis, see further Friedrich Marx' paper in the *Arch. Zeit.* for 1885, vol. xliii. col. 273 f.

<sup>183</sup> See art. 'Cybele' in *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9.

<sup>184</sup> Cybele is associated with Atya on a Greek votive relief: Roscher, *Lex.* col. 726.

Poena levis visa est. ergo modo levia fulvae  
 Colla iubar velant, digiti curvantur in ungues,  
 Ex umeris armi fiunt, in pectora totum  
 Pondus abit, summae canda verruntur harenæ.  
 Iram vultus habet, pro verbis murmura reddunt,  
 Pro thalamis celebrant silvas: aliisque timendi  
 Dente premunt domito Cybeleia frenâ leones.

Ov. *Met.* x. 691—704.

In short the lion is a recognized emblem of the Chthonian powers. As such it not only protects tombs and attends the deities of the underworld, but also stands sentinel over the springs and fountains through which subterranean waters are discharged. The λέων κρηνοφύλαξ,<sup>155</sup> a bronze lion placed above the spring which supplied the Klepsydra at Athens, typifies the performance of this duty. The outlet of a Greek fountain frequently took the form of a λεοντόχασμα, and is very commonly represented thus on the vases. It was also the conventional shape for the gargoyles along the top members of temple entablatures. This usage may have originated in more tropical lands. Herapollon states that 'the rising of the Nile is denoted by three large vases; and also by a lion, because it attains its full height when the Sun is in that sign of the Zodiac; for which same cause the spouts of the sacred fountains are made in the form of lions' heads.'<sup>156</sup> His explanation is, as usual, mere conjecture; but the fact remains that Oriental as well as Hellenic custom associated the lion with water,—probably because springs and fountains have always a Chthonian character, and the lion is the guardian of the Chthonian interests.

One other development of this symbol in Greece must be noticed. Herakles, although he appears at times as κορονόσιον the Locust, and Ιπποκτόνος the Slayer of the canker-worm,<sup>157</sup> was ordinarily conceived as a hero or even a god<sup>158</sup> wearing a lion's skin over his head and shoulders.<sup>159</sup> It is noticeable that the nearer we approach to the Mycenaean age the more lion-like does he become. In late art he merely has the skin clasped round him as a cloak or wrapped about his arm; but as we recede into the past, the necessary nature of this cloak becomes evident. Red-figured and black-figured vases show increasing ferocity. On a small Sicilian amphora,<sup>160</sup> for instance, of about B.C. 500 he approximates to the leonine aspect. And a specimen of the Island stones, acquired not long since by the British Museum, shows him clad in a complete lion's skin: the head of the beast covers his hair; the forepaws are fastened round his neck; the hind legs

<sup>155</sup> Pollux, viii. 112.

<sup>156</sup> King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 109.

<sup>157</sup> Strabo, 613. Apollo also was Ιπποκτόνος: Strabo, *ibid.*; Paus. I. xxiv. 3.

<sup>158</sup> See Dr. Fennell in the *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9, s.v. *Heracles*; Murry and Riddell on *Atys*, xi.

<sup>159</sup> Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2232-2246.

<sup>160</sup> In the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1892, vol. vii, p. 68 ff. Körte has a monograph on *Herakles mit dem abgeschalteten Löwenkopf als Helm*.

<sup>161</sup> *J.H.S.* vol. ciii, p. 76.



protect his thighs; and the tail hangs down behind. Cyprus too has yielded a series of early stone statues of Herakles, ranging from the more refined type of the fragment in the Louvre to the colossus of Amathus, about which 'il y a encore quelque chose de difforme et presque de bestial.'<sup>101</sup> Now it might be argued that, just as Juno Sispita who is depicted on the coins of the gens Thoria wearing a goat's skin and horns over her head was originally no more than a sacred goat, so Herakles who on the coins of the Macedonian monarchs appears with a lion's skin for a head-covering was the outcome of some primitive lion-cult.

And if this be so, the connection with the lion as a Chthonian animal is not hard to trace. For Herakles has much to do with waters and the underworld. The Amathusian colossus, his acknowledged prototype, served as the orifice of a fountain.<sup>102</sup> The only Heraklean exploits related by Homer are the fight with the sea-daemon and the descent into Hades to carry off Cerberus.<sup>103</sup> These affinities reappear in subsequent tradition. On the one hand, we have Herakles employing the rivers Alphens and Peneus to cleanse the stables of Augeas; wrestling with the Achelous; capturing the bull that Poseidon had sent out of the sea to Minos; saving Hesione from a sea-monster; slaying the hydra that haunted the swamp near the well of Amymone; and crossing the waves in the golden cup of Helios. Monuments of the best artistic period repeatedly connect him with springs and baths:<sup>104</sup> indeed the phrase *Ἡράκλεια λουτρά* passed into a proverb.<sup>105</sup> On the other hand, his underground achievements—the bringing back of Alcestris, and the capture of Cerberus—were not less notorious; he crushed Antaeus whose strength lay in contact with the earth; and his own home with Eurystheus, king of Mycenae and Tiryns, is represented as a large jar sunk in the ground. Lastly, both traits unite in the draining of the Stymphalian marsh, a task most appropriate to one whose relations were at the same time aquatic and chthonic.

Here we may pause to apply our results. The lion has come before us as a symbol (1) of *vegetation*, and (2) of *the nether springs*. If we glance back at those relics of Mycenaean art which furnished our point of departure, it is evident that they illustrate the second of these two aspects. For almost without exception the leonine figures are represented as bearing vessels of water.<sup>106</sup> On one of the Vapheio

<sup>101</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 579; p. 577, Fig. 389; p. 578, Fig. 391.

<sup>102</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 569.

<sup>103</sup> For the former as portrayed on early monuments, see Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2192-3: on the latter, *ibid.* col. 2205.

<sup>104</sup> Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2237-8. Cp. Pausanias on Propert. iv. 18 (17), 5, Herculaneum.

<sup>105</sup> Schol. Arist. *Nich.* 1034 (ed. Bekker): Athen. 512 E. Further reff. in Lentzsch, *Pers. Gr.* ii. 449 on Apos. viii. 66.

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<sup>106</sup> In the *Bullet. de Corr. Hell.* 1892, p. 215, pl. I., M. Henzen describes a relief, which in point of style is intermediate between the Mycenaean and the Egyptian. On it occurs a lion standing by the side of a 'vase sphérique, sorte d'aryballe.' This type seems to have survived long after its significance was forgotten. See *Revue Archéologique de M. le Bas*, vol. i. pl. 109, a bronze standard found at Athens, which is topped by two lions heraldically placed, r. and l. of a large urn.

stones, however, these ὑδροφόροι are watering a sacred palm-tree. And the question arises whether this is an example of 'contaminatio,' or whether there is some essential connection between the vegetative and the chthonian aspects of the symbolism. Personally I incline to the latter opinion. It seems to me a *prima facie* probability that the animal, which watches over the water gushing from the rock, should also represent the palm-trees and vines springing from the soil. In view of its chthonian character both functions are explicable. There are, moreover, two considerations which tend to substantiate the view. In the first place the leonine Cybele was not only a cave-goddess, but also 'a goddess of vine-growing and agriculture'<sup>102</sup> closely connected with Dionysus.<sup>103</sup> And in the second place the same double *rapproch* may be traced in the legends of Herakles. His connection with waters and the underworld we have already seen. As regards vegetation, Pollux (i. 30—31) has some interesting remarks. 'In Boeotia,' he says, 'they sacrifice μῆλα to Herakles. I do not mean the poetical word for sheep, but the fruit of the tree. The custom originated as follows. The festival of the god had fallen due, and the time for the sacrifice was at hand—the victim being a ram. Those who were bringing it were delayed against their will, because the Asopus had swollen with a sudden flood and could not be crossed. However the children playing round the temple performed the wonted rite. For taking a ripe apple they propped it on four straws by way of legs, adding a couple above for horns. And according to the poets [? Boeotians] they said that they were sacrificing the μῆλον as a πρόβατον. The story goes that Herakles was pleased with the sacrifice, which is still kept up.' This singular legend, which is given with some variations by Hesychius s.v. Μήλων Ἡρακλῆς and Suidas s.v. Μήλειος Ἡρακλῆς, certainly points to a connection between Herakles and the apple-tree: with it may be linked that hero's expedition in search of the golden apples of the Hesperides. Nor is it with apples alone that Herakles has to do. Theocritus (ii. 121) calls the white poplar Ἡρακλέος ἱερὸν ἔργον, and the Scholiast *ad loc.* (ed. Dübner, p. 25) gives the reason:

κατελθὼν γὰρ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς εἰς ἄδην διὰ τὸν Κέρβερον, ἀνήγαγε καὶ τὸ φυτόν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος· οἱ δὲ ἀθλοῦντες εἰς γυμνάσια ἐστέφοντο ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἀχερωντὶς ἡ λεύκη.

Here the chthonian and arboreal traits of Herakles' character appear to be closely connected. Again, Pindar (*Ol.* iii. 13—34) relates how Herakles was the first to bring the olive-tree from the land of the Hyperboreans and to plant it at Olympia:

Ἴδε καὶ κείναν χθόνα προιαῖς ὀπιθεν Βορέα  
φυγροῦ· τόθι δένδρεα θάμβαινε σταθεῖς.  
τὼν νιν γλυκὺς ἥμερος ἔσχεν δωδεκάγυμπτον περὶ τέρμα δρόμου  
ἵππων φυτεῦσαι.

<sup>102</sup> Hesych. *Brō.* s.v. 'Cybele.'

<sup>103</sup> Cf. quotation from Nonnos on p. 108.



This repeated mention of trees and tree-planting is surely no fortuitous combination, but an essential feature of the myth. It is moreover conceivable that Herakles' club, the famous ῥόπαλον, τὸ οἱ αἰὲν ἐχάνθανε δεξιτερὰ χεῖρ,<sup>199</sup> was originally the symbol of a tree-god. We know that Hera at Samos was a beam, and Hermes on the Athenian Akropolis a log concealed by myrtle boughs; so that *a priori* indignity can hardly be urged. And by way of positive evidence the following epigram of Callimachus<sup>200</sup> merits attention:

Τίν με λεοντάγχωνε, στυκτόνε, φήγινον ὄζον  
θῆκε. Τίς; Ἀρχίνος. Ποῖος; ὁ Κρής. Δέχομαι.

On this φήγινον ὄζον A. Fabri comments—'fagina clava Herculem alloquitur.' It may be added that on many coins Herakles' club resembles a tree-trunk in size and shape,<sup>201</sup> and that a coin of Selge, the obverse of which gives a bearded head of Herakles, has on its reverse a club and a tree planted in a vase.<sup>202</sup>



FIG. 10.

These considerations, though far from amounting to a proof, certainly strengthen the conjecture that the lion as tree-symbol is akin to, if not identical with, the lion as warden of the underworld and its waters.

But whatever may be the precise relation between the two aspects of lion-worship, that worship was not yet obsolete in Mycenaean times. In point of savagery it furnishes a parallel to the cult of Artemis Brauronia

<sup>199</sup> Theocrit. *Id.* xiii. 57.

<sup>200</sup> Ed. Ernout, *Epigr.* xxxvi.

<sup>201</sup> See e.g. Morell's *Thesaur. Num.* 'Gens

Caeclia' Tab II., 'Gens Eppia' L, 'Gens Coponla' I.-III.

<sup>202</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 593.

who 'had a shrine near the grave of Kallisto, bore the title of Kalliste, and was herself a bear.'<sup>202</sup> To press the analogy: just as Artemis the Bear had a festival at which human ἄρκτοι danced the ἄρκτηϊα, so the cult of the Lion may have involved a dance on the part of human λέοντες. A slab from the frieze of the Assyrian king Assur-nasir-pal<sup>203</sup> represents two men dressed in the heads and skins of lions apparently engaged in a mimetic dance (Fig. 10); 'one holds a whip in his right hand, and grasps his jaw with the left. The second clasps his hands in front of his breast.'<sup>204</sup> A similar piece of ritual may well have obtained among the inhabitants of Cyprus and the Archipelago. For its existence in Mycenaean times the only direct evidence I can cite is an unpublished seal of which Mr. A. J. Evans kindly sends me an impression (Fig. 11). The stone, an engraved



FIG. 11.

carnelian, was found at Athens in 1884 and shows two figures much contorted in order to fill the circular field. The one to the left in the cut has the legs of a man joined to the upper part of a lion by means of a girdle: the other resembles it, except that the upper part is that of a goat. Now Athenaeus in enumerating sundry kinds of dances observes:<sup>205</sup> ἐτι δὲ μορφασμός, καὶ γλαυξ, καὶ λέων, ἀλφίτων τε ἐκχύσεις, καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπή, καὶ στοιχεῖα, καὶ πυρρίχη. His words are cleared up by a passage in Pollux,<sup>207</sup> which informs us that 'Morphasmos' meant 'a mimicry of all manner of animals' and adds—ὁ δὲ λέων ὀρχήσας φοβεράς εἶδος. ἦν δὲ τινα καὶ Λακωνικὰ ὀρχήματα δειμαλέα. Σειληνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς Σάτυροι ὑπότρομα ὀρχούμενοι. καὶ Ἰθυμβοὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ, καὶ καρνατίδες ἐπ' Ἀρτέμει. Thus the context of the passage from Pollux suggests that this dance called ὁ λέων had some religious (ἸDionysiac) significance; and we may provisionally assign it to the lion-cult which we have detected. In favour of a Dionysiac interpretation is a curious vase-painting (Fig. 12) published in 1869 by M. de Longpérier<sup>208</sup> with the following description:—

'Amphore de terre rouge à couverte noire...Homme à tête de lion, avec pieds de lion et queue de cheval. Il est agnouillé; ses reins sont entourés

<sup>202</sup> Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 402.

Now in the Brit. Mus. Nimrod Gallery 11a. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I. Pl. 39. The third figure to the left is playing a musical instrument of some sort, with streamers attached.

<sup>203</sup> In *Monuments of Nineveh*, I. Pl. 32, Layard shows a somewhat similar relief—an armed human figure with the head of a lion; it

was 'found lying between the winged bulls forming the entrance to a chamber at Kouyunjik.' At the same place he discovered two reliefs of colossal men, lion-headed and eagle-footed, armed with dagger and mace: see *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 462.

<sup>204</sup> Athen. 629 F.

<sup>205</sup> Pollux, iv. 103, 104.

<sup>206</sup> *Musée Napoléon III. Choix de monuments*, Pl. LIX.



d'un subligaculum ; il porte une cuirasse de métal jaune ornée de spirals sur les pectoraux.'

No explanation of this strange figure has hitherto been offered ; but I think that the elements for explaining it are now to hand. The horse's tail points to the Dionysiac circle : Sileni and Satyrs—even when they have goats' ears and horns—wear equine tails. The lion's mask<sup>209</sup> suggests an animal-disguise ; and the crouching posture forcibly recalls the Brauronian bear-dance. Putting these factors together, I see in this vase-painting a representation of a ceremonial dance in honour of the leonine Dionysus—*Διόνυσος κερηνός*—in which the celebrant was dressed up to imitate a lion in form and features. There is an interesting passage in Porphyry<sup>210</sup> which mentions a similar practice among the Mithraici:—'The doctrine of



FIG. 12.

metempsychosis,' he says, 'is a tenet of all primitive peoples. And this is apparently the meaning of the Mithraic mysteries. For, hinting at our fellowship with the lower animals, they represent us human beings by means of these animals. Thus the mystics who share in the same rites are called by them '*lions*,' while the women are known as '*hyaenas*'<sup>211</sup> and the attendants as '*ravens*.' The same holds good in the case of their parents, who are spoken of as '*eagles*' and '*hawks*.' Further, *the man who joins in these*

<sup>209</sup> That the head-covering is a mask is indicated by the lines on the cheek: cp. the crescents mentioned on p. 107. I am not sure that M. de Longpérier is right in remarking '*pieds de lion*': the feet may be human, though somewhat distorted by the pose of the whole figure. The closest parallel I can cite is a scarab of green jasper from Tharros in Sar-

dinis [*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, No. 178, Pl. C] on which a man with a lion's skin over his head crouches, drawing a sword from its sheath: this can hardly be Herakles, as Herakles on early gems has always a club, or at least a lance.

<sup>210</sup> *de Abstinentia*, iv. § 16.

<sup>211</sup> *Xaivas* has been plausibly conjectured for *Salvat*.

*lion-orgies* (τὰ λεοντικά) *girds on all manner of animal forms.*<sup>211b</sup> Pallas in his work on Mithras explains the custom (popularly supposed to allude to the signs of the zodiac) as in reality a reference to the human soul, which they say is enclosed in all manner of bodies. For certain of the Romans also in their own language speak of 'boars,' 'scorpions' (?), 'lizards' (?), and 'black-birds' (?); and have given these names to the attendant deities—to Artemis



FIG. 13.

the name of She-Wolf; to the Sun that of Lizard or *Lion* or Snake or Hawk; to Hecate that of Horse, Bull, *Lion*, or Dog.' There is in the Louvre collection a bronze-plaque (Fig. 13) which—if I am right—aptly illus-

<sup>211b</sup> Relying on this passage Reinesius emended Apul. *Metam.* xi. 257: 'et immeris dependebat, pene tergum, talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamyda. quoniam tamen visceres, colore vario circumnotatis insignibus animalibus. hinc dracones iudici: inde gryphes Hyperboræ: quæ in speciem pinnatæ alitis generat mundus alter. hanc *Olympiadem* stolam sacratæ nuncupant.' But I suspect that his conjecture *Leonticum* (see Delphin ed. of Apuleius, vol. i. p. 899) is

misleading, and that the robe in question, worn by those initiated into the mysteries of Isis, was merely an example of the 'tunicæ . . . varietate hircorum effigies in speciebus animalium multiformes' affected by the luxurious (see the self. collected by Erfurdt on Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6, ed. 1808, vol. ii. p. 37), and named after the Elean Zeus (Paus. V. xi. 1. τῷ δὲ ἱερῷ ἡδὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρκῦσι τὰ σπῆρα λεῖται ἱερειανόμην).



trates this passage from Porphyry. It has been described by M. Clermont-Ganneau as 'une représentation de l'enfer assyrien.'<sup>212</sup> Beneath certain figures emblematic of the stars (†) is a procession of long-robed beings with leonine heads: they lead up to a funeral scene in which two priests of Anou stand on either side of a corpse. Lower still is a monstrous form, grasping two serpents and suckling a pair of diminutive lions: it kneels on the back of a horse in a boat crossing the sea. At the edge of the sea is another monster; and farther off trees and the remains of a banquet. I take it that the whole plaque, surmounted by a lion's head and paws, is of a funerary character. The first row of symbols denotes the heaven, the next two the earth, and the lowest space the underworld. The mourners are arrayed with lions' heads, being in fact the Mithraic *λέοντες* who in their ritual thus symbolize the metempsychosis of the departed.

It would appear then that the Mycensean lion-cult involved not only an animal oblation and a *ὕδροφορία* or *λουτροφορία*—in one case for the purpose of watering a sacred palm—but also a mimetic dance. The performers of these several offices were dressed in artificial lion-skins, and probably called by the name of *λέοντες*.

Few features in the symbolism of the Lion are more striking than its resemblance to that of the Ass. By comparing the foregoing statement with the results reached on page 102 we see that the ceremonial observances connected with the latter closely correspond to those connected with the former. And the similarity of ritual is due to similarity of nature. Both animals are sacred to Dionysus: both represent the waters of the underworld. This parallelism is graphically exhibited in a vase-painting from the Vatican collection,<sup>213</sup> which portrays men and women symmetrically arranged filling their pitchers from jets of water that are issuing out of two lions' heads and two asses' heads.<sup>214</sup> Again, Midas the ass-king is said to have built the first temple at Pessinus to Cybele the lion-goddess. And Cybele employed the humbler beast to bear her image from town to town.<sup>215</sup> But if the leonine and asinine functions are thus coincident, we can account for what has been called 'the original myth of the ass-lion,' a myth that may 'be traced as far back as the Vedic scriptures.'<sup>216</sup> The deity which appeared at one time as an ass, at another as a lion, would readily be conceived as twy-natured.<sup>217</sup> Hence by a compendious symbolism, which occurs more than

<sup>212</sup> *Rev. Arch.* 1879, p. 337; Pl. XXV.

<sup>213</sup> *Museum Etruscum Gregorinum*, vol. ii. Pl. X. 25.

<sup>214</sup> As with the ass, so with the lion, rhytons exist moulded in the shape of its head, e.g. two exx. in Vase-room III. of the British Museum (cums 41 and 42).

<sup>215</sup> Lenormant and de Witte, *Étude des Monuments*, vol. i. p. 130.

<sup>216</sup> De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 379. Benfey in his *Einführung* to the *Panchatantra*, p. 463, § 188 collects the authorities for the fable of the Ass in the Lion's skin. The same

two animals are associated in other apologues, e.g. the Ass and the Lion hunting together (*Phaedr.* l. 11; *Fab. Aesop. Coll.* ed. Halm, No. 259; cp. 260, 323). Oriental sources are quoted by Bochart, *Hieronymus*, ed. Rosenmüller, vol. i. p. 180. M. de Longpérier, *Cherres*, vol. iii. Pl. IX. published a large silver bowl on which the Ass and the Lion are shown together.

<sup>217</sup> Caelius Rhodiginus ii. § 6, says: 'Qui vero inaquosa et arida frequentant, corporibus arecentibus (cuiusmodi *δεδασσας* pernescentur qui sunt *ασίνης* cruribus) hi se mares plurimum

once (see p. 138) on the Mycenaean intaglios, the early artist represented the worshippers of this deity as partaking of both natures simultaneously. The ass-figures on the Island gems have apparently the legs of lions.

### III.—THE CULT OF THE BULL.

'Semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem.'

OVID, *Art. Am.* ii. 24.

Another animal, which rivals the lion in the frequency of its appearance both on the Island stones and on the metal-work of Mycenae, is the bull. In this case there are of course numerous representations of a purely pastoral character. Many of the gems, for example, show a bull grazing or recumbent in a simple posture which would render any symbolic interpretation far-fetched and therefore false. But there are also not a few tokens that the wearers of these gems regarded the bull as an object of religious veneration. It will be convenient to present them in tabular form:—



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.



FIG. 15.

A. The *Annali dell' Instituto* for 1885<sup>218</sup> published an Island stone, found at Orvieto but apparently of Greek workmanship, which represents (Fig. 14) a couple of bulls in much the same attitude as the lions on Cernola's Cyprian bowl. They are clad in coats of hide and have girdles about their waists. They stand facing each other, and carry vessels in hands which seem to be human. Between them is a man who grasps one horn of each bull: he wears nothing but a cincture. To right and left of the group are palm-branches.

Again, there is in the British Museum<sup>219</sup> a lenticular gem of serpentine or green porphyry, which originally came from Crete. On it (Fig. 15) are the legs of a man combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull. This curious figure, which Tzetzes would term a *βουτραγο-*

exhibent, interduam quoque faciem ac canem indunt videntur.' This may give force to the collocation of Origen *contra Celsum* (ed. Lommatzsch vi. 300, p. 368): ἡξῆς δὲ τοῦτον λέγει ἐκπύσσεια πλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς τε ἀσσοῖς τε καὶ βοῦσι καὶ δρονηφόλοις καὶ δρακονοειδέσι ἀρχοῦντας, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνους παρακλήσιαι ἐμ-

βολόγησαν.

<sup>218</sup> Vol. 57, Pl. GH. No. 8.

<sup>219</sup> *Cat. of Gems*, No. 76, Pl. A: Millenhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 78, Fig. 50: Maxime Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Gr.* p. 57, Fig. 36: Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 851, Fig. 432, 15.



ταυράνθρωπος, has not yet received any adequate explanation, but may—I think—be attributed to the designer's imperfect skill in perspective drawing. He wished to represent *two* men, one with the head and shoulders of a goat, the other with the head and shoulders of a bull.<sup>220</sup> But being at a loss to find room for both of them in his limited space, he made the legs of the one serve as the legs of the other also. An exactly similar instance of artistic economy is seen on certain gems cited by Milchhöfer,<sup>221</sup> and a couple engraved in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1889.<sup>222</sup> It is noticeable that the British Museum stone shows the same girdle and lappet of skin covering the man's thighs that we have already remarked in the case of the Ass and the Lion.

Among some intaglios found at Mycenae in 1888 is one<sup>223</sup> which has been described as: *Τέρας, οὐ τὸ κάτω σῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ὁσφύος ἀνθρώπινον, τὸ λοιπὸν λέοντος, σπαράσσει αἰγᾶγον, οὐ μόνον ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ὁ λαιμὸς φαίνονται.* The illustration here appended (Fig. 16) will suffice to prove that the upper part of this *τέρας* is *bovine*, not *leonine*; the long curved horns can hardly be mistaken. The author of the foregoing description must have been misled by a few straight cuts of the graving-tool on the neck of the animal, which at first sight suggest a mane. The design seems to represent a human being who wears the *προτομή* of a bull over the upper half of his body, to which it is fastened by a thick girdle. This personage stoops to raise by means of his mouth and arms the head and neck of a Cretan goat.

There is, if we argue from analogy, a likelihood that these three Island stones depict symbolically and actually bull-worshippers in full sacrificial costume.

B. Sometimes the human form has only the head of a bull. In the *Annali* for 1885<sup>224</sup> Carl Purgold engraves a bull-headed statuette of Mycenaean style: and Cesnola<sup>225</sup> found at Citium a clay idol of the same type. Perrot and Chipiez,<sup>226</sup> too, draw a Cyprian sculpture of a man wrapped in a mantle from which protrudes a bovine head; they add—'Une seconde variante du même type montre ce même personnage portant les deux mains à son museau; il fait le mouvement de quelqu'un qui se préparerait à enlever une tête postiche, un masque. Ce geste nous explique peut-être le vrai caractère de ces images...Il se pourrait que, dans quelque-une des fêtes qui se célébraient autour des temples, on se fût affublé de masques d'animaux.' This explanation is, I think, confirmed by a larger statue found at Golgoi,<sup>227</sup> which holds in its left hand the head or mask of an ox.

C. Thirdly, there are many cases in which only the *βουκράνιον* is represented. Foremost among these is the magnificent specimen now in

<sup>220</sup> Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 78, erroneously takes them for a pair of bulls.

<sup>221</sup> Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 82, Fig. 54a, b, c.

<sup>222</sup> Pl. 10, Nos. 9 and 10.

<sup>223</sup> *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1888, Pl. 10, No.

33.

<sup>224</sup> Vol. 57, Pl. II.

<sup>225</sup> Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 51.

<sup>226</sup> *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. p. 606, Fig. 414.

<sup>227</sup> Cesnola, *op. cit.* p. 161.

the Schliemann collection at Athens. It was obtained from the largest and richest of the Mycenae shaft-graves, and displays a bull's head of silver (purple patina) with horns of gold; traces of gilding are also to be seen on ears, eyes and muzzle; and upon the forehead between the horns there is a large gold rosette. As to the meaning of this really fine work of art Dr. Schuchhardt writes: <sup>228</sup> 'On some Egyptian wall-paintings we see among the tribute brought by foreign nations to the Pharaoh the head of an ox,<sup>229</sup> and on some other similar paintings we again meet with it, used this time as a weight in a scale.<sup>230</sup> However these analogies have as yet afforded no satisfactory explanation of this Mycenaean ox. Perhaps the head was hung up in the grave as a dedicatory offering.' This last view appears to me very probably correct. We know from Theophrastus<sup>231</sup> that to hang up the actual head of the sacrificed ox was a common practice among the Greeks: the man of 'petty ambition' is eager *βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπαταλῶσαι*. But I think we can go a step further. The use of the word *προμετωπίδιον*, which <sup>232</sup> elsewhere denotes the complete skin of the animal's head worn as a mask or helmet, suggests that the Mycenaean ox-head which is hollow and light may have been a sacrificial mask worn by the buried chieftain during his life-time. At any rate, that it had some such religious import seems clear from the following facts:—

(i.) Fifty or more 'small heads of oxen, with a double axe between their horns, cut out of gold plate,'<sup>233</sup> were discovered in the same tomb.

(ii.) The horns are of gold: for which practice as applied to oxen for sacrifice cp. Homer, *Il.* x. 294 and *Od.* iii. 382—

σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον...  
τὴν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας.

Also *Od.* iii. 425-438: Aeschin. 77, 12: Plat. *Alc.* II. 149 C: Plut. *Mor.* 184 E; *vit. Aem. P.* c. 33: Verg. *Aen.* ix. 627. Similarly it is said that the bull killed at the Taurobolia had its horns gilded.

(iii.) The rosette between the horns denotes perhaps the tuft of hair to which special sanctity was attached. Thus in the case of an *ox* Homer, *Od.* iii. 445, says:—

εὖχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον.

Euripides, *El.* 791f.:—

μοσχίαν τρίχα  
τεμὼν, ἐφ' ἄγρὸν πῦρ ἔθηκε δεξιᾷ.

<sup>228</sup> Schliemann's *Excavations*, p. 249.

<sup>229</sup> See the *Journal des Savants* for May 1885, p. 278 ff. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. I. p. 339, where it is stated that the shapes and colouring of the animal-heads prove them to have been made in metal.

<sup>230</sup> See Prof. Ridgway's *Origin of Currency and Weight Standards*, 1892, p. 128, fig. 12.

<sup>231</sup> *Char.* vii. ed. Jebb.

<sup>232</sup> Herodotus, vii. 70.

<sup>233</sup> Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 249, fig. 249.



Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 245:—

'Et summas carpeus media inter cornua saetas  
Ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima.'

The same custom was observed in the case of a *goat* (Hom. *Il.* xix. 254), and in the case of *sheep* (Hom. *Il.* iii. 273). It will also be remembered that there are representations of both the *ass* and the *lion* in which the forelock is distinctly emphasized.<sup>234</sup>

The device of a bull's head *with a rosette* or ornamental pattern on the forehead is known also as the shape of a Mycenaean vase from Carpathos drawn by Mr. Murray.<sup>235</sup> Max Müller<sup>236</sup> cites a similar example of the potter's art. In the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1892<sup>237</sup> is a woodcut of a Mycenaean cup from Egypt, adorned with bulls' heads—rosettes being inserted between the horns. The tradition lingered on into much later times. In the Terra-cotta Room at the British Museum is a lamp in the form of a bull's head with a palmetto ornament between the horns and a rosette on the forehead. Conze in an exhaustive essay on *Griechische Kohlenbecken*<sup>238</sup> depicts several examples of this design serving as mere ornamentation on the handles of Greek amphorae,—a usage perhaps to be connected with the ox-heads that decorate the handles of Cesnola's bowl.

Without the rosette the *Βουκράνιον* is a still more frequent motif in Aegean art. The *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1888<sup>239</sup> published a vessel from Mycenae, the rim of which is embellished with a whole series of them. They appear on several samples of Island stones in the British Museum;<sup>240</sup> also on certain steatite and haematite cylinders from Cyprus.<sup>241</sup> In metal work too they furnish a frequent pattern; sometimes forming the whole design—as on a Rhodian trinket discovered by Messrs. Salzmänn and Biliotti; sometimes being mere stop-gaps—as on a gold plate figured by Dr. Schuchhardt.<sup>242</sup> Nor must we omit the important gold ring from Mycenae on which are<sup>243</sup> three unmistakable heads of oxen, with long curved horns.

To recapitulate: the extant remains of Achaean art comprise, in the first place, one Island stone portraying skin-clad bulls engaged in a ceremonial presentation of oenoches, another showing a man disguised by the head and shoulders of a bull, and yet another representing a similar personage raising a slain animal from the ground; secondly, several terracottas and stone statuettes depicting bull-headed humanity; thirdly, numerous instances of the bull's head used alone, either with or without a rosette between the

<sup>234</sup> See pages 81, 84, 101n, 121, 106. And for horse, p. 138.

<sup>235</sup> *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, Pl. II. No. 14. Brit. Mus. Vase-room I. case 13.

<sup>236</sup> *Asia and Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, 1893, pp. 348-9.

<sup>237</sup> Vol. vii. p. 14 (*Arch. Anzeiger*).

<sup>238</sup> *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1890,

p. 118 ff.—esp. 132-133.

<sup>239</sup> Pl. 7.

<sup>240</sup> Cat. Nos. 65, 68, etc.

<sup>241</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iii. pp. 638-9; Figs. 429, 430, 432.

<sup>242</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 260, Fig. 261.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.* p. 278, Fig. 282.

horns. It remains to elucidate the nature of the cult or cults to which these diverse reli<sup>g</sup>ions bear witness.

Now it will be observed that one of our three Island stones came from Crete, the home of the Minotaur. According to consistent tradition this monster was the offspring of Pasiphae and the bull that Poseidon sent out of the sea in answer to Minos' prayer. The antiquity of the whole myth is beyond question: it is—says Miss Harrison<sup>241</sup>—'undoubtedly the oldest that is connected with Theseus'; in fact, the only one of his series which occurs on black-figured vases. And the said vases, despite Milchhöfer's desperate attempt to claim the Minotaur as<sup>242</sup> 'ein pferdeköpfiger Dämon,' represent him as clad from head to foot in a bull's skin with an undeniable bull's head and tail.<sup>243</sup> In later art too he repeatedly appears as a man with a bovine head.<sup>244</sup>

To trace his pedigree further back may prove instructive. Minos, Pasiphae's husband, was the grandson of that Minos who judged in the nether world; and he in turn was the child of Zeus by Europa. It was to the same island of Crete and under the same disguise of a sea-faring bull that Zeus carried off Europa.<sup>245</sup> The story went that he wedded her near a spring under the Gortynian plane-tree, which in token of the event is ever-green. And the beautiful series of Cretan coins, which represent Europa sitting amid the branches, shows that the sacred tree is an integral part of the legend.

Receding yet further, we learn that Europa was daughter of Agenor, king of the Phoenicians; and that Agenor was the offspring of Poseidon by Libya. Poseidon—it is well known—had strong affinity with the bull, which in Homer appears as the victim especially devoted to his honour. That he sent a bull out of the sea to Minos, we have already observed. On another occasion he dispatched a similar emissary to slay Hippolytus. Indeed he is himself described by Hesiod as

ταύρεος Ἐννοσίγαιος,  
ὃς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει βύεται τε πόλιν.—[*Scut.* 104.]

Tzetzes *ad loc.* comments: ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσίας ταύρων ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ταυρεῖος ἐκλήθη Βοιωτικῶς—an obvious assumption of effect for cause.

To resume our genealogy: Libya, the wife of Poseidon, was the daughter

<sup>241</sup> *Mythology and Monuments*, p. cxxi.

<sup>242</sup> *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 77.

<sup>243</sup> See e.g. Baumhüter's *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pp. 1789-1790.

<sup>244</sup> An odd variant (unnoticed in the *lexx.*) occurs on a mosaic from an ancient dome at Cremona. Among other subjects is a man wearing what seems to be a bull's mask, and armed with shield and sword; the figure is inscribed CENTAVRVS, which M. Müntz in the *Rev. Arch.* for 1876, Pl. XXIV. p. 407 holds to

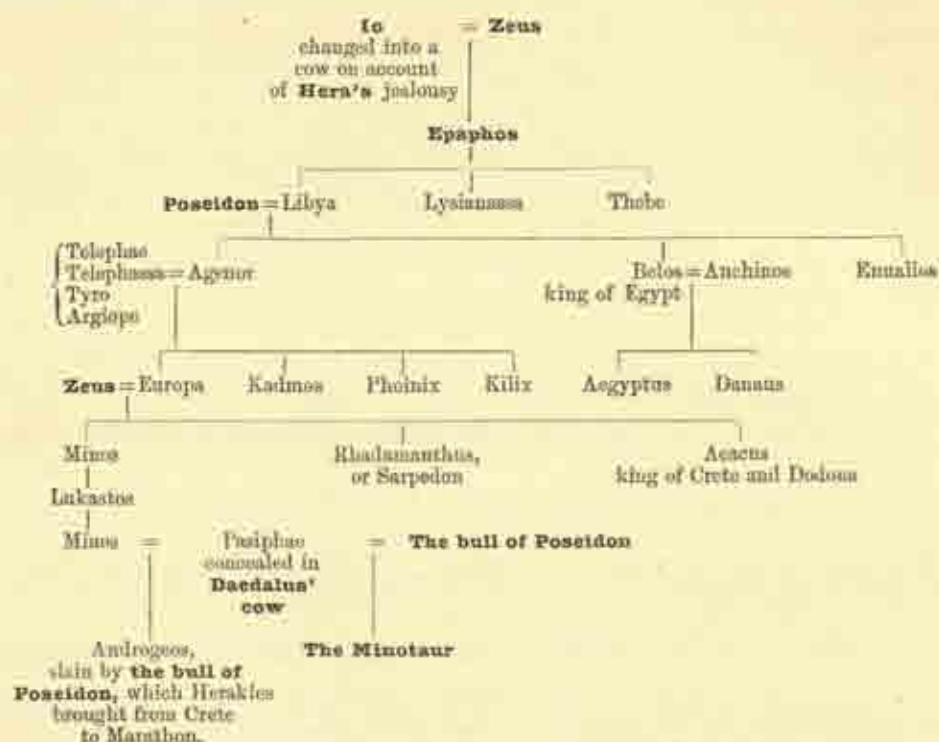
be a mistake for MINOTAVRVS. In either case it is a new type, to which perhaps Miss Harrison's words are applicable: 'It seems possible that the form of the Minotaur may have been suggested by the necessities of a mimetic dance, the part of the Minotaur being taken by a man with a bull-head mask.'—*Myth. and Mon.* p. cxxvii.

<sup>245</sup> To the received authorities must be added the recently discovered metope from Salamis: the *Acropolis* for April 16, 1892, p. 381.



of an Egyptian, Epaphos by name. And once more we are met by the same symbolism; for Herodotus <sup>240</sup> identifies Epaphos with the bull Apis.

Lastly, Epaphos is the son of Zeus, whom we have seen already under the disguise of the sea-bull, by Io, who through fear of Hera<sup>350</sup> was said to have been changed into a cow. For the sake of clearness I append the stemma in full, marking in Clarendon type those persons who were partially or entirely bovine:—



The prominent figure throughout this whole legend is the sea-bull of Poseidon, which weds the daughter of Epaphos, seduces Pasiphaë, and slays Androgeos. Why 'the Greek god of everything liquid'—as Seyffert<sup>344</sup> well terms him—should have been represented by a bull, is not altogether clear.

<sup>120</sup> Herodot. II. 133; III. 27, 28.

It was Hera who also struck with frenzy the three daughters of the Argive king Proetus, so that imagining themselves to be heifers—'implorant falsae mugitibus agros.' These legends throw light on the traditional epithet *βοῦν*. I may add the conjecture that Argos of the hundred eyes was a leopard. The possum was fabled to have derived its tail from him (e.g. Mosch. II. 55); but that he is not to be identified with that bird is clear from the legends of his prowess; he died to death.

fierce bull which ravaged Arcadia, a satyr who robbed and violated persons, the serpent Echidna, . . . and the murderers of Apis' (Smith, *Diet. Biog. and Myth.*, vol. 1, p. 232 b.). In Burmeister's *Denkwürd.*, vol. 1, p. 753, we have him portrayed wearing a leopard's skin, the spots of which are continued as eyes over the nude parts of his body; and Roscher, *Lex.* col. 274, gives a vase-painting in which he wears an animal's hide over his shoulders.

<sup>222</sup> *Class. Dict.* vol. Nettleahip and Sandys,  
p. 596a.

According to Strabo's conjecture, the symbolism was meant to recall either—  
 'The *bellaring* voice of boiling seas'—or—'The wave-worn *horns* of the echoing bank':

Strab. X. ii. 19.—ταύρω μὲν εἰκότα λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἀχελϋὸν φασι, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἤχων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ρεῖθρα καμπῶν, ἃς καλοῦσι κέρατα.

Others have detected allusions still more recondite, *e.g.* :—

Smith, *Dict. Myth.* vol. iii. p. 984 & π. 'Taurocephalus': 'to indicate their fertilizing effect upon countries.'

But, rationalism apart, it will not be denied that the connection between water and the bull was intimate. Oceanus is by Euripides (*Orestes*, 1378) called ταυρόκρανος. And river-gods were commonly conceived as tauriform: M. de Longpérier, whose knowledge of ancient vase-paintings was extensive and reliable, has left<sup>222</sup> an elaborate list of the extant types; arranged in order of theriomorphism they are these—

- |             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| River-god = | { | i. A bull.                                  |
|             | { | ii. An androcephalous bull.                 |
|             | { | iii. A taurocephalous man.                  |
|             | { | iv. A horned man with fish's body and tail. |
|             | { | v. A youth with horned head.                |

To the examples of the earliest types cited by the French savant should be added an 'androtauric' vase from Kameiros, now in the British Museum.<sup>223</sup> It represents the head of the local river-god; the horns are green (*i.e.* discoloured blue?), and a blackish face peers out from the προτομή of a bull. An aryballos<sup>224</sup> of the same provenance in the form of a bull's head also deserves mention.

Admitting then that to the Hellenic mind there was some primitive connection between water and the bull, the question arises whether that connection can furnish an adequate account of the intaglios above described.

To deal first with the Orvieto gem. Its main design is flanked by two palm-branches—the conventional abbreviation for a landscape background<sup>225</sup>

<sup>222</sup> *Œuvres*, ed. Schlumberger, vol. iii. p. 125; *op. vol.* ii. p. 121.

<sup>223</sup> Terra-cotta room, case 8.

<sup>224</sup> Brit. Mus. Vase-room I. case 37.

<sup>225</sup> Other *exx.* of this ideogram on bull-gems are, a leucular crystal in the Brit. Mus. = Cat. No. 72, two bulls back to back with a palm-branch between them: a glandular haematite from the same collection = Cat. No. 74, a soldier driving off a couple of oxen, a tree-branch in the field: a fine specimen of rock-crystal from Ialysus (*Rev. Archéol.* for 1878, Pl. XX. No. 8) = Cat. No. 107, Pl. A, a bull

standing by a full-grown palm with a large shield between his legs. In fact, the bull and the palm-tree formed a fixed 'schema' in Mycenaean days. As with so many of the gem engravings, this device reappears among the coin-types of the fifth century *B.C.*—*e.g.* a didrachm of Mytilene (*Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. XI. No. 28) has two calves' heads face to face with a tree between them. Also a Nolan amphora in the Brit. Mus. (Lenormant and De Witte, *El. Cyr.* ii. Pl. 54) shows a palm-tree disappearing behind a bull.



—and represents a human being with a girdle about his loins<sup>286</sup> grasping by the horn two bovine figures. The nearest analogue to this strange composition will, I think, be found in contemporaneous pictures of the ταυροκαθάψια, a very ancient custom which is delineated on the following remains of Mycenaean manufacture:—

(1) A fragmentary fresco found at Tiryns. This 'chef-d'œuvre of the wall-paintings,' as Dr. Schuchhardt<sup>287</sup> calls it, depicts a man in the scantiest garb, who with his right hand clutches the horn of a rushing bull; whether the artist intended to portray the man as actually on the animal's back, or only on the far side of it,<sup>288</sup> is uncertain.

(2) Two gold cups from the Vaphio tomb near Amyclae show scenes of bull-hunting and bull-taming, in which men take part who are 'naked except for a thick projecting girdle, from which hangs a little apron both before and behind.'<sup>289</sup> These cups obviously illustrate the same pursuit as that evidenced by the Tirynthian painting.<sup>290</sup>

(3) A green jasper<sup>291</sup> found at Mycenae in 1892 exhibits a man wearing a girdle only who has grasped by the horn and twisted backwards and downwards the head of a powerful-looking bull.

(4) A lenticular haematite in the British Museum, published by Mr. A. S. Murray in the *Revue Archeologique* for 1878,<sup>292</sup> shows a nude man in a much distorted position holding the horns of a bull.

(5) A similar haematite, also in the British Museum, published by Mr. Murray in the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1890,<sup>293</sup> represents a long-horned bull mastered by a couple of unclad men, who have seized it by the horns. One of the two, placed above the bull's back, closely resembles the so-called 'acrobat' of the stucco from Tiryns.

(6) On a gem of somewhat later workmanship, previously drawn by Dr. Heydemann in the same *Journal*,<sup>294</sup> a nude man in an almost horizontal position grasps with his right hand the horn of a bull; the field is occupied by a tree-branch, again a symbol of open-air scenery.

(7) A fragment of Achaean pottery from the excavations at Mycenae<sup>295</sup>

<sup>286</sup> This 'demi-andlité' as characteristic of Mycenaean art is discussed by M. Perrot in the article referred to below.

<sup>287</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 119. It forms the subject of an essay by F. Marx in the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1889, vol. iv. pp. 119-129; by M. Mayer in the same periodical for 1892, vol. vii. pp. 72-81; and by G. B. Hussey in the *Am. J. of A.* 1893, pp. 374-80.

<sup>288</sup> By a method of perspective not uncommon in early monuments, and known to occur on the Island stones, e.g. *Ἐργα. Ἀρχ.* 1888, Pl. 10, Nos. 34, 35, col. 178 = two lenticular gems from Mycenae with men in running posture above antelope's backs.

<sup>289</sup> Dr. Paul Wolters, quoted by Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 121.

<sup>290</sup> The cups have been published in colour by M. Tsountas, *Ἐργαπία Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1889, Pl. 9, coll. 159-163; and by M. Perrot in the *Bullet. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, vol. xv, Plates XI. XII. XIII. XIV. *Op. Appendix II.* to Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 350 ff.; and the *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* for 1890, vol. v. p. 104 (*Anzeiger*).

<sup>291</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 843, Fig. 426, 24.

<sup>292</sup> Pl. XX. No. 7 (p. 202); *Cat. of Gems*, Pl. A. No. 75.

<sup>293</sup> *Arch. Anzeiger*, p. 69. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. vi. p. 851, Fig. 432, 12.

<sup>294</sup> *Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst.* 1889, *Arch. Anzeiger*, p. 190.

<sup>295</sup> Published *ibid.* 1892, p. 72.

repeats the motive. A bull, charging at full speed, has just tossed a man who falls through the air face uppermost. His head-dress is of a decidedly unconventional sort, being to all appearance made of lattice-work<sup>266</sup> and ornamented with a pair of curved appendages that may be meant for imitations of the horns of a bull. But in view of the extremely decorative style of the design, it is difficult to pronounce upon details with any certainty.

(8) Finally, on part of a small round pyxis, discovered at Mycenae,<sup>267</sup> a man with the same girdle and apron is seemingly tossed by the horns of a bull. In the absence of any contrary indication, this fragment may be classed with the preceding designs.

All the above representations have with great probability been referred to the ταυροκαθάψια, a ceremony possibly alluded to by Homer, *Il.* xx. 403-5:

ἤρυνγεν ὥς ὅτε ταῦρος  
ἤρυνγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἀνακτα  
κούρων ἐλκόντων<sup>268</sup> γάνυται δὲ τε τοῖς ἐνοσίχθων.

and certainly described by several authors of a much later date. Pliny, for instance, (*N. H.* viii. 182) says:—

‘Thessalorum gentis inventum est, equo iuxta quadrupedante, cornu intorta cervice tauros necare; primus id spectaculum dedit Romae Caesar dictator.’

and Vaillant remarked that his words explain the ‘taurus ferociens’ that appears on some of Caesar’s denarii.<sup>269</sup> Again, Suetonius (*v. Claud.* c. 21) relates that Claudius Caesar renewed the experiment:—

‘praeterea Thessalos equites, qui feros tauros per spatia Circi agunt insiliuntque defessos ut ad terram cornibus detrahunt.’

Dio Cassius (*lxi.* 9) adds that Nero followed suit:—

ἐν δὲ τινὶ θεῷ ἄνδρες ταύρους ἀπὸ ἵππου συμπαραθέοντες σφίσι κατέστρεφον.

Later references to the same or similar forms of sport occur in *Heliod.* *Aethiop.* x. 30, and the *Anth. Pal.* ix. 543 (ed. Did.).<sup>270</sup> These passages are quoted by Mayer and illustrated by a marble relief,<sup>271</sup> which bears the inscription ταυροκαθαψίων ἡμέρα β’.

Between Mycenaean and Roman times our evidence is confined to a few inscriptions, and the coin-types of Thessaly. On the currency of

<sup>266</sup> Cp. Mr. A. G. Bather’s remarks in the *J. H. S.* vol. xiii. p. 252.

<sup>267</sup> *Zeitschrift des k. d. Arch. Inst.* 1892, p. 80.

<sup>268</sup> Hesych. Κτερεσσεῖς οἱ τοὺς ταύρους ἑλκόντες ἀπὸ τῶν κερμάτων καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ κερμαλλασταί.

<sup>269</sup> Morell, *Thomsonian Num.* p. 213a, b. Tab. *Julia*, vi. 3.

<sup>270</sup> The ref. to *Heliod.* and the *Anth. Pal.* are given by L. and S. s.v. ταυροκάπτη.

<sup>271</sup> Chandler, *Marm. Oxon.* (1763) II. 58, 4. Rosch, *C. I. G.* vol. ii. p. 746, No. 3212.



Larissa,<sup>272</sup> for example, (B.C. 480-430) there is a nude 'Thessalian youth restraining a bull,' which he holds by the horns: and on that of Crannon<sup>273</sup> (B.C. 480-400) a 'naked Thessalian subduing bull'—the struggle being here more marked. These coins<sup>274</sup> in some respects approach more nearly to the primitive custom than the spectacular displays of Rome: for, whereas in the latter the huntsmen rode on horseback and were presumably clad, the coins of Thessaly 'show an unclad combatant tackling the bull on foot.' Extant inscriptions prove the existence of the rite at Aphrodisias (Boeckh, *C. I. G.* vol. ii. p. 1109, No. 2759b), Smyrna (*ib.* p. 740, No. 3212), Ancyra (vol. iii. p. 88, No. 4039, line 46), and Sinope (*ib.* p. 119, No. 4157).

On the whole, we have adequate evidence for the assertion that (a) up to and even during the Christian era this practice of *ταυροκαθάψια* obtained among the Thessalians; and that (β) it can be traced back into the earliest period of Aegean history, when—to judge from the provenance of our data—it prevailed over a much wider area.

But how does this bear on the bull as emblem of the water-god? By way of answer I may quote Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum*, p. 246: 'Poseidon,' he writes, 'was very generally revered in Thessaly as the creator of the national soil, as well as of the celebrated Thessalian horses which grazed in the rich alluvial plains...As Poseidon *ταύρος* (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* i. 446) games were held in his honour, in which the youth of Thessaly exhibited their skill in seizing wild bulls by the horns...These peculiarly national religious festivals were called *ταύρια* (Preller, *loc. cit.* note 1) and *ταυροκαθάψια*, and their prevalence throughout the land is amply proved by the coins, on which we see a Thessalian youth pulling down a raging bull, while on the reverse is usually the horse of Poseidon.'

The *ταυροκαθάψια*, then, constituted a religious or semi-religious rite, which took place in honour of Poseidon 'Taureos. If, bearing this in mind, we return to a consideration of our Orvieto gem, its meaning is no longer enigmatic. The two bovine figures dressed in bulls' hides and carrying oenochoes in human hands are representatives of the bull-god Poseidon. That they could be portrayed with the legs of bulls, implies that they were themselves called *ταῦροι*:<sup>275</sup> and most fortunately Athenaeus (425 C) has preserved a record of the fact—

<sup>272</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 254, Fig. 175.

<sup>273</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 250.

<sup>274</sup> The coins of Catana (figured in the *Jahrbuch des k. k. Arch. Inst.* for 1889, p. 114), which show 'a man-headed bull with a figure surprisingly like the acrobat of Tiryns on its back' (Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 120), have been otherwise explained by Miss E. Sellers, who points out that the river-god is a mere badge, not an integral part of the design.

<sup>275</sup> If Mt. Taurus on the coins of Tauronessus is regularly denoted by a bull; and if even the H.S.—VOL. XIV.

Roman gens Thoria could adopt the same 'type parlant'; surely these human *ταῦροι*, of whom Athenaeus speaks, might well be depicted as actual oxen, while at the same time their ritual garb was retained to distinguish them from ordinary cattle. I conceive that, so far as artistic representation is concerned, they furnish an exact parallel to the leonine *λέωνόμοροι* on the Cyprian bowl. Those who performed the *λεονόμορος* were called *λέωνες* and portrayed as lions: those who danced the *ἀπέρεια* were known as *ἀπέρει* and dedicated statues of bears: those

παρὰ δὲ Ἐφεσίοις οἱ οἶνοχοοῦντες ἤθρου τῇ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐορτῇ ταῦροι ἐκαλοῦντο· ὡς Ἀμερίας φησίν.

The details of this Ephesian cult, though not fully known, seem to have resembled those of the ταυροκαθάρσια. Artemidorus (*Oneirocr.* i. 8) observes:—

ταύροις δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παῖδες Ἐφεσίων ἀγῶνίζονται. καὶ ἐν Ἀττικῇ παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι καῖροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν. καὶ ἐν Λαρίσση πόλει Θεσσαλίας οἱ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐνγενέστατοι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ οἰκουμένη τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακριθεῖσι συμβαίνει.

Similarly on the Orvieto gem, the athlete grasping by the horn each representative of the divine ταῦρος probably denotes an actual custom. Is it rash to conjecture that both here, and wherever the ταυροκαθάρσια are found, we have a primitive religious rite intended to symbolize, if not to secure, man's mastery over the waters of Poseidon?

With regard to the second gem, the serpentine from Crete, I should not hesitate to refer it to the same cult, were it not for the presence of the goat-garb in addition to that of the bull. The two animals would hardly have been combined on a single stone, if the respective rituals which they imply had been wholly independent. And, since Poseidon Taureos was never, so far as we know, represented by a goat, we are driven to seek some explanation of the bull that will account for the simultaneous appearance of the goat. Now the genealogy given above associated the former animal in Crete not only with Poseidon but also with Zeus—Zeus Kretagenes as the coins call him.<sup>276</sup> It was the bull-Zeus who wedded Io, begat Epaphros, and carried off Europa. And we observed that this last occurrence was intimately connected with the sacred plane-tree at Gortys, which in memory of the event was ever-green. Whether this connection between the Cretan bull and vegetation is accidental or essential cannot be decided off-hand. It is known that Demeter among the Boeotians was worshipped as Tauropolos.<sup>277</sup> It has been proved, too, by Mr. Frazer that Dionysus was often conceived as a bull,<sup>278</sup> and that his bull-form is 'an expression of his proper character as a deity of vegetation.'<sup>279</sup> But Demeter and Dionysus are not the Cretan Zeus, and parity of reasoning is apt to deceive.

There was, however, an interesting ceremony yearly performed on the Athenian Akropolis under the name of Bouphonia or Diipolia, which may serve to establish our connection. The custom, we are told, was introduced

who took part in the ταύρια (= ταυροκαθάρσια, Hesych. s.v. Ταύρια) were named ταῦροι and represented as we see.

For other ex. of religious nummery at Ephesus see Hicks, *Anc. Gr. Inscrip. in the Brit. Mus.* Pt. iii. p. 86.

<sup>276</sup> Houd, *Hist. Num.* p. 382.

<sup>277</sup> See L. Preller, *Griech. Myth.* vol. i. p. 634, n. 1: *C.I.G.* (7.S.) no. 2703.

<sup>278</sup> *Golden Bough*, vol. i. pp. 325-6.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 38, 43.



by an alien called Sopatros, who having murdered an ox had fled to Crete, and could only be induced to quit that island on the assurance of the Athenians that they would become partakers of his guilt. From this we may perhaps infer that the practice thus instituted was originally a Cretan one. Moreover, the name *Diipolia* suggests 'that the ox represented Zeus; and Zeus as a god of vegetation; for the details of the ritual indicate that the ox which tasted the barley-cakes was in all probability 'viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own.'<sup>220</sup>

If this be so, we have on the one hand the legend of the Gortynian plane and on the other the ritual of the Diipolia as evidence that the Cretan bull-Zeus symbolized vegetation. The evidence, though by no means conclusive, may be provisionally accepted for what it is worth.<sup>221</sup>

We next note the fact that the goat as well as the bull was a recognized emblem of Zeus Kretagenes.<sup>222</sup> According to Hesiod, *Theog.* 484, the infant Zeus was hidden *Αἰγάῳ ἐν ὄρει*, and tradition told how he had been nourished by the divine goat Amaltheia:—

'Huic fuit haedorum mater formosa duorum,  
Inter Dictaeos conspicienda greges,  
Cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis;  
Ubere, quod nutrix posset habere Iovis.'

*Ov. Fast.* v. 117 ff.

In memory of this tutelage the moneys of several Cretan towns regularly employed the forepart of a goat as their device.<sup>223</sup> Thirdly, it is just possible that the notched shield<sup>224</sup> between the legs of the goat-man indicates an orgiastic dance in armour, such as was said to have been performed by the Curetes to drown the cries of the infant Zeus.

Putting these stray hints together, I infer as probable, though far from certain, that the second gem represents a mimetic dance by two worshippers of Zeus Kretagenes, one clad in a bull's skin, the other in a goat's skin.<sup>225</sup> That such religious mummeries were actually in vogue among the Cretans is proved by a marble slab to be noticed later on.

Whether the third gem, the *τέρας* from Mycenae, illustrates the cult of Poseidon Taureos, or that of Zeus Kretagenes, or again some further

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 40.

<sup>221</sup> Coins of Rhodus, on the gulf of Isana, show a deity 'standing on base placed between two bulls: his head is horned and he holds a fulmen and an ear of corn,' *Head, Hist. Num.* p. 661. This description would suit a bull-Zeus as a vegetation-god.

<sup>222</sup> *Head, Hist. Num.* p. 332.

<sup>223</sup> See for exx. the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1889, Pl. 12, Nos. 10 and 11; Pl. 13, Nos. 6 and 7, 10 and 11.

<sup>224</sup> This is sometimes described as 'an open oyster'! But the occurrence of a similar shield

on the bull-gem from Ialysus (p. 126, n. 255), and a haematite in the Brit. Mus. (Cat. No. 74 'two drilled holes united by a groove . . . and lines of uncertain meaning'), which shows a soldier driving off a pair of oxen, makes it certain that a shield is intended. See Mr. A. J. Evans in the last number of this *Journal*, p. 215, n. 43a.

<sup>225</sup> It is also conceivable that the 'schemata' of this gem is intended to portray one man with an alternative disguise. In that case it would be a variation of the compendious type exhibited by the lion-legged asses.

form of bull-worship, we are not in a position to decide. Nor can we determine the precise significance of the bull-headed statuettes and masks which we have catalogued. But that in Mycenaean times bull-worship was still active, and active in more forms than one, has—I think—been adequately proved.

Before leaving the subject, there is one side-issue which merits attention. We have seen reason to suppose that Herakles was the humanized product of a lion-cult, and that Hera in theriomorphic guise was a sacred cow. Between these two deities tradition recognized a constant antagonism. Herakles appears in Greek literature as *Βουβαίρης*, *Βουφάγος*, *Βουζύρης*, *ταυροφόνος*; and *Βοώπις πότνια* 'Hera was said to have been 'his foe through life.'<sup>286</sup> It is not improbable that this traditional hostility is but the mythopoeic version of the enmity which naturally subsists between the two animals,—an enmity illustrated by that most common of all scenes in Mycenaean art, the lion attacking the bull.

In favour of this are several ancient Etruscan monuments representing the Italian Hercules and Juno engaged in combat with club and sword:<sup>287</sup> both are clad in the hides of animals—Hercules wearing the lion's skin, Juno the pelt of her Lauuvian goat.<sup>288</sup>

The same conception may also have regulated certain points in the Mithraic ceremonial. That the lion here played an important part, we have already learnt. Scarcely less important was the bull, which seems to have symbolized life. The Taurobolia<sup>289</sup> or 'Baptism of Blood' became in later days a very wide-spread custom, extending even to Eleusis. According to M. Lajard,<sup>290</sup> the mystics had to pass through some twelve degrees before attaining final fruition. Of these the first three were known as the Terrestrial Degrees and entitled (1) The Soldier, (2) The Lion, (3) The Bull. It is not impossible that this succession was due to the Mycenaean type of Lion at war with Bull. That the process was not the reverse, and that Mycenaean worship owed nothing to Mithras, is certain. As Mr. King remarked:<sup>291</sup> 'the complicated system of the Mithraici was evidently the creation of much later times, and of a religion vainly struggling for life.'

<sup>286</sup> Dr. Fennell in the *Engel. Brit. s.v.* 'Hercules.'

<sup>287</sup> See Haeflenscheid's essay in the *Annali dell' Instit.* for 1867, vol. xxxix. pp. 252-262, Pl. II, No. 1; and Miceli, *Monumenti Instit.*, Pl. XXV, No. 5.

<sup>288</sup> Cp. Müller-Wisseler, *Denkmäler*, I. No. 299b, c.

<sup>289</sup> *The Quæstiones and their Remains*, p. 154; Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* ed. 2, col. 594, s.v. 'Aenobolium.' A realistic picture of it is given in the *Mausoleum Taurinensis*, p. 25.

<sup>290</sup> *Le Culte de Mithra*, *passim*.

<sup>291</sup> *The Quæstiones and their Remains*, p. 155, note.



## IV.—THE CULT OF THE STAG.

ἔλαφοι διὰ τοῦτ' ἐγένοντο.

ARISTOPH. *Nub* 354.

There is in the British Museum<sup>222</sup> a certain lenticular haematite, which bears a device described by Mr. A. H. Smith as a 'monster, with head and foreparts of stag, and with human legs, brought over its back so as to fill field.' This 'monster' offers, it will be seen, a close analogy to some



FIG. 17.

of the Island gems which we have already considered, and—if I am not mistaken—represents a human being wearing over his head and shoulders the foreparts of a stag. The girdle and the lappet of hide falling over the thighs tend to confirm this interpretation. The design is as usual carefully arranged so as to occupy the entire space; and there are two objects in the field which, though unnoticed in the official catalogue, may possibly bear on our subject. The object lying below the body of the stag is explained by the glandular haematite mentioned on page 131, note 284; in both cases the 'lines of uncertain meaning in the field' denote a spear-head, and here perhaps betoken the sacrificial character of the animal-man. There is also a straight cut resembling a tree-branch behind the human legs; but it is unfortunately arrested by a flaw in the stone. This is, so far as I am aware, the only representation of a stag in Mycenaean art which can claim a distinctly religious signification.<sup>223</sup> But its claim is strong enough to justify us in reviewing such traces of stag-worship as may have survived into later times, in the hope of obtaining a clue to the meaning of our gem.

<sup>222</sup> *Cat. of Gems*, No. 70.

<sup>223</sup> It is possible that some religious use was made of the stag-vessel, cast in an alloy of lead and silver, which was found in the largest shaft-grave at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 246). Du Cange mentions that it was

customary among the early Christians to have *ceres argenteae* placed by the baptismal font (*Gloss.* vol. ii. p. 226 b). The British Museum (Vase-room I, case 37) possesses an aryballos from Nola or Vulci moulded in the form of a stag's head.

(1) Evidence with regard to the stag-cult of the Greeks<sup>294</sup> is mainly associated with the name of Artemis Ἐλαφία or Ἐλαφιαία. Pausanias (VIII. xxxvii. 2) informs us that at Lykosoura this goddess was ἀμπεχομένη δέρμα ἐλάφου: and in another passage (VII. xviii. 7) gives the following description of the Laphria—a yearly festival, which the men of Patrai celebrated in her honour. ‘They set up logs of wood, still green and some sixteen cubits long, in a ring round the altar; inside upon the altar itself are laid the driest billets. Moreover, for the day of the festival they make smooth an ascent to the altar, covering the steps up to it with earth. The first ceremony is a splendid procession in honour of Artemis; behind it rides the sacred maiden (ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος) on a car drawn by a yoke of stags. From that moment till the day following the city and the citizens are busied with the sacrifices. They cast alive on to the altar edible birds and victims of all sorts, wild boars too and stags and gazelles; others add whelps of lions and bears, and others again full-grown wild beasts: they also place on the altar the fruit of tame trees. After this they kindle the wood. Hereupon I saw a bear and some other animal thrown to one side of the altar, partly by the first rush of the flames, partly by their own struggles to escape: they were, however, restored to the pyre once more by those who had originally cast them on. And the story goes that no man is injured by the beasts.’ In this custom ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος drawn by stags is an obvious incarnation of Elaphia herself; indeed, throughout the festival Artemis appears in Homeric guise as

τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείης ἐλάφοισι.

*Odys.* vi. 104.

Legendary tradition illustrates the same affinity. Actaeon, who surprised Artemis while bathing, was changed into a stag and so devoured by his own hounds. On a metope from Selinus this transformation is skilfully suggested by the head and hide of a stag, which Actaeon wears over his shoulders.<sup>295</sup> In later bas-reliefs<sup>296</sup> and paintings<sup>297</sup> the antlers are already sprouting from his forehead. There is also the myth that Agamemnon once killed a stag in the grove of Artemis, in consequence of which crime the Greeks were detained at Aulis by contrary winds; the seer Calchas demanded the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, but the goddess at the critical moment substituted a stag for the maiden, whom she transported to the Tauric Chersonese as her future priestess. Again, it was Artemis who met

<sup>294</sup> For Semitic custom see *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 390, 447—‘In certain rituals we find the stag or gazelle as an exceptional sacrifice. The most notable case is the annual stag-sacrifice at Laodicea on the Phoenician coast, which was regarded as a substitute for a more ancient sacrifice of a maiden, and was offered to a goddess whom Porphyry calls Athena (*de Abet.* ii. 58), while Pausanias (III.

xvi. 8) identifies her with the Brauronian Artemis, and supposes that the cult was introduced by Selenus.’

<sup>295</sup> Roscher, *Lex.* col. 215.

<sup>296</sup> Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, vol. i. pt. ii. Pl. LXV. LXX.

<sup>297</sup> Darenberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* vol. i. p. 53, fig. 86, a fresco from Pompeii.



Herakles when he returned to Eurystheus with the Cerynean stag. This stag—according to Pindar, *Ol.* lii. 29—was

χρυσόκερον<sup>298</sup> ἔλαφον θήλειαν... ἂν ποτε Ταυγέτα  
ἀντιθέῃς Ὀρθώσιγ' ἔγραψεν ἱρὰν.

But the Vatican scholiast *ad loc.* remarks: 'Taygete, daughter of Atlas and Pleione, was herself turned into a stag by Artemis in order to escape the importunities of Zeus.' Finally, Euripides (*Helen*, 381 ff.) tells a similar tale about Cos, the daughter of King Menops:—

ἄν τε ποτ' Ἀρτεμις ἐξεγορεύσατο,  
χρυσόκερατ' ἔλαφον, Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κόραν,  
καλλοσύνας ἔρεκεν.

The testimony of legend is supported by that of language. A constant epithet of Artemis is ἐλαφιβόλος or ἐλαφοκτόνος. Now Mr. Frazer observes 'that wherever a god is described as the eater of a particular animal, the animal in question was originally nothing but the god himself,' and that 'divine titles derived from killing animals are probably to be similarly explained.'<sup>299</sup> It may therefore be surmised that Artemis herself was sometimes conceived as a stag, her ministrants being credited with the same shape. To celebrate stag-rites the Phocians held their festival of the Ἐλαφιβόλια,<sup>300</sup> about which Plutarch<sup>301</sup> says that 'the greatest of all their festivals is the Elaphebolia which they still keep in honour of Artemis at Hyampolis.' At this festival flat-cakes were offered, made of dough, sesame, and honey, and moulded into the shape of stags.<sup>302</sup> At Athens too in the month Elaphebolion deer were sacrificed to Artemis in her character of Elaphebolos.<sup>303</sup>

As regards the traces which this stag-cult has left on Greek art, the representation that most nearly resembles our Island stone is a vase-painting drawn in Gerhard's *Griechische Vasenbilder* (vol. i. Pl. 89). It shows one side of a red-figured crater. In the centre stands a draped female figure bearing a wreath in her left hand and a sprig in her right, which she raises in a supplicating manner toward a youth who advances from the left. Her face is concealed beneath a curious mask shaped like a stag's head with long branching antlers; the neck is covered with spots (or air-holes?). The young man on the left holds a sharp sickle or sacrificial knife in one

<sup>298</sup> Apollodorus too (*II.* v. 3) remarks: ἦν δὲ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐν Οἰνείῳ, χρυσόκερα, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερά. The golden horns (Callim. *A.* in *Diana*, 102; Pollux v. 76, αἰδοί. in the case of *αἰνός*, *an.* p. 122; *Dionysus*, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 324, 23; Hor. *Od.* II. xix. 29; *Pan*, *Cristin.* in *Etym.* p. 183, 42) denote the animal-god.

<sup>299</sup> *The Golden Bough*, vol. i. p. 328 and note. Ἐλαφιβόλοι occurs as epithet of Artemis in Plut. *Mor.* 980A; *A. Pans.* in *Diana*, 3; *h. (orph.)*, 35, 10; Artemid. ii. 35, p. 203; Soph.

*Trach.* 214; αἰδοί. Ἐλαφοκτόνος in Eur. *I.T.* 1113; Apollon. *de ads.* p. 602, 22.

<sup>300</sup> Hence the name of the month Ἐλαφιβόλια, which in Elis was known as Ἐλάφιαι; cp. *Pans.* VI. x. 1, and V. xiii. 11. According to Io. Malalis, p. 345, 19 the Byzantine form τὸ Ἐλάφιαι was even in his day the name of a street near the temple of Artemis.

<sup>301</sup> Plut. *de virt. mul.* 244 D, cp. 660 D.

<sup>302</sup> Athen. 646 E; Eustath. *Od.* p. 1652, § 24.

<sup>303</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 249, 7.

hand; and in the other a sort of wallet which, to judge from analogy, is intended to receive the victim's head,—with it should be compared the portable cases on the handles of Cesnola's bowl (page 103). Beyond this group upon a square base stands a second female figure, winged and with averted looks, bearing a wreath and a ribbon in her hands. The field is occupied by a fillet.

This vase-painting Milchhöfer interprets as 'the (equine) Gorgon holding flowers before Perseus, who bears a harpē.' Enthusiasm for the horse is not to be disconcerted by a pair of long antlers! I would suggest that it depicts the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, who either wears the stag's mask of the Artemis cult, or is already being metamorphosed by the goddess into a stag. The youth on the left will then be one of the *ἐκκριτοὶ νεανίαι* (Eur. *Hec.* 525) employed on such occasions,<sup>304</sup> and the winged Nike with sorrowful eyes will hint at the victory dearly purchased by a sacrifice like this. In any case I conceive that we have here a clear reminiscence of the stag-cult in post-Homeric times.

On the frieze from the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia we find Artemis driving a chariot drawn by a couple of stags.<sup>305</sup> In later art, for example in the famous 'Diana of Versailles,' she is not unfrequently accompanied by a stag. Several types are known from a numerous collection of terra-cottas discovered in one of her precincts,<sup>306</sup> and published by M. Henri Lechat.<sup>307</sup> A bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius, figured by Roscher,<sup>307</sup> represents her holding a stag by the horn; and on two coins, drawn by Spanhem,<sup>308</sup> she rides the same animal and is borne by a team of them, *ἐξομένη κεμάδων τετράζυγι δέφρῳ* (Nonn. *Dion.* 48, 450). Again, on the Hermannstadt statue of Hecate the stag appears as a sacrificial victim.

(2) Nor is it only Artemis who is associated with the stag. The *νεβρός*, that is the young of the *ἐλαφος*, was especially sacred to Dionysus. He is called *νεβριδόπεπλος*,<sup>309</sup> *νεβριδόστολος*,<sup>310</sup> or *νεβρώδης*,<sup>311</sup> and Nonnos<sup>312</sup> tells us that—

*νεβροχίτων Διόνυσος ὁμοῖος ἔπλετο νεβρῶ.*

His votaries too were arrayed in the fawn-akin;<sup>313</sup>—see black- and red-figured vases *passim*.

The epithet *νεβροκτόνος*, applied by the scholiast on Callim. *h. in Dian.* 190 (*ἐλλοφόνον, Βριτόμαρτιν, ἐύσκοπον, κ.τ.λ.*) to Artemis, furnishes a link between the cult of the *ἐλαφος* and that of the *νεβρός*. 'Ελλοφόνος itself

<sup>304</sup> His type is very possibly modelled on that of the conventional Perseus.

<sup>305</sup> *Bull. Mus. Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*, vol. i. p. 280. Baumolator, *Denkschrift*, vol. iii. Pl. 42.

<sup>306</sup> *Bullet. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, vol. xv. p. 82.

<sup>307</sup> *Loc. cit.* 806.

<sup>308</sup> *ad Callim. h. in Dian.* 106 (ed. 1697, pp. 297-8).

<sup>309</sup> *Anth. Pal.* ix. 524, 14.

<sup>310</sup> *h. Cypri.* 51, 10.

<sup>311</sup> *Anth. Pal.* ix. 524, 14.

<sup>312</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* xxvi. 28.

<sup>313</sup> Cp. *Dion.* 318, 16, *τῆς μὲν νύκτα νεβρί- ζαν καὶ ἀμαρτρίζων καὶ αὐθιγὰς τοῖς τελευ- μένεσσι*, and the authorities quoted by Dr. Sandys on Eur. *Bacch.* 24.



conveys the same meaning, since *ἐλλός* according to Hesychius is τὸ ἐκγονεῖν τῆς ἐλάφου νεογνόν, ὁ νεβρός.

(3) Lastly, it will be remembered that on Mount Lukaïos in Arcadia there was an Abaton—or *σήκωμα* as Euripides (*El.* 1274) terms it—into which no man was allowed to enter, on pain of death within a twelvemonth.<sup>214</sup> This stringent rule seems to have undergone some modification; for Plutarch<sup>215</sup> states that voluntary transgressors were stoned by the Arcadians, but that those who erred unwittingly were sent to Eleutherae. Local report affirmed that all who trod this sacred ground, whether men or beasts, lost their shadows;<sup>216</sup> and Plutarch adds that any man who entered the grove was called an ἐλάφος.

*Qu. Gr.* 39, p. 300 C. καὶ γὰρ ἐλάφος ὁ ἐμβάς καλεῖται. Διὸ καὶ Κανθαρίωνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρὸς Ἡλείους αὐτομολήσαντα πολεμοῦντας Ἀρκάσι καὶ διαβάντα μετὰ λείας τὸ ἄβατον, καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου φυγόντα εἰς Σπάρτην, ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀποδίδοναι τὸν ἐλάφον.

The explanation of these singular superstitions seems to be that the precinct was once the sacred haunt of a wolf-god. All rash intruders would be regarded as the natural prey of this fierce deity, and slain as offerings to him under the name of 'stags.' They were said to lose their shadows (i.e. souls) and die the death. It is known at least that human victims were until a comparatively late date sacrificed at the altar of Zeus Lukaïos. Lobeck (*Aglaophamus* ii. 895, note n.) has somewhat misrepresented the facts, though his interpretation is correct: he states—

'adytum ingressos, nisi aufugissent, immolatos, fugitivos ἐλάφους appellatos esse, quod deus loci inquilinus eos ceu cervum lupus insectari fingeretur.'

He was, I suppose, attracted by Festus' remark that runaway slaves were known as 'cervi,' and perhaps also by the proverbial phrase Ἐλάφειος ἀνὴρ applied to cowards.<sup>217</sup>

Which of the three cults thus reviewed is illustrated by our Mycenaean gem? Probably not the Dionysiac rite: because its initiates wore *faun*-skins, and the intaglio shows a full-grown stag. In favour of Artemis is the vase-painting which represents Iphigeneia with a somewhat similar stag's head and horns. But the balance of probability inclines, I think, towards the ritual on Mount Lukaïos. For, on the one hand, we know that the devotees of the deity there worshipped were called ἐλάφοι; and, on the other hand, the animal-cults already examined lead us to suppose that a man wearing the *προτομή* of a stag, as we see him here, is likely to bear

<sup>214</sup> Paus. viii. xxxviii. 6.

<sup>215</sup> *Quaest. Graec.* 39, p. 300 A.

<sup>216</sup> See Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, vol. i. pp. 2-9.

<sup>217</sup> Suidas, s.v. ἐλάφειος; Zenob. iii. 66;

Hom. *Il.* i. 225, xiii. 102; Aristoph. *Nub.* 354.

the name of *ἐλαφος* himself. Again, the spear-head—which on the Island stones is often a conventional symbol for death—may refer to the local practice of human sacrifice; and the tree-branch conceivably indicates the hallowed grove. But if it is impossible to determine with confidence the precise *rappori* of the gem in question, it will hardly be denied that it represents a stag-worshipper of some sort dressed in his ceremonial attire.

### V.—THE CULT OF THE HORSE.

Ἰππομόρφω μὲν δύο τινὲ εἶδη, ἡνιοχικὸν δὲ εἶδος τρίτον.

PLATO, *Phaedrus*, 253 D.

We come now to the horse, the main topic of Milchhöfer's chapter on 'Inselsteine.' Of the seven gems which he quotes as illustrative of this animal I am unable to detect it upon more than two. The first (Fig. 18) is a



FIG. 18.



FIG. 19.

lenticular rock-crystal found at Phigaleia and now preserved in the Berlin collection.<sup>218</sup> Two upright figures with human arms face one another, dressed apparently in the skins and heads of horses. They wear the girdle with which we are already familiar, but seem oddly enough to have the legs of birds. Between them stands a nude man holding the lower jaw of each horse-head. The second (Fig. 19) is a lenticular pebble of verde antico from Crete, also in the Berlin Museum.<sup>219</sup> It agrees in several remarkable features with the former gem. An upright figure clothed in a horse's mask and skin—the latter being prolonged into a crest between the ears—wears the same girdle round the waist, and (an important point of resemblance) stands on the same bird-legs. On its right shoulder it bears a slaughtered stag; and the field is occupied by two stars and a tree-branch. The pose of the whole figure recalls both the Salonica gem (p. 106)=a lion dressed in a lion-skin carrying a dead ox, and also the lenticular chalcedony (p. 84)=an asinine figure supporting a slain goat.

The first of these Island stones came, I have said, from Phigaleia; and it is fortunate that Pausanias has a full description of the ancient worship

<sup>218</sup> Milchhöfer, *Anfangs der Kunst*, p. 55, Fig. 44a; Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstsymbolologie*, Bk. iv. p. 683, Fig. 3.

<sup>219</sup> Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 55, Fig. 44c; Overbeck, *op. cit.* p. 682, Fig. 1; Hellig, *Bullettino dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1875, p. 41.



which obtained in that town. His account is interesting, and I may be excused for quoting it at length, if I can show that the details which he gives put us on the right track for interpreting the curious symbolism of the above-mentioned gems. He writes (VIII. xlii.) as follows:—

\* The mountain Elaion is distant about thirty stadia from Phigaleia, and contains a cavern which is sacred to Demeter surnamed Melaina. Now as for the tale told by the men of Thelpusa concerning the wellock of Poseidon and Demeter, the Phigaleians agree with them. Only, the latter hold that the offspring of Demeter was not a horse, but she whom the Arkadians name Despoina. For the rest, they say that, partly through anger against Poseidon, partly through grief at the rape of Persephone, she donned a black robe and entering this cavern did not show herself for a long time. So, when all the produce of the land was wasting away, and the human race suffered yet more heavily from famine, none of the gods knew where Demeter had bestowed herself. Pan, however, came to Arkadia, and went a-hunting now on one hill now on another: when he reached Elaion he there caught sight of Demeter, and discerned her form and the manner of her raiment. Zeus having heard the tidings from the lips of Pan sent the Moirai to Demeter. To their voice she hearkened, and relaxed her wrath and laid aside her sorrow. This is the cause which the Phigaleians allege to explain why they deemed the cave sacred to Demeter and set up therein a statue of wood. The following was the fashion of their statue. It was seated upon a rock and except for the head resembled a woman. It had the head and the mane of a horse, forms of snakes and other wild animals being attached thereto: it was robed in a chiton reaching to the feet: a dolphin rested upon one of its hands, and the bird on the other was a dove. The reason for which they made the image thus is clear to any one of intelligence and a turn for archaeology.\* Pausanias then goes on to narrate that in some unknown way this ancient statue had been burnt. The Phigaleians neglected to restore it and the cult fell into desuetude, till another famine came upon the land and the Delphic oracle advised them to return to the worship *ἱπολεχοῦς Δήνης*. They thereupon induced Onatas, the Aeginetan sculptor, to make them a fresh statue; and he made a bronze *ἄγαλμα* on the model of the ancient *ξύλον*. 'It was mainly for the sake of this Demeter'—continues Pausanias—'that I came to Phigaleia, and following the custom of the inhabitants made no burnt-offering to the goddess; for they place upon the altar that is before the cave the fruits of tame trees, in particular of the vine, and honeycombs and unused wool which still retains its *οἶοντος*; and having placed these there they pour olive oil upon them. These rites are performed both by private persons and in public every year by the Phigaleians. The performant is a priestess, and with her the youngest of the so-called *ἱεροθύται*, who are three of the citizens. There is a grove of oak-trees about the cave, and cold water wells up from a spring. The statue made by Onatas was no longer extant at the time of my visit.'

Pausanias' allusion to the legend of Thelpusa is explained by his words in VIII. xxv. 4 ff.:—'Passing Thelpusa the river Ladon flows to the temple

of Demeter at Onkeion. The Thelpusians name the goddess Erinys; and with them agrees Antimachos in his poem describing the Argive attack on Thebes; his verse runs thus—

"There they say is the shrine of Demeter Erinys."

Onkos is reported to have been a son of Apollo, and lord over the Thelpusian territory near Onkeion. But, however that may be, the goddess has the surname Erinys. For when Demeter was wandering in search of her daughter, it is said that Poseidon courted her; and that she, turning into a mare, pastured with the mares of Onkos. Poseidon, perceiving that he was the victim of guile, changed *his* form into that of a horse, and met Demeter. At first Demeter was provoked at the deed, but after a while she ceased from her anger; and they tell how she was minded to bathe in the Ladon. Hence came the goddess' titles; Erinys on account of her wrath, because the Arkadians say *ἐπιρῶσα* for 'to be angry'; and Lousia because she bathed in the Ladon. The temple-statues are wooden, their faces hands and feet being of Parian marble. The statue of Erinys holds what is called the *κλῆρυ* and a torch in its right hand; I should conjecture that it was some nine feet high. The height of the Lousia appeared to be about three feet less: those who hold that this statue represents Themis and not Demeter Lousia may be sure that they are at fault. Further, they tell that Demeter bore to Poseidon a daughter whose name they will not declare to the uninitiated, and also the horse Areion; on which account they were the first of the Arkadians to give Poseidon the title of Hippios. As proof of this they cite verses from the *Iliad* and the *Thebaid*. In the *Iliad* occurs this mention of Areion:

"Not even if he drave goodly Areion,  
Adraatos' swift steed, who was of birth divine."

And in the *Thebaid*, when Adraatos fled from Thebes—

"Gloomy raiment he wore, with Areion of the raven hair."

The verses hint, then, that Poseidon was the father of Areion. Antimachos, however, says that Areion was the child of Earth:

"Adraatos son of Talaos son of Kretheus was the first of the Danaans who became famous by driving his steeds, swift Kairos and Areion of Thelpusa, whom Earth herself sent up hard by the grove of Apollo Onkaios, a marvel for mortal eyes."

But even if the horse did spring from the earth, his race might still be considered divine, and his hair of a dark colour. The following tale is also told: that Herakles when warring against the Eleians begged the horse Areion from Onkos, and thus riding upon him captured Elia; and that subsequently the steed was given to Adraatos by Herakles. Hence Antimachos wrote of Areion—

"Who was once tamed by King Adraatos, after serving two chieftains."



So far Pausanias: the gist of his twofold version may be put thus—

(1) The Phigaleians worshipped Demeter Melaina in a cavern near their town. This *κρυπτήριον ἄντρον*, as the Pythia termed it, contained an old cultus statue with a horse's head.

(2) The Thelpusians recognized a shrine of Demeter Erinys at Onkeion, where her statue held a torch in its right hand.

(3) The inhabitants of both localities agreed in stating that Demeter as a mare had been wooed by Poseidon as a stallion. From the union sprang Despoina (according to the Phigaleians), or a nameless daughter and the horse Areion (according to the Thelpusians).

It will be well to collect further evidence on each of these points with a view to discovering the significance of the equine form which characterizes the whole legend.

(1) The cave-cult of the horse-headed Demeter is corroborated by certain coin-types of the neighbourhood. There are specimens of Thelpusian mintage, which have been described as follows:—<sup>329</sup>

Obv. Head of Demeter, adorned with necklace ending in horse's head.  
Rev. ΕΡΙΩΝ. The horse Arion, running, bridled.

And several Phigaleian moneys<sup>331</sup> show the goddess veiled and clad in a *χιτών ποδήρης*.

(2) On other coins of Phigaleia<sup>332</sup> Demeter holds a torch in either hand, and recalls Pausanias' account of the statue at Thelpusa. As Demeter Erinys she would naturally bear these symbols of the underworld. It is noticeable, too, that—just as the Phigaleian Demeter is clad in a black chiton—so Greek tradition makes the Erinys or the Erinyes—

*μελάνανις*. . . . . Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 699.  
*μέλαινα*. . . . . Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 977.  
*φαιοχίτωνες*. . . . . Aesch. *Cho.* 1049.  
*μελάγχρωτες*. . . . . Eur. *Or.* 321.  
*χρῶτα κελαιναί*. . . . . Eur. *El.* 1345.

In fact, there is every reason to suppose that both at Phigaleia and at Thelpusa Demeter was worshipped as a Chthonian goddess.

(3) This is borne out by her liaison with Poseidon Hippios. The two deities are more than once found together. It was at Poseidon's well that the women of Eleusis first danced and sang songs to Demeter.<sup>333</sup> They were

<sup>329</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner in the *J.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 111. Plate LXVIII. V. xv.-xviii.

<sup>330</sup> *Op. Head, Hist. Num.* p. 382.

<sup>331</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner in the

<sup>332</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ibid.*

<sup>333</sup> Paus. I. xxxviii. 6.

both associated with Athena (? Hippias) on the Sacred Way.<sup>224</sup> Demeter Euehloos had a precinct of her own at Kolonos, the sacred hill of Poseidon Hippios.<sup>225</sup> And Poseidon Hippios had a statue close to the temple of Demeter in the Kerameikos.<sup>226</sup> The reason of their partnership is not far to seek. Poseidon's horse was, like himself,<sup>227</sup> directly Chthonian in character; it came forth from the ground when its creator, in his contest with Athena, struck the Akropolis rock with his trident. What could be more natural, therefore, than that the horse-Demeter a Chthonian goddess should be united to the horse-Poseidon a Chthonian god, and that the offspring of their union should be the horse-Areion 'whom Earth herself sent up, a marvel for mortal eyes'?

In brief, the prominent figure throughout the Arkadian legend is the horse, and the horse as symbol of the nether world. If, then, the details of the Phigaleian gem are to be systematically investigated, we must proceed by examining somewhat narrowly the nature and functions of this animal.

The monumental evidence for its Chthonian office may be thus summarized:—

(a) A primitive tombstone relief (c. 550—500 B.C.) found at Chrysapha<sup>228</sup> represents the heroified dead on a lion-foot throne receiving oblations: the field is occupied by a trotting horse.

(β) On sepulchral monuments of the 'Early Attic' class the portrait of the deceased is often accompanied by the diminutive figure of a youth riding or leading a horse: this has sometimes<sup>229</sup> been taken to denote 'the favourite pursuits or the knightly rank of the dead person.' Decorative stelai of a later date, which are to all appearance adorned with scenes from daily life, occasionally introduce figures of horsemen.

(γ) From the fourth century onwards, a horse's head appears looking through a window in a common<sup>230</sup> type of relief known as the 'Sepulchral Banquet.' Another variety gives more prominence to the horse. The deceased 'hero' is seen either riding on or standing by a horse, while he receives a libation from an attendant female.<sup>231</sup>

The meaning of these types has been, and still is, hotly contested. We shall probably be safe in concluding that on funeral monuments belonging to class (a) or class (γ) the horse symbolizes death; while on stelai of class (β)

<sup>224</sup> PAUS. I. xiv. 2.

<sup>225</sup> PAUS. I. xix. 4: Soph. O.C. 1606.

<sup>226</sup> PAUS. I. ii. 4.

<sup>227</sup> Poseidon was γαῖονος, δαειχθῆς, and ἐρεσίνοος.

<sup>228</sup> Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 207, Fig. 101 Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2570, Fig. 7; after the *Mittheilungen des Deut. Arch. Instit. in Athen.* vii. Taf. 7. See further A. Furtwängler, *ibid.* pp. 164-166.

<sup>229</sup> Eg. by Mr. A. H. Smith (in the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, vol. i. p. 205), who cites Arist. *Ab. Hist.* ch. 7, ed. Kenyon; *J.H.S.* vol. v. p. 114; Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2584; Cumae, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, pt. i. p. 4, Nos. 1, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19.

<sup>230</sup> See e.g. Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2571, Fig. 8.

<sup>231</sup> Furtwängler, *Coll. Soubouff*, i. p. 40; Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2564.



it is either a mere reminiscence of earthly life, or at most illustrative of the Vergilian conception—

‘Quae gratia curram  
Armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis  
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.’

*Aen.* vi. 653—5.

The superstition of a death-horse<sup>322</sup> was not confined to Greece. In Hindoo mythology, the mouth of hell is represented as a horse's head.<sup>323</sup> And M. Reinach in his *Esquisses Archéologiques* (1888, p. 132) writes:

‘La présence du cheval dans les reliefs grecs funéraires se constate dans les œuvres étrusques de la même famille; en Étrurie plus clairement encore qu'en Grèce, le cheval paraît en rapport avec le monde des enfers.’

Turning from the monuments to literary sources, we again find the horse connected with Chthonian powers in general and Poseidon in particular. I would ask attention to a section of legendary genealogy that had won acceptance from the Greeks as early as the days of Hesiod.

Oceanus—the tradition ran—married Tethys, and among the numerous offspring of the marriage were several whose names have an interest for us; Electra, Hippo, Philyra, Polyphie, and Ladon.

To trace first the descendants of the Oceanid Electra. She wedded Thaumas, or as others said Typhon; and from the wedlock<sup>324</sup> resulted a strange progeny of Harpies. Their number is uncertain, and their names vary; but probably we can distinguish Aello, Okupete, Kelaino and Podarge, with Iris as their sister. Here we are already confronted by the figure of the horse. For Milchhofer conjectures that Iris was of equine form; and it seems certain that such was the nature primitively attributed to her sister Harpies. Homer, at any rate, in *Iliad* xvi. 150, tells how Xanthos and Balios, the horses of Achilles, were born of Zephyrus by the Harpy Podarge. The words *βοσκομένη λειμώνι* used of the latter hint at a horse's shape. Moreover, the poet held the Harpies to be ‘only impersonations of the storm-winds,’<sup>325</sup> as will be at once clear from a comparison of *Odyssey* xx. 66,

ὥς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόρας ἀνέλοντο θύελλαι,

with line 77, which refers to the same incident—

τόφρα δὲ τὰς κόρας ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο,  
καί μ' ἔδοσαν στυγερῇσιν ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν.

And the assignment of a horse-form to the Winds is common enough. In the Delos akroterion for example, which depicts the rape of Oreithyia by

<sup>322</sup> In Theocritus, xv. 40, the baby is frightened by the words: *Μαριά, ἔδερε; ἴππες*. Does the word *ἴππες* here refer (like *Μαριά*) to some goblin?

<sup>323</sup> See De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 333.

<sup>324</sup> *Aen.* Servius on Verg. *Aen.* iii. 241, the

parents of the Harpies were Pontus (= Poseidon) and Terra (= Ge); the other version is, however, supported by Hesiod, Apollodorus, and Hyginus. In either case a marine origin is given.

<sup>325</sup> Merry on Hom. *Odyssey* xx. 77.

Boreas, we have a small galloping horse added as a symbol; and in *Iliad* xx. 221 ff. we are told of certain mares belonging to king Erichthonios (a by-name of Poseidon<sup>296</sup>):—

τάων καὶ Βορέης ἡρύσσασατα βασκομενάων,  
ἵππῳ δ' εἰσάμενος παρελέξατο κυανοχαίτη·  
αἱ δ' ὑποκυσάμεναι ἔτεκον δυοκαίδεκα πῶλους.  
αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῶεν ἐπὶ ξειδωρον ἄρουραν,  
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θεόν οὐδὲ κατέκλων·  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σκιρτῶεν ἐπ' εὐρεά νῶτα θαλάσσης  
ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἰλὸς πολιοῖο θέεσκον.

The δυοκαίδεκα πῶλοι, who thus skim the cornfields and the sea, certainly denote the sweeping winds: and the epithets of sombre colour (κυανοχαίτης, Κελαίνω, and the like) may be indicative either of their *dark* Chthonian origin,<sup>297</sup> or—and this I suggest as being more probable—of the *unseen* force of the winds themselves. To the early mind darkness and invisibility are much the same thing.<sup>298</sup>

To deal next with the branch of the family derived from the Oceanid Philyra. She was loved by Kronos who, the legend said, courted her under the form of a horse. To them was born the centaur Cheiron: and thus we are introduced to another remarkable relic of horse-worship, the θίασος ἵπποβάτας Κενταύρων (Eur. *Iph. Aut.* 1059). A variant legend made Cheiron the son, not of Kronos but of Kronos' son Poseidon, whose connection with the horse was well-established. Pindar<sup>299</sup> makes mention of ἵππάρχον Ποσειδάωνος, whom he elsewhere<sup>300</sup> calls ἵπποδρόμιος. Lycophron<sup>301</sup> terms him ἵππηγέτης; and the tragedians<sup>302</sup> in general know him as Ἴππιος. These titles are born out by several myths:

(α) Poseidon, as we have already seen, approached Demeter Erinys as a horse. It has been pointed out<sup>303</sup> that this Poseidon-and-Erinys myth appears also in Sanskrit story. According to the Rigvedas, Vivasvat and Saranyū (= Erinys) in horse form gave birth to the Aśvins, twin horses or knights, who on Greek soil are represented by the Dioskuri. The Arkadian tale made the children of Poseidon Hippios and Demeter Erinys, Despoina and the horse Areion.

<sup>296</sup> Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. lix, ff.

<sup>297</sup> Cp. Demeter's titles Μέλαιρα and κραινέλλος (A. Hom. in Cer. 320, 361, 375). Her wedlock with Poseidon, who is commonly κυανοχαίτης in both Homer (*Il.* xiii. 563, xiv. 390, xx. 144; *Od.* ix. 536) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 378), produced μέγας Ἴππος 'Aptioos κυανοχαίτης' (Hes. *Scut.* 120).

<sup>298</sup> Cp. the Homeric phrases ἐκέλευε & ἔειπε.

ἥπει κολαῖη and ἦπει Ιεσσαίνα.

<sup>299</sup> *P. Ph.* iv. 45.

<sup>300</sup> *Isth.* i. 54.

<sup>301</sup> *Lyc.* 767.

<sup>302</sup> E.g. Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 130; Aristoph. *Ec.* 551, *Nub.* 83.

<sup>303</sup> A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 267; Milchhüter, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 64; Roscher, *Lex.* vol. 1817.



(β) Poseidon *Κυνοχαίτης* had intercourse with the Medusa (herself possibly a horse-headed being<sup>344</sup>), by whom he begat Chrysaor and the winged horse Pegasus.

(γ) Poseidon became by Alope the parent of Hippothoon<sup>345</sup> or Hippothoos, who was twice suckled by a mare.<sup>346</sup>

(δ) He also loved the daughter of Mestor and Lysidike, whose name Hippothoe proclaims her affinity.

Moreover (ε) Harpokration tells us that by the Oceanid Polyphie or Koryphie—for the name varies—Poseidon became the father of Athena Hippiā :—

Ἰππία Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καλυδῶνα. Μυασίας ἐν ᾧ Εὐρώπης τὴν Ἰππίαν Ἀθηνᾶν Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι φησι θυγατέρα καὶ Κορύφης τῆς Ὠκεάνου, ἄρμα δὲ πρῶτην κατασκευύσασαν διὰ τοῦτο Ἰππίαν κεκλησθαι.<sup>347</sup>

Similarly Pausanias<sup>348</sup> connects an altar of Athena Hippiā with an altar of Poseidon Hippios, and Pindar (*Ol.* xiii. 80 ff.) mentions the two deities together,—ὄταν δ' εὐρυσθενεὶ | καρταίποδ' ἀναρή Γεσόχῳ, | θέμεν Ἰππία βωμόν εὐθὺς Ἀθάνα.

Athena also bore the significant title of Chalinitis; and on one famous occasion received the offering of a *δουράτεος ἵππος*—probably an image of herself.<sup>349</sup> Pausanias<sup>350</sup> remarks that this title Chalinitis was adopted because 'having tamed Pegasus she delivered him to Bellerophon, and placed the bridle on him with her own hands.' Here again the horse seems to be emblematic of the sea. Bellerophon's father Glaucus (a local appropriation of Glaucus the ocean-god<sup>351</sup>) fed his mares on human flesh, and—according to one version of the legend—was devoured by them after they had been maddened by drinking of a sacred well at Potniae: as *Γλαῦκος Παράξιππος* he was supposed to haunt the Isthmus of Corinth and frighten the horses during the races. Bellerophon himself was originally called Hipponoos, and was by some reputed to be the son of Poseidon: his own son was named Hippolochos.

Finally, Ladon, another child of Oceanus and Tethys, married the nymph Stympthalis, by whom he had three children—Daphne, Metope, and

<sup>344</sup> Müller-Wisseler, *Denkm.* vol. i. No. 280, represent a relief from a black vase found near Chios, which—among a group of figures described by M. le duc de Luynes (*Annali dell' Institut.* vol. vi. 1834, p. 321) as 'un sujet inconnu'—introduces a horse-headed woman that Levezow interpreted as a sister of the Medusa.

<sup>345</sup> Paus. I. xxviii. 4. Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. cix., discredits 'a bit of genuine Attic work' as evidence of this eponymous hero. It is not the want supplied by the *Mon. dell' Inst.* 1806, vol. viii. Pl. XXXII. b, 263 (= *Annali dell' Inst.* vol. 38, 1806, p. 358) 'equa dno. stans puerum lactans; in armis superne nocturni dno. stans; ante equam cala-

thus. In domo Attico Halimuntis reposita."

<sup>346</sup> Hygin. 187.

<sup>347</sup> The tradition occurs elsewhere: see Dindorf *ad loc.* and Soph. *O.C.* 1070.

<sup>348</sup> Paus. I. xxx. 4. In V. xv. 6, however, he couples it with an altar of Ares Hippios, and in VIII. xiv. 1, he cites a second antilogical tale: when the Giants attacked the denizens of Olympus Athena drove her horse-car against Enceladus and won her name of Hippiā.

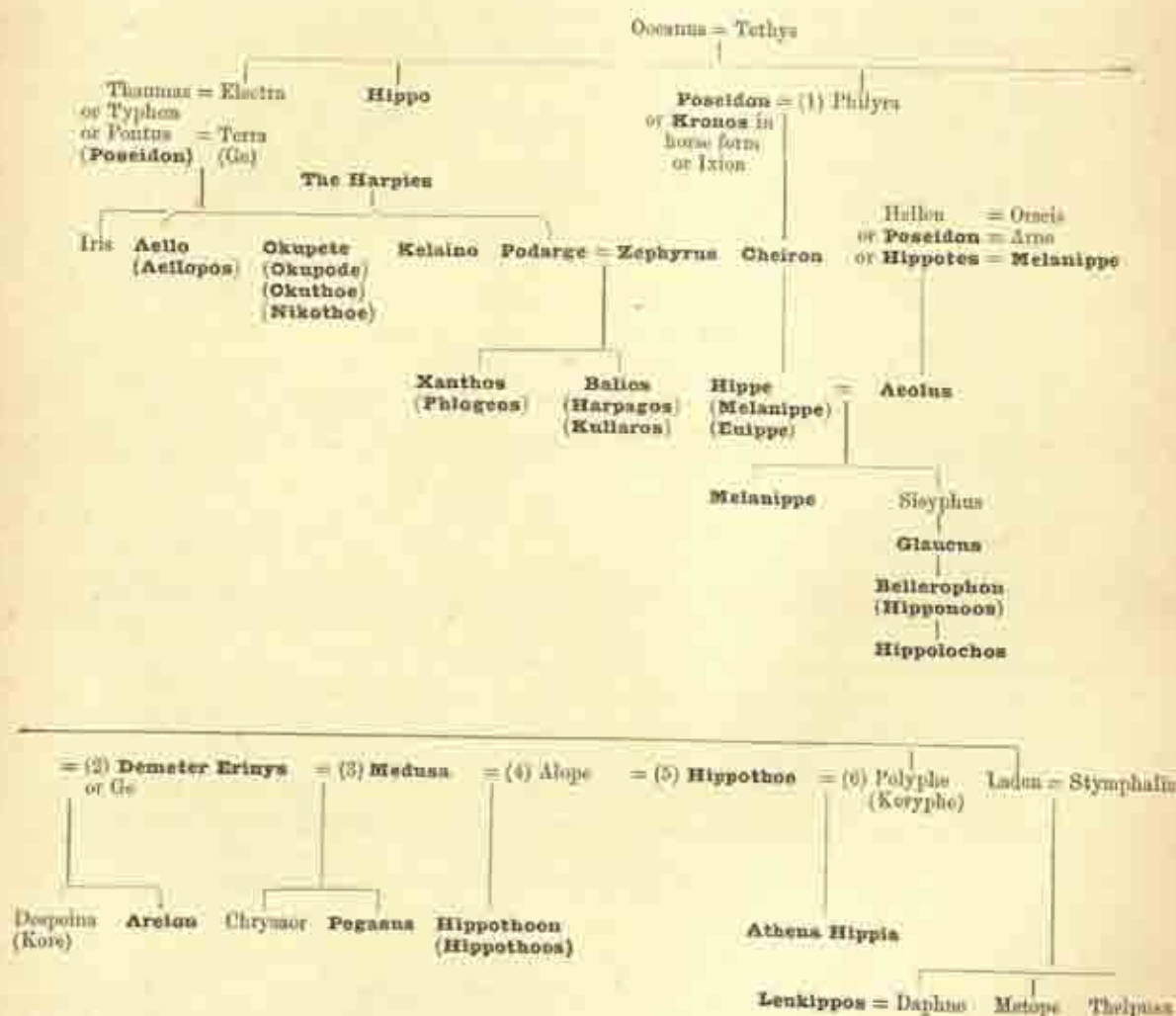
<sup>349</sup> The wooden horse filled with human beings is perhaps a reminiscence of an actual rite; cp. e.g. the wicker images of the Druids.

<sup>350</sup> Paus. II. iv. 1, Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 65.

<sup>351</sup> Roscher, *Lex.* coll. 758, 1682.

Thelpusa. The mention of Thelpusa taken in connection with Pausanias' story suggests some etymological meaning in the legend that Daphne was wooed by a prince called Leukippos.

Subjoined is a stemma that will help to rid my account of the confusion attendant upon genealogical minutiae. I have printed in Clarendon type the names of those persons whose relation to the horse is sufficiently obvious.



If we now ask ourselves: What light does this genealogy throw upon the horse that is so constantly figured in sepulchral scenes?—we recur to the conception of the Harpies who 'snatched away the daughters of Pandarus and gave them to the keeping of the hateful Erinyes.' The action was typical on the part of these primitive equine beings, who are looked upon as *ψυχοπομποί*,—swift unseen escorts of the departed soul.



Later art depicted the Harpies as winged females or even as birds, assimilating their type—as Mr. Cecil Smith<sup>352</sup> has shown—to that of the Sirens, who performed the same rôle in Hellenic legend. On the so-called 'Harpy Tomb' from Xanthos we see these 'virgineas volucres' (Ov. *Met.* vii. 4) with human arms and birds' legs carrying off the diminutive dead. And a vase in the Berlin Museum<sup>353</sup> represents a similar figure grasping two men by the wrists as it swoops through the air. Again, a Siren or a pair of Sirens—bird-forms with human heads and arms—furnished a frequent motive for Attic tomb-decoration. Sophokles' grave was surmounted by one; and examples of the heraldic arrangement are numerous. The Sirens' music has probably little reference to 'the singing of the funeral dirge,'<sup>354</sup> but rather recalls the piping of the wind across the waters. In short, Sirens as well as Harpies are Chthonian escorts of the dead, embodiments it may be of the viewless storm-wind sent to snatch the living from the upper air and convey them *στιγερῇσιν ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν*.

Having thus surveyed the nature and office of the Chthonian Horse, let us apply our results to the explanation of the Island stones. That these illustrate the Phigaleian cult, whose relations we have been examining, seems clear from several considerations. The first gem was found at Phigaleia itself; and the second derived from Crete, which according to Apollonius Rhodius<sup>355</sup> was the home of the Harpies. Again, the figures garbed in horse-skin cloaks and wearing horses' heads and manes aptly correspond to Pausanias' description of the old cultus-statue at Phigaleia, which 'had the head and mane of a horse...and was robed in a chiton reaching to its feet.' The substitution of this black chiton for the black horse-skin is paralleled by the Brauronian cult, in which the goddess Artemis obtained the sobriquet Chitone from the chitons dedicated to her in lieu of bear-skins.

Two points still await solution: (1) the fantastic fusion of bird-legs with horse-heads, which reminds us of the oriental Hippalektron;<sup>356</sup> and (2) the character of the central figure on the Phigaleian gem.

(1) From what has gone before it seems plausible to suppose that the horse-forms have bird-legs because they are representatives of a power that was sometimes embodied as a horse, sometimes as a bird. The Harpies, originally conceived as horses, were in later times represented as birds. Nor need we be surprised that the two shapes are here combined.<sup>357</sup> We have already discovered examples of this compendious symbolism, the horse with bird-legs being strictly analogous to the ass with lion-legs. This seems to me at any rate a more probable hypothesis than Milchhöfer's view that the bird-legs

<sup>352</sup> *J.H.S.* vol. xiii. pp. 103-114.

<sup>353</sup> Cat. No. 2157.

<sup>354</sup> Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 495.

<sup>355</sup> *Ap. Rhod.* ii. 295.

<sup>356</sup> Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2663, a b. f. vase = nude man riding on horse-headed Hippalektron. Lucian, *V.H.* i. 13, speaks of *ἵπποδάμοι* and

*ἱππόδαμοι*, but he means merely birds ridden as though they were horses.

<sup>357</sup> The archaic statue at Phigaleia, while it retained the head and mane of a horse, bore the bird as a separate symbol in one hand. This was apparently mistaken for a dove (the emblem of wedlock) by Pausanias.

of the horses and the back-pieces of the other animals were borrowed from the locusts, which the forefathers of the Mycenaeans may have encountered in their wanderings. His argument that the horse originally denoted a cloud, and that the locust-band is the most dangerous of all clouds, is hardly convincing.

(2) The second point is less easy to determine. We have little to guide us except the similarity that subsists between the 'schema' of the Phigaleian horse-gem and that of the Orvieto bull-gem. The latter, which depicted a nude man grasping by the horn a pair of bulls, I took to denote the supremacy of the celebrant over the waters of Poseidon. And I am disposed to interpret the present device in like manner as a man obtaining the mastery over two equine figures symbolical of Chthonian power. Their tongues hanging out and the position of their arms indicate the struggle of some fierce monster, reluctant to be tamed. It is possible that the scene finds mythical expression in the stories of the horse Areion and the horse Pegasus. On the coins of Thelpusa (p. 141) the former was represented as bridled; and—in the words of Antimachos—he 'was once tamed by king Adrastus, after serving two chieftans.' The *χαλίνωσις* of the latter is well known. In any case I should interpret the *ἵπποκαθάψια* of the Phigaleian gem to denote the subjugation of death. In the nude man grasping two Chthonian beings I see the converse of the Berlin vase mentioned above, which showed a Chthonian being grasping two nude men.

As yet we have not raised the question whether these equine figures represent worshippers or the object of their worship. In favour of the former supposition is the general similarity of the present gem to others already examined, and in particular to the Orvieto stone on which it was obvious that the *ἡῖθεοι οἰνοχοοῦντες* of Poseidon's festival, who bore the title of *ταῦροι*, were portrayed as actual bulls. It is true that no record has been preserved of human *ἵπποι*,<sup>348</sup> but then it was by the merest accident that Athenaeus mentioned the Ephesian cult, and in the present case the long cloak fastened by a girdle, as well as the human arms, point to a similar explanation.<sup>349</sup>

The occurrence of these human arms on a horse's body suggests a possible corroboration of my theory. Mionnet<sup>350</sup> describes a coin of Gordianus Pins struck at Nikaiā in Bithynia, the reverse of which has the legend *ΙΠΠΟΝ ΒΡΟΤΟΠΟΔΑ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΟΝ* and represents:—

'Héros à cheval, la tête couverte du bonnet phrygien, et tenant de la main droite une couronne; le cheval, dont les pieds de devant sont humains,

<sup>348</sup> Pliny, iv. 95, speaks of certain fabulous islands 'in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascuntur Hippopedes appellati.' Cp. Berosus, *Frag.* i. 4, ed. Müller.

<sup>349</sup> There is a striking analogy between both these groups and that depicted on the Assyrian slab (p. 571). In such case one human being is represented as taming or restraining two animal-figures. The lion-form, grasping his

jaw with his hand, bears a close resemblance to the action portrayed on our horse-gem. It is conceivable that the three *ἱεπόθεοι* mentioned by Pausanias (p. 921) were wont to enact this scene—one taking the part of the *ἱερόδαμορ*, the others being the *ἱεραὶ*.

<sup>350</sup> Mionnet, *Mémoires Antiques*, Suppl. vol. v. Pl. I. p. 148.



tient dans le droit levé un bâton ou sceptre, autour duquel est un serpent, et sa queue repliée se termine par une tête de serpent; une petite Victoire vole au-devant du héros pour le couronner.'

Mr. B. V. Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 443) reads the type somewhat differently:—

'Divinity riding on a horse whose right foreleg is formed like a human arm, which grasps the serpent-staff, and whose left foreleg ends in a human foot, the tail of the monster is a serpent; this curious type has never been explained.'

To the same effect Drexler in Roscher's *Lex.* col. 2690: 'Eine Erklärung des Typus ist noch nicht gefunden.'

Now Nikaea, as Mr. Head says, 'was built by Antigonos *circa* B.C. 316 on the site of the ancient Ancore.' It is, then, possible and even probable that this unique type goes back to a primitive cult resembling that of the Phigaleian Demeter: indeed other coins of Nikaea bear the inscription ΘΕΑ ΔΗΜΗΤ. It will be remembered that the horse-head statue on Mt. Elaion had 'forms of snakes...attached thereto': for the snake, like the horse, was a regular Chthonian animal. It occurs on the earliest funeral relief found at Sparta in the place occupied later by the horse; and appears not unfrequently along with that animal in the 'Sepulchral Banquet.'<sup>361</sup> Further, the serpent twined round a staff is borne by 'Ερμῆς χθόνιος in his capacity of ψυχοπομπός. It would seem, therefore, that the Nikaeian horse, which grasps the serpent-staff and has a serpent for tail, must be identified with the Chthonian horse, the normal escort of the dead in their journey to the underworld. But the coin-type attributes human forearms to this animal, and moreover represents it as ridden by a man who bears a victor's wreath. This surely means that a human being symbolically portrayed as the Chthonian horse is subjugated to his rider.<sup>362</sup>

In short, I submit that we have here a collateral relic of the Phigaleian rite, in which men dressed in horses' skins and furnished forth with the emblems of death were overpowered by the celebrant,—the purpose of the performance being to secure by mimetic magic immunity from danger. The Cretan gem indicates that propitiatory offerings of slain beasts were made to the same equine daemon.

Finally, the subjugation of the Chthonian horse or rather of his human representative seems to have spread to the West as well as to the East. From a grave at Chiusi comes a platter of black ware, published in the *Annali dell' Institut.* for 1877.<sup>363</sup> Inside the rim runs a design of which no solution has been forthcoming. On the left we have apparently a scene of rejoicing: one man plays the double-pipe, while two others prepare a

<sup>361</sup> See e.g. Fig. 100 in Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 206, and Fig. 6 in Roscher, *Lex.* col. 2567.

<sup>362</sup> Is this the ultimate significance of Pind. *OL.* xiii. 84 ff. ἵπποι καὶ δ' ἀνθρώποι δαμνόμενοι?

τοὺς Βελλεροφόντας, | φάρμακον παρὰ τεύχεσσι ἀμφι-  
χέουσι, | ἵππων πρὸς ἑσπέρην· ἀνὰ δὲ τοῖσδε ἐλθέσθαι  
χολακάς ἵππους.

<sup>363</sup> Vol. 49, Pl. U V, 8, p. 407.

sacrifice (?). Then comes *a male figure grasping by the ears a horse-headed man*, whose crouching attitude betokens submission or servitude. The remaining figures approach a seated personage, who is perhaps the heroified dead. The significance of the whole composition remains doubtful; but the central group—which bears a striking resemblance to the motive of the Phigaleian gem—may be provisionally interpreted as the ceremonial subjugation of a man wearing the mask of the Chthonian horse.

## VI.—THE CULT OF THE GOAT.

ἀμφὶ πλευρῇσι δὸρὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον.—

THEOGNIS, 55.

The next cult to claim our attention is that of the goat. I have already referred to two gems which represent human beings clad in the *πρότομή* of this animal. The first is a carnelian from Athens (p. 116): it shows a couple of men dressed as lion and goat respectively. The second is a porphyry from Crete (p. 120), on which a pair of human legs is combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull: this design—as I tried to show—probably denotes two men in animal attire; between their legs is a notched shield. So far as I am aware, there is only one other Island stone which portrays the goat-man in a similar fashion. I allude to a serpentine from



FIG. 20.

Crete (Fig. 20), published by Otto Rossbach in the *Annali dell' Inst.* for 1885,<sup>301</sup> on which is graved the forepart of a goat conjoined by means of a girdle ('una specie di anello') with the legs of a man, in much the same attitude as the 'monster' on the stag-gem previously described. The field is occupied by a star and a shield of the sort mentioned above.

The early prevalence of the goat-cult is deducible from the traces which it left in classical mythology. The principal indications may be grouped as follows:—

(1) *Athena* was worshipped in Attica as a goat-goddess. This is proved, partly by her aegis or goat-skin garb, partly by the fact that the goat being her especial *protégé* was never sacrificed to her.<sup>302</sup> That the primitive inhabitants of Attica should have worshipped the goat appears very natural, when we reflect that one whole division or caste of the population was

<sup>301</sup> Vol. 57, Pl. G H, No. 6; Maxime Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Gr.* p. 57, Fig. 34.

<sup>302</sup> Athen. 587 A.



composed of goatherds (Αἰγιοκόρῃς), whose importance is attested by many local names (Αἰγυίς, Αἰγυῖα, Αἰγυλῆος, κ.τ.λ.).

(2) *Dionysus and the Dionysiac attendants*—Pans, Satyrs, and Sileni—were constantly regarded as goats, probably in their character of woodland and harvest divinities.<sup>306</sup>

(3) *Artemis* was locally known as Κρυγία, Κρυκαλησία, and Κρυκεάτις.<sup>307</sup> Many ancient terra-cottas and marbles represent her accompanied by a goat, and a silver medallion from Herculaneum<sup>308</sup> shows her head between two goats rampant to r. and l.

(4) *Hera* was called Αἰγοφάγος at Sparta. Tradition said<sup>309</sup> that her cult there had been founded by Herakles—who, after his expedition against the sons of Hippokoön, first sacrificed a goat to her, because she had not opposed him. An amphora in the British Museum (*Cat. of b.-f. Vases* B 57, page 66; Gerhard *Aus. Vas.* ii. No. 127) shows Herakles with club upraised advancing towards Hera, who bears a large round shield on her left arm, poises a spear in her right hand, and wears over her head the skin and horns of a goat. Behind Herakles stands a female figure: behind Hera, Poseidon, who carries a trident with spear-head at lower end. Between Herakles and Hera, as also between the latter and Poseidon, is placed a caldron with four snakes.

*Juno Lanuvina*, Hera's Italian counterpart, is normally draped in a goat's skin with long goat-horns. This is seen to best advantage on those monuments which represent her in combat with Hercules. Several of them are figured in Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2262, 2263, 2265; but the clearest specimen is one drawn by Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler* i. No. 299b.

(5) *Aphrodite Pandemos* was conceived as a goddess riding on a goat,<sup>310</sup> which animal has in this connection a phallic significance. Possibly this is a clue to the amphora in the British Museum (*Cat. of b.-f. Vases* B 254) which represents Poseidon riding in a quadriga with 'Aphrodite,' who wears an aegis; Mr. Walters, however, considers the name a mistake for 'Athena.' At any rate Roman coins of the gens Fonteia<sup>311</sup> show Cupid seated on a goat with a thyrsus beneath it. And Martial (VIII. li. 9, 13) describes a cup by Mentor which bore as its device a winged Amor riding a goat.

(6) *Hermes*, to whom young goats were offered, was said to have begotten Pan in goat-form. He too is sometimes depicted as mounted on a goat.<sup>312</sup>

(7) Zeus Kretagenes was brought up by the nymph Amaltheia, who fed him with the milk of the cave-goat Αἰξ or Αἴγα. Subsequently Zeus slew Αἰξ in order to wear her skin as an aegis, when attacked by the Titans:

<sup>306</sup> *The Golden Bough*, vol. i. pp. 326-8; vol. ii. pp. 34-7; Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 1038-9, 1059. We have already remarked that at Potuzia a goat was sacrificed to Dionysos Αἰγυβάλας in lieu of a human victim, p. 106; Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* ed. 2, col. 976.

<sup>307</sup> Paus. III. xviii. 3, VIII. xxiii. 3, VIII. liii. 5.

<sup>308</sup> Welcker, *Alle Denkm.* ii. Taf. 3, 5. On the sacrifice of goats to Artemis see Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 581-2.

<sup>309</sup> Paus. III. xv. 7.

<sup>310</sup> *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 333, Fig. 49; Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 419.

<sup>311</sup> Morell, *Thémurius Num.* 3, 4, v, d.

<sup>312</sup> Roscher, *Lex. coll.* 2578, 59 ff.

for the Titans regarded this animal with especial awe. Zeus rewarded Aia with a place among the stars. A variant legend made *Amaltheia* herself the goat.

We cannot, indeed, pronounce with certainty that our Island stones illustrate any of these fragmentary notices. Nevertheless, reasons have been given for supposing that the first Cretan gem was connected with the cult of Zeus Kretagenes, whose sacred animals were the bull and the goat. It was further suggested that this would account for the presence of the notched shield as part of the device. Now Rossbach's serpentine likewise comes from Crete and bears a notched shield. It is therefore possible that it has reference to the same cult.

The provenance of the first goat-gem (Athens) points to some connection with the worship of the goat-Athene. But in that case the presence of the lion-figure is unintelligible. Assuming that the two are not independent fancies of the artist but symbols of the same deity, I would suggest that they have a Dionysiac meaning. At any rate, both the lion and the goat were sacred to Dionysus. The Maenads, who in their orgies rent live goats asunder (*αἰγίζου*), are akin to Agave who exults over what in her madness she takes to be a lion's head. In both cases it is the divine animal which is slain.

But, whatever be the precise cult or cults to which these gems should be referred, I cannot doubt that they represent human beings dressed in the skins of goats. Hesychius tells us that the Bacchantes wore goat-skins (*κατὰ τραγηφόροι*); and the ritual which survived in the case of Dionysus may well be a relic of a more wide-spread practice.

## VII.—THE CULT OF THE SWINE.

ὡς αὐχὶ τοῦτ' ῥύγχος ἀτεχνῶς ἔσθ' ἰός.

PHEREGRATES *ap.* Athen. *Deipn.* 95 D.

The last animal with which our evidence requires us to deal is the pig. Unerklärt müssen wir vorläufig ein Gemmenbild lassen (Cades, *Abdr.* 54, Nr. 76), welches hinter einem Rinde ein vermuthlich schweinsköpfiges Wesen zeigt.<sup>472</sup> And yet not altogether 'unerklärt.' After what has gone before it will hardly be denied that this design (Fig. 21) has a religious significance. The human legs; the girdle (which appears just below the body of the ox); the trailing cloak of hide—all the details in fact point to its representing a man dressed in a pig-skin garb. The spines or tassels down the back of the figure are conventional bristles. With them may be compared the bristles of the wild boar on a glandular gem from the Peloponnese;<sup>473</sup> also the horse's mane on a fragment of fresco from Mycenae,<sup>474</sup> discovered by M.

<sup>472</sup> Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 80, Fig. 51; Müddleton, *Engraved Gems*, p. 29.

<sup>473</sup> Milchhöfer, *op. cit.* p. 92, Fig. 59b.

<sup>474</sup> *Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική*, 1887, Pl. 11.



Tsountas; or again, the spines down the back of a figure clad in bear's skin, drawn by Micali.<sup>276</sup> But though the gem in question<sup>277</sup> is obviously a cult-gem comparable with those which we have already examined, to elucidate its details is not easy.



FIG. 21.

Our one clue is that it seems to have come from Crete. Now Athenaeus (375 F ff.) remarks:—

περὶ δὲ ἰῶν ὅτι ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῷον παρὰ Κρησὶν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαβυλωνίος ἐν πρώτῃ περὶ Κυζίκου φησὶν αὐτως· 'μυθεύουσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεται θυσία. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄρα Διὶ θηλὴν ὑπέσχεον ὅς καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἡρυσμῷ περιοιχνεύουσα τὸν κυνζυθμόν τοῦ βρέφους ἀνεπαύστον τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἐτίθει, διὸ πάντες τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο περίσεπτον ἡγοῦνται καὶ οὐκ ἂν, φησί, τῶν κρεῶν δαίσαντο. Πραΐσιαι δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ βέζουσιν οὗ, καὶ αὕτη προτελῆς αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νεύομινται.' τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τελετῆς.

Here, then, we have direct evidence for supposing that the pig was worshipped by the Cretans in connection with the legend of Zeus Kretagenes. And since we have found (p. 131) that deity appearing in bull-form apparently as a god of vegetation, it is possible that the pig also to whom the Praisians sacrificed was an embodiment of Zeus as a corn-spirit. This would not be without a parallel. Mr. Frazer has rendered it all but certain that Demeter<sup>278</sup> and Persephone, as well as the Phrygian Attis and the Syrian Adonis, were originally conceived as pigs. And of Dionysus, another vegetation-god, Nannos writes:—

αἰ δέμας ἰσάζοιτο τύπῳ σνός, ὡς θυώνης  
αἰέσω, ποθέοντα σνοκτόνον εὐγαμον Αἰρην,  
ὄψηγόνου τριτάτοιο Κυβηλίδα μητέρα Βάκχου.

Dion. i. 26ff.

But, whether Zeus Kretagenes was a corn-god or not, he seems to have been worshipped both as bull and as pig. Of the former aspect of his cult I have already spoken at length; and for the latter the passage from

<sup>276</sup> *Mon. Ant.* Pl. 15.

<sup>277</sup> It belongs to the large private collection of Mr. A. J. Kraus, to whose courtesy I am

indebted for the impress from which Fig. 21 has been drawn.

<sup>278</sup> *The Golden Bough*, vol. II. p. 49 ff.

Athenaeus is sufficient voucher. It may be, therefore, that the gem which represents both these animals is to be connected with the worship of Zeus Kretagenes.

At the same time we must not forget that both the ox and the pig were sacred to Demeter; and that Crete was 'one of the most ancient seats of the worship of Demeter,'<sup>379</sup> who bore the infant Ploutos to Iasion—

νεῖω ἐνι τριπόλῳ Κρήτης ἐν πύονι δῆμον.<sup>380</sup>

So that it is equally possible to explain the gem as a scene from the early ritual of this goddess; in which case the pig would again symbolize the corn.

It is at least safe to conclude that the gem represents a worshipper of a Cretan swine-deity leading to sacrifice a bull, which he holds by the horns. The propriety of the victim selected lies perhaps in the fact that it is another embodiment of the same god.

Whether the ceremonial wearing of a pig's skin continued into classical times, I have been unable to discover. It is to be noted, however, that at Ialysus a decree (Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Graec.* no. 357, vv. 22 ff.; cp. no. 388, vv. 22 ff.) forbade any man to enter the temple precinct of Alektrone with shoes of pig-skin on his feet. Also we may cite in this connection the vase-painting discussed by Studniczka in the *Jahrbuch* for 1891, pp. 258-262. It represents Hermes with his caduceus bringing to the altar a dog dressed in a pig-skin. That this is a make-belief of the Chthonian pig seems clear from the character of its conductor. Lastly, it is conceivable that the scene in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (v. 738 ff.), where the Megarian dresses up his two daughters<sup>381</sup> as pigs, is a parody of some religious rite.<sup>382</sup> In favour of this is the particularity of the description:—

ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ μοι Μεγαρικὴ τις μαχανά.  
χοίρωσ γὰρ ὑμὲ σκευάσαι φασὶν φέρεν.  
περίθεσθε τάσδε τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶν χοιρίων.  
ὥπως δὲ δοξεῖτ' ἡμεν ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ὕδης...  
ἀλλ' ἀμφίθεσθε καὶ ταδὶ τὰ ῥυγχία...  
ὥπως δὲ γρυλιζέιτε καὶ κολλέετ'·  
χρήσειτε φωνὰν χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I. p. 331.

<sup>380</sup> *Hom. Theog.* 971. Cp. Merry on *Hom. Od.* v. 125.

<sup>381</sup> Cp. *Arist. Frogs*, 573 εἰ δ' αὖ τοῖς χοιρίαισι χοίρωσ, θυγατέρας φασὶν περιθέσθαι; though the scholiast *ad loc.* (ed. Blaydes, p. 285) has a different interpretation.

<sup>382</sup> What form the mimicry of a pig would

take, may be seen from a Thesmion-kylis in the Brit. Mus. (*Mythology and Monuments*, p. cxy, Fig. 25), on which Phais and the sow are—as Miss Harrison points out—'noticeably parallel. Every effort is made to give to the woman a rude and beast-like appearance; her hair is rough and disordered, her arms spotted.'



## VIII.—THE RELATION OF THESE CULTS TO TOTEMISM AND TO ANTHROPOMORPHIC WORSHIP.

μῆξόθηρες φῶτες.—

EUR. *Ion*, 1161.

It is time to recapitulate the results which the foregoing investigation may claim to have established. In the centuries immediately preceding the Dorian invasion (roughly from B.C. 1500 to 1000) there existed throughout the Aegean Archipelago and the eastern coasts of the Greek peninsula a wide and varied worship of animals both wild and tame. Among the former were the lion, the wild-bull, and the stag; while the latter comprised the ass, ox, horse, goat and pig.

(α) Of these the ass and the lion were held to be embodiments of a Chthonian daemon, whose special prerogative was to guard the waters of the underworld. The worshippers of this daemon were wont to disguise themselves in asinine and leonine skins of an artificial sort. Apart from the mere oblation of slain beasts, their ritual involved a mystic hydrophoria and a mimetic dance.

(β) The lion also appears in connection with a tree-cult at Amyclae, and along with the goat was emblematic of Dionysus. Those who took part in the Dionysiac orgies wore the spoils of both animals.

(γ) The wild-bull was the animal form of the water-god, Poseidon Taureos; his human representatives, dressed in bulls' heads and hides, underwent a symbolical subjugation, which serves to explain the wide-spread practice of the ταυροκαθάψια.

(δ) The ox, the goat, and perhaps the pig, were vehicles of Zeus Kretagenes probably in his character of vegetation-god. Ministrants arrayed in the *perrotoma* of these animals masqueraded to his honour.

(ε) The horse was another Chthonian daemon, whose function was to escort the dead to Hades. As such he received the offerings of men dressed in equine garb, who also performed a rite similar in kind to that of the bull-worshippers and seemingly intended to secure immunity from death.

(ζ) Lastly, a human victim wearing a stag's head and horns was sacrificed to the wolf-god on Mount Lukaïos in Arcadia.

Doubtless many of the ceremonial details belonging to each of these cults have been irrecoverably lost. Enough remains, however, to justify some inferences of general application. It will have been observed that the

cult-scenes on the Island stones may be grouped into three classes, according as the artist depicts:—

i. *A human being wearing the προτομή of an animal over the upper half of his body, to which it is secured by a girdle round the waist.*

[See exx. of Ass (p. 81, fresco), Lion (pp. 115, bas-relief; 116), Ox (p. 120), Stag (p. 133), Horse (at Phigaleia p. 139, Nikaea p. 148, and Chiuzi p. 150), Goat (pp. 116, 120, 150), Swine (p. 153).]

ii. *An animal wearing its own προτομή in the same fashion.*

[See exx. of Lion (pp. 104, 106), Bull (p. 120).]

iii. *One animal wearing the προτομή of another.*

[See exx. of Ass + Lion (p. 84), and Horse + Bird (p. 138).]

It seems at first sight plausible to suppose that intaglios of class i. represent the worshipper of the animal, those of classes ii. and iii. the animal or animals worshipped. But further reflection shows that such a hypothesis is untenable. And for this reason. An animal dressed in a man's clothes, or a man dressed in an animal's hide, is a comparatively simple mode of expressing the relationship thought to exist between the two. But that an animal should be attired in its own hide is from this point of view inexplicable. Hence in class ii. the animals so portrayed must not be considered as mere animals, but rather as symbols of *men* called by animal-names, the ritual garb and act being retained in order to differentiate them from ordinary beasts. This explanation is supported on the one hand by the literary preservation of such animal-names for the devotees of animal-gods—e.g. ἄγριοι and λέοντες, ταῦροι and ἔλαφοι—; and on the other hand by the frequent symbolism of the Greek artists who represented Λέων of Sinope as a stone lion, Λέαινα of Athens as a bronze lioness. Again, the third class of engravings, which portray one animal wearing the προτομή of another, is on this showing not less intelligible. Given that the Cyprian λέοντες worshipped a daemon which appeared at one time as an ass, at another as a lion; was it not natural to represent them as lions dressed in asses' skins? That we are on the right track in thus interpreting the animal figures of classes ii. and iii. as symbols of *men* called by animal-names, is indicated by the fact that such figures occasionally bear vessels in *human* hands, e.g. the asses on pp. 81, 84, the lion on p. 106, the bulls on p. 120.

It would appear, then, that in these pre-Homeric cults the celebrants were wrapped in the skin and called by the name of the animal they worshipped.

Thus attired they performed their respective rites—the hydrophoria, the mimetic dance, the mock subjugation, and the animal sacrifice. With regard to the last we see:—

The lion (p. 84) and the Cretan goat (p. 84) offered by *Asinine* figures:

The α (p. 106) offered by a *Leonine* figure:

The Cretan goat (p. 120) offered by a *Bovine* figure:

The stag (p. 138) offered by an *Equine* figure:

The α (p. 153) offered by a *Swine* figure.



Now all this—it might be urged—is in favour of concluding that to the early inhabitants of the Aegean these animals were not only objects of veneration but also totems. For in totemic tribes—

(1) 'The clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to the totem by dressing in the skin or other part of the totem animal':<sup>383</sup> and this is exactly what was done by the Mycenaean worshippers.

(2) The totem, if it be an animal, must not be slain: and we note that on our gems in no case does the offering brought by an animal figure resemble the offerer (and, by implication, his deity) in kind.

(3) 'The clansman also affixes his totem mark as a signature to treaties and other documents':<sup>384</sup> and this explains the occurrence of the cult-scenes on the Island stones, which were certainly used as signets.

(4) 'In death, too, the clansman seeks to become one with his totem':<sup>385</sup> and we recall the fact that in the largest shaft-grave at Mycenae two metal masks were found, an ox-head of silver and a lion's-head of gold.

Moreover, sundry superstitions of the later Greeks point in the same direction. To the evidence quoted by Mr. Frazer<sup>386</sup> may perhaps be added the coincidence that—

(5) Just as some totem clans 'are careful not to speak of their totem by its proper name, but use descriptive epithets instead,'<sup>387</sup> so 'the oracular and sacerdotal'<sup>388</sup> phraseology of the primitive Greeks used *e.g.* ἀνόστρεος = cuttle-fish, ἰδρις = ant, φερέουκαρ = snail.

Are we, then, to decide that the Mycenaean celebrants were totemists? Not, I think, without qualification. Fully to establish that proposition, it would be necessary to prove that among them a man (α) might not marry a woman who worshipped the same animal, and (β) might under no circumstances kill and eat the body of the beast whose kinship he claimed.

On both these points our data are very limited but, so far as they go, tend to refute the supposition:—

(α) With regard to the marriage restriction, it is known that 'no man would marry a girl who had not been a bear'<sup>389</sup> at the Athenian ἀρκτεία; but this is not decisive either way, as it is uncertain whether the said man and girl were both bear-worshippers. The animal genealogies on pp. 125, and 146 are, if I am right in my interpretation, against the totemic prohibition; but here again the evidence is unsatisfactory, since the connections may be mere figments of later μυθοποιοί who—as Pausanias (I. xxxviii. 7) remarks—'when they have nothing to go upon for their genealogies, think it well to invent fresh ones.' (β) In dealing with the second question we are on more certain ground. It is true, on the one hand, that the cult-scenes of the gems do not represent *e.g.* a bull killed by a bull-man.

<sup>383</sup> Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 26.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.* p. 36.

<sup>386</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 15, 33, 34, 40, 41, 79.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

<sup>388</sup> E. O. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* p. 36, quoted by Paley on Hes. *W. and D.*, p. 524.

<sup>389</sup> Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 40.

It is true also that the Cretan swine-worshippers abstained from eating swine's flesh.<sup>290</sup> Further it is noticeable that Mycenaean remains, which furnish several clear instances of the ceremonial wearing of *artificial* masks and cloaks, have hitherto yielded no certain case of an *actual* skin being so worn. This fact admits of two explanations. Either the artificial cloak was a civilized substitute for a more primitive hide: or the counterfeit garb was original and deliberately adopted in order to spare the life of the sacred animal. Against the former of these interpretations I would urge that actual skins are known to have been worn by the later Greeks in certain religious rites, civilization notwithstanding. And the latter construction supports the view that the animals worshipped by the Mycenaeans were genuine totems. But again we have to weigh conflicting evidence. For, on the other hand, that a swine-figure should sacrifice a bull (see gem on p. 153) to a deity who appeared now as a pig, now as a bull, would have been contrary to totemic principles:<sup>291</sup> and the same may be said of the oblation of lions by an asinine figure (see gem on p. 84), and perhaps of the slaughter of a goat by a bovine figure (see gem on p. 120). Still more impermissible must have been the sacrificing of the totem itself.<sup>292</sup> Yet it is certain that in later times stags were burnt at the Laphria to the stag-goddess (p. 134); just as sheep in Cyprus were slain to the Cyprian sheep-goddess (p. 106). Moreover, such epithets as *αἰγοφάγος* or *νεβροκτόνος* discountenance the idea that the gods so known were regarded as true totems.

On the whole, I gather that the Mycenaean worshippers were not totemists pure and simple; but that the mode of their worship points to its having been developed out of still earlier totemism. The main modifications introduced into that prehistoric system were, on the one hand the permission to marry within the limits of the clan, and on the other the exaltation of the totem to the rank of an animal-god. The latter step brought with it the oblation of what had once been the totem animal, now regarded as the favourite or symbol of the god. Henceforward the totem-clan was supplanted by the clan of animal-worshippers, who perhaps recognized a subdivision of the cult-duties in some sort corresponding to the social organization of the totem-clan. At least Porphyry in his account of the Diipolia observes that 'Those who are descended from Sopatros who struck the ox are all called Bouphonoï, and those who are descended from the man who drove the ox round are called Kentriadaï, and those who slay the ox are called Diastroi.'

Whether the animal god was himself conceived as bestial or as human is a question which I do not propose to discuss at length. Such indications as exist point to the latter view. Strict animal-worship could hardly have

<sup>290</sup> Athenaeus, *loc. cit.* p. 153.

<sup>291</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 88: 'It seems a fair conjecture that such multifarious deities are tribal or phratric totems, with the totem of the tribal or phratric sub-divisions tacked on as incarnations.'

tions.'

<sup>292</sup> Mr. Frazer tells me that among purely totemic tribes there is no certain example of the sacrifice of the totem animal. A dubious exception is the turtle-sacrifice of the Zulus.



amalgamated with alien and imported divinities of an anthropomorphic type. But, given that the animal-god had come to be credited with human attributes, the fusion of religions which seems to have taken place at Mycenae is natural enough. Moreover, there is direct evidence to hand. Certain gold ornaments brought from Rhodes by Messrs. Salzmänn and Biliotti represent a winged female with outstretched arms, who from her waist downwards has the body of a bee. In other cases the humanity is complete. Herakles, whose genesis from a lion-cult we have already traced, appears as a man on a very early lenticular steatite in the British Museum. A woman-figure flanked by a pair of lions is also a frequent motive. And deities both male and female occur holding in either hand a long-necked bird. These examples suffice to prove that anthropomorphism had begun to assert itself, while as yet the more primitive theriomorphic cults had not fallen into oblivion. In brief, the Animal-worship of the Mycenaean age must be considered intermediate between Totemism and Anthropomorphism: its ritual relates it to the former; its conception of the animal-god to the latter.

## APPENDIX.

By way of Appendix I may be permitted to add a few words on a question intimately associated with the previous discussion. If animal-worship in general and the wearing of skins in particular played so important a part in Mycenaean times, what traces did it leave on the life of the later Greeks? The indications which I have noticed fall under two main heads—(1) religious superstitions, and (2) social practices. I shall enumerate them with all brevity.

(1) *a.* The legendary evidence for the foregoing cults furnished not a few instances of human beings partially or wholly transformed into animal shape. Midas in the Phrygian myth receives asinine ears; and Lucius in Apuleius' tale is turned into an ass. Hippomenes and Atalanta become by the fiat of Cybele lion and lioness. Hera changes the Proetides into heifers,<sup>300</sup> Io into a cow. Artemis transforms Actaeon, Taygete, and Cos, into stags. Finally, there is the legend of Circe:—

ἦ μοι σὺς μὲν ἔθηκας ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐταίρους  
 . . . . . θύρας δ' ἀνέφξε συφειοῦ,  
 ἐκ δ' ἔλασεν σιάλοισιν ἐοικότας ἐννέωροισιν.

HOM. *Od.* x. 338, 390.

These stories, with the doubtful exception of the last, should be regarded as relics of animal-worship. Man conceived as the servitor of the animal-

<sup>300</sup> Another version states that Dionysus, not Hera, effected the transformation: Apollod. iii.

god is invested more or less completely with animal attributes, and at death assumes the animal shape. Indeed, I think we may venture on the general statement that within the bounds of Hellenic mythology *animal-metamorphosis commonly points to a preceding animal-cult*.

β. Secondly, certain superstitions current among the Greeks with regard to the cure of madness presuppose the same stage of religious development. Prof. A. A. Bevan was, I believe, the first to remark the parallelism between Oriental and Hellenic notions on this subject. The Eastern potentate is represented as saying: 'And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar *lifted up mine eyes unto heaven*, and mine understanding returned unto me.' (Daniel iv. 34.)

The Greek maenad Agave is by Kadmos subjected to the same treatment:

ΚΑ. πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸνδ' αἰθέρ' ὄμμα σὸν μέθες.  
 ΔΓ. ἰδοῦ τί μοι τόνδ' ἐξυπέπας εἰσορᾷ;  
 ΚΑ. ἔθ' αὐτός, ἥ σοι μεταβολὰς ἔχειν δοκεῖ;  
 ΔΓ. λαμπρότερος ἢ πρὶν καὶ διυπετέστερος.  
 ΚΑ. τὸ δὲ πτωθέν τόδ' ἔτι σῇ ψυχῇ πάρα;  
 ΔΓ. οὐκ οἶδα τοῦπος τοῦτο, γίγνομαι δέ πως  
 ἔννοος, μετασταθεῖσα τῶν πάρος φρενῶν.

EUR. *Bacch.* 1265—1271.

Madness, then, is cured by looking at the sky. But for what reason? The explanation is—if I am not mistaken—to be inferred from another passage of Euripides. When Herakles after his fit of madness is seated on the ground with muffled head, Amphitryon breaks in:

ὦ τέκνον,  
 πάρες ἀπ' ὀμμάτων  
 πέπλον, ἀπόδικε, ῥέθρος ἀελίφ δεῖξον...  
 ἰὼ παῖ, κατὰ  
 σχελέοντος ἀγρίου θυμὸν,  
 ὥς δρόμον ἐπὶ φόνιον ἀνόσιον ἐξέγει.

EUR. *H.F.* 1203—1212.

Mania was commonly attributed to possession by some deity, being the natural state of one who was—

ἐνθεός...  
 εἴτ' ἐκ Πανός· εἴθ' Ἑκάτας,  
 ἢ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων  
 ... ἢ ματρὸς Ὀρείας.

EUR. *Hippol.* 141—144.

Further, in all the three cases mentioned above the mania took an animal guise. Of Nebuchadnezzar it was decreed: 'Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him' (Dan. iv. 16, v. 21); 'he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen' (Dan. iv. 33); his



portion was 'with the beasts of the field' (Dan. iv. 23). Agave belonged to the *ἀγέλα καινάδων* (Eur. *Bacch.* 1024) who in Oppian's version pray:

ἄμμε δὲ θήρας (θέες)  
ὁμοβόρους, ὁλοοῖσι κορυσσομένας ὀνύχεσσιν  
ὄφρα μιν, ὦ Διόνυσσε, διὰ στόμα δαιτρεύσωμεν.

*Cyneg.* iv. 305—7.

Dionysus accedes to their request,

ταῖσι δὲ γλαυκιώσαν ἐθήκατο θηρὸς ὀπωπὴν  
καὶ γέννας θώρηξε, κατέγραψεν δ' ἐπὶ νότου  
ῥινὸν ὅπως νεβραῖσι καὶ ἄγρια θήκατο φύλα,  
αἱ δὲ θεοῦ βουλῇσιν ἀμειψάμεναι χροῶα καλὸν  
πορδαλίες Πενθῆα παρὰ σκοπέλοισι δάσαντο.

*Ibid.* iv. 311—315.

Lastly, Amphytrion's words to Herakles—*κατάσχε λέοντος ἀγρίου θυμὸν*—are significant when we remember that Herakles was in all probability developed out of a lion-god. I gather, then, that the special form of *animal-mania* was attributed to a temporary possession by an animal-deity. It was cured by looking up at the sky, because 'animalia suppa'—as Lucretius calls them—normally look downwards,<sup>394</sup> so that the tendency to animal acts would be counteracted and the sufferer humanized<sup>395</sup> by looking upwards.<sup>396</sup>

γ. Thirdly, it was widely believed that to wear the skin or some portion of an animal was to become endowed with its peculiar virtues. Pliny's recipes often put in requisition the hides of asses (ed. Harduin, vol. ii. 486, 15), bulls (ii. 538, 18), stags (ii. 588, 33), goats (i. 667, 20; ii. 460, 18; 536, 36), or sacrificed animals in general (ii. 751, 2). And Greek amulets from Mycenaean times downwards have been made to represent various animal shapes. But in the open sea of superstition it is impossible to distinguish the contributions of particular rills. It will be better to turn our attention to those social customs which more definitely betray the influence of the Aegean cults.

<sup>394</sup> *κατεβλέπων* is the name of an African buffalo in Aelian and elsewhere.

<sup>395</sup> Man, says Aristotle (*de part. an.* i. 662b, 20), διὰ τὸ μόνον ὄφθαι εἶναι τῶν ζώων μόνον πρῶτον θεῶν. Cf. Dan. vii. 4: 'I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon two feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.'

<sup>396</sup> Does the same conception underlie Eur. *Hec.* 1056—1068? Poluxestor, going on all fours like a wild beast, prays that the Sun may cure his blindness:—

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ἔμμε ἐγὼ, γὰρ βῶ, πῶ στή, πῶ κέλευ,  
τετραπόδοι βάσω τοῖς ἀρεστέροις  
τιθέμενοι ἐπὶ χεῖρα κατ' ἰχθυοῖ . . .  
εἶθε μοι ἡμαρτὸν αἱματὸν βλέφαρον  
ἀέσαι' ἀνέσαι, περὶ δὲ, Ἄλκιε,  
φάγγος ἀπαλλάξαι.

His bestial nature comes out also in vv. 1070—1073:—

πῶ γὰρ ἐπὶ χεῖρα  
σάκεον ἔστησαν τ' ἐμπλησθῶ,  
βοῶντες ἀγρίων θηρῶν τιθέμενοι  
ἀνέμενοι λάβας

(2) *a.* The animal disguises of the Mycenaean age were worn, so far as we can judge, on occasions of religious importance—sacred dances and ceremonial oblations. Where the god was supposed to appear under more semblances than one, the celebrants would dress some in this way, some in that. A carnelian from Athens (p. 116) showed two figures clad in the *προτομαί* of a lion and a goat respectively; a serpentine from Crete (p. 120) similarly displayed a bull- and goat-man. These mummeries seem to have survived in several localities, probably retaining something of their religious character. My evidence on the point is as follows:—

i. In the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1888 M. Tsountas published a series of Island stones discovered during the excavations at Mycenae. Among them is one<sup>297</sup> which has not hitherto met with the recognition it deserves. It is described as a haematite cylinder having a series of figures, viz. a human figure, with short tunic and cap; two figures similar to the last, but having each two ox-heads; and a fourth figure with the head of an antelope. There are also two birds and two ox-heads in the field.

It should be observed that the *χιτών βραχύς* is composed of some hairy stuff with projecting spines, apparently in imitation of an animal's hide; and that the Janiform ox-heads are merely the engraver's device for showing both sides of the face.

ii. The *Athenaeum* for July 1, 1893, p. 39, announced the discovery near the ancient city of Hierapytna in Crete of a large marble slab, decorated with two rows of animal-headed dancers: 'human bodies with heads of men, dogs and eagles.' No detailed account of the find has as yet come to hand.

iii. M. Cavvadias, in the first instalment<sup>298</sup> of his long-promised *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, calls attention to the figures represented on a fragment of drapery from the statue of Demeter. Eleven forms with female bodies in tunics have the heads, hands and feet of various animals, as of the ass, the horse, the bear, the ram and the pig. They play various musical instruments and dance. '... Ces figures ont certainement un rapport avec le culte et avec le mythe local concernant les déesses Lycosouriennes... Quant aux figures à têtes d'animaux, elles nous rappellent la métamorphose, d'après la... tradition locale, de Déméter changée en cavale pour éviter les poursuites de Poseidon.'

Dr. Waldstein, in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1890,<sup>299</sup> speaks of them in similar terms as 'curious hybrid beings, or perhaps a scene of metamorphosis, running figures changed into animals.'

My own view is that they represent a local dance in honour of the goddess, at which animal-masks were actually worn. And the same explanation would satisfy the other examples mentioned above.

<sup>297</sup> Pl. 10, No. 28, p. 179.

<sup>298</sup> *Livraison*, i. 1893, pp. 11-12, Pl. IV.

<sup>299</sup> Vol. vi, p. 210.



iv. Even at Athens dances of the kind were not unknown. In Athenaeus *Deip.* 424 E we read:—

πυνθάνομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Εὐριπίδην τὸν ποιητὴν οἶνοχοεῖν Ἀθήνησι τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς καλουμένοις. ὀρχοῦντο δὲ οἷτοι περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος νεῶν τοῦ Δηλίου τῶν πρώτων ὄντες Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐνεδύοντο ἱμάτια τῶν Θηραικῶν.

This is usually taken to mean that the dancers wore garments of the sort manufactured in the island of Thera. But, apart from the *a priori* improbability of such a custom, the said garments were known not as *Θηραικά* but as *Θήραια* (Pollux vii. 48, *Θήραιον ἱμάτιον*, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, ἢ τὸ ὡς θηρίον ἐνυφασμένον; *Etym. Mag.* p. 85, s.v. Ἀμόργινος; *C.I.A.* ii. no. 374; Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 150). Hence I infer that the original reading in Athenaeus *loc. cit.* was *θηριακῶν*, which was subsequently altered to *θηραικῶν* in order to suit the better known *Θήραια*.<sup>400</sup> If this be so, the animal garb worn by the celebrants very possibly resembled the oases already quoted. However that may be, these mummeries seem to have been developed in two directions—secular and religious.

β. On the one hand, losing something of their ritual character, they gave rise to that mode of dancing which Athenaeus (629 F) calls *μορφασμός* and Pollux (Δ 103) defines as 'a mimicry of all manner of animals.' The beautiful astragalos from Aegina, which J. Six in the last issue but one of the *J.H.S.*<sup>401</sup> takes to represent 'Aurac volificantes sua veste,' affords an example,<sup>402</sup> and may be most plausibly explained as a dance of girls imitating the flight of birds—possibly the *γλαυξ* dance of Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*

γ. On the other hand, from the religious dance accompanied by music it is but a step to the dramatic chorus. A mimetic dance marked by signs of merriment—e.g. the *κόρδαξ* represented on the Mycenaean fresco—would readily take on the form of caricature and become the precursor of *Comedy*. More dignified performances—e.g. the shield-dance of the goat-deity—may have furnished the prototype of *Tragedy*. Such at least was Aristotle's view:—

*Poet.* 1449a ὁ γενομένης οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς, καὶ αὐτῇ (sc. ἡ τραγωδία) καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ

<sup>400</sup> In suggesting this restoration I see that I have been forestalled long since by Cassanbon.

<sup>401</sup> *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 124.

<sup>402</sup> A cock-dance by Phrynichus is mentioned in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, 1490, πρῶσαι φρένυχαι δε τὰ ἀλέκτωρ. Similar *μορφασμοί* were practised by mediaeval jugglers. The *Daily Telegraph* for Sept. 15, 1893, notes: 'In a Bodleian manuscript of the fourteenth century there is a picture of a man disguised as a stag, who is

dancing to the sound of a tabor played by a boy, and in the same collection there is represented a goat walking on its hind-legs. Bears, pigs, and mastiffs were commonly simulated, but none of these fictitious animals had any fore-legs, staves of wood being supplied as a substitute upon which the actor could lean when he was tired, while his face was seen through an aperture in the breast.'

δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά αἰετι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα, κατὰ μικρὸν ὑψήθη.

But if this be the genesis of the drama, a simple explanation suggests itself for the dramatic practice of wearing *πρόσωπα*. It is difficult to believe that, apart from some religious association, these masks could have been retained by the dramatists of the fifth century:—<sup>402</sup>

'Better, quite cast off the face-disguise  
And voice-distortion, simply look and speak.'

*Aristophanes' Apology*, p. 37.

If, however, they were an integral part of the mimetic rite, we can understand that to neglect them would be reckoned a grave breach of social etiquette. Hence I suspect that *dramatic masks were the direct descendants of the earlier ceremonial disguise*. The point is not without an interest of its own, and calls for less summary treatment. It is probable that their origin will appear more clearly in Comedy than in Tragedy, because the former remained in a primitive and unsophisticated state longer than the latter:—

*Ar. Post.* 1449a 37 αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγωδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο οὐ λεληθασιν, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλαθεν. καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὄψε' ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐβελονταὶ ἦσαν . . . τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν . . . ἡγνύηται.

It will, therefore, be reasonable to begin by inquiring whether the disguise of the comic chorus resembles that of the animal-dancers described above, and is susceptible of a religious explanation.

Now it is not a little remarkable that among the known specimens of the Older Comedy so many have animal-names. Magnes<sup>403</sup> exhibited *Βάτραχοι*, *Ὀρνιθες* and *Ψῆνες*, 'in which the choruses imitated the sounds' of these animals.<sup>404</sup> Ekphantides<sup>405</sup> wrote *Σάτυροι*; and Kratinos<sup>406</sup> the elder followed his example. Krates composed *Ὀρνιθες*,<sup>407</sup> and a curious drama entitled *Θηρία*, 'in which the golden age was painted with animated and docile furniture instead of slaves, and without animal food—since the chorus of beasts protested against it.'<sup>408</sup> A fragment<sup>409</sup> of their protest is extant:—

Καὶ τῶν ραφάνων ἔψευ' χροῖ . . .  
ἰχθῦς τ' ὀπίτῃν τοὺς τε ταρίχους, ἡμῶν δ' ἀπο χείρας ἐχέσθαι.

Eupolis wrote the famous *Αἴγες*, in which 'capras chori partes sustinuisse constat' ex Plutarchi *Symp.* iv. 1, Macrobian *Saturn.* vii. 5, Eustath. ad *Iliad.*

<sup>402</sup> It has indeed been supposed that they served to increase the resonance of the human voice, but actual experiment proves that even in the largest Greek theatres the ordinary tones of a speaker from the *λογεῖον* would be audible to the furthest seats.

<sup>403</sup> Meineke, *Com. Frag.* i. 34.

<sup>404</sup> J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Class. Lit. : Dramatic Poets*, p. 202.

<sup>405</sup> Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 36.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.* i. 58.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.* i. 62, 64.

<sup>408</sup> J. P. Mahaffy, *op. cit.* p. 205.

<sup>409</sup> No. 3 in Meineke's collection.



p. 1063, 44: <sup>411</sup> Phrynichus <sup>412</sup> a satyric drama called Σάτυροι. Platon's Ἰρῶπες <sup>413</sup> and Μύρμηκες <sup>414</sup> may also be mentioned—though the latter is possibly to be identified with a play of the same name by Kantharos, <sup>415</sup> who is further known as the author of the Ἀήδορες. Kallias <sup>416</sup> issued a second Βάτραχοι before Aristophanes appeared with his Βάτραχοι Ὀρνίθες, Πέλαιοι and Σφήκες. Archippos <sup>417</sup> in his Ἰχθύς introduced a chorus of fishes addressed as ἄνδρες ἰχθύες: he seems to have written an Ὀρεός <sup>418</sup> also. Diokles <sup>419</sup> named one of his pieces Μέλαιται. Lastly, Kephisodoros <sup>420</sup> composed a ῥέε.

How the animal-chorus was in each case represented may be best realized by the aid of vase-paintings. In the *Bullettino archeol. napolit.*, N.S.V. 1857 (Pl. VII, p. 134) Minervini discussed a vase portraying two such scenes, <sup>421</sup> One of them shows a chorus of ostriches, the other a chorus of dolphins: in both a flute-player is present. In the *J.H.S.* for 1882 <sup>422</sup> Mr. Cecil Smith published an oenochœ from the Burgon collection and an amphora of Gerhard's, which depict men dressed up as birds dancing to the sound of a flute: they recall Plautus' line:—<sup>423</sup>

'Sed quænam illæc avis est, quæ huc cum tunicis advenit?'

Such representations, it will be observed, are virtually indistinguishable from those of the ritual dances mentioned above. I infer that the animal-disguise of the comic chorus, whose religious associations were never wholly forgotten, is a survival of primitive animal-worship, the original import of the disguise being to claim the protection, if not the kinship, of the animal god.

In the case of those animals whose skins could not be worn, the disguise would be effected by painting or other means. Aristophanes (*Knights*, 520 ff.) speaks of Magnes, whose Βάτραχοι we have already noticed, as βαπτόμενος Βατραχείοις. The scholiast *ad loc.* remarks:—

ἐχρόντο δὲ τῷ βατραχείῳ (= frog-colour) τὰ πρόσωπα πρὶν ἐπινοηθῆναι τὰ προσωπεῖα.

This would no doubt be considered the equivalent of a mask; <sup>424</sup> and it is probable that where no animal-garb was worn, i.e. where the god was not worshipped as theriomorphic, some such disfigurement was always retained. The grammarian Platonius <sup>425</sup> informs us:

<sup>411</sup> Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 115.

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid.* i. 158.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.* i. 168.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.* i. 163, 175.

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.* i. 163, 251.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.* i. 214.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.* i. 205, 207.

<sup>418</sup> Blaydes, *Arist. Roman.*, ed. 1889, p. vi. n. 1.

<sup>419</sup> Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 251.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.* i. 268.

<sup>421</sup> See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, pt.

ii. p. 1126, Figs. 1427-1428.

<sup>422</sup> Vol. ii. p. 399 ff. Quarto Pl. XIV. He also cited Tischbein, *Hamilton Collection*, ii. 57. The Burgon oenochœ is now in the Brit. Mus.; the amphora is figured by Gerhard, *Trisulphalea*, Pl. XXX, Figs. 1-3.

<sup>423</sup> *Poen.* V. ll. 15.

<sup>424</sup> Pollux E, 102, says of a woman who used rouge: αὐτὴ πρόσωπον ἄλλὰ προσωπεῖον φέροι.

<sup>425</sup> Meineke, *op. cit.* i. 535.

τὴν αὐτὴν δέ (sc. τὴν κωμῳδίαν) καὶ τρυγηδίαν φασὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς εὐδοκίμοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ γλεῦκος δίδασθαι, ὅπερ ἐκάλουν τρύγα, ἢ ὅτι μήπω προσωπείων ἡρρημένων τρυγὶ διαχρίοντες τὰ πρόσωπα ὑπεκρίνοντο.

and again: <sup>420</sup>

οἱ δὲ δεδιότες αὐτοὺς ὥστε πλουσίους πηλῶ <sup>421</sup> χρίοντες καὶ τρυγίᾳ ἐπὶ μέσης ἀγορᾷ τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐκωμῶδουν . . . ὅτι τρυγίᾳ χριόμενοι ἐκωμῶδουν.

Dionysius Thrax, or one of his interpolators, gives a similar account: <sup>422</sup>

οἱ δὲ αἰδούμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ φοβούμενοι, τρυγίᾳ περιχρίοντες αὐτῶν τὰς ὄψεις οὕτως εἰσέβησαν—

and Horace <sup>423</sup> speaks of the tragic (*sic*) chorus as 'peruncti faecibus ora.' I conceive that this smearing of the face with the lees of the wine-god was intended to serve much the same purpose as the animal-disguise.

In Tragedy the link with the past is not so easily detected. Literary composition had fostered anthropomorphism, and the *μίμησις* did not often demand other than human masks. Still, it may be surmised that the form of these, which 'appear generally to have covered the whole head like a visor,' <sup>424</sup> betrays their origin. Again, 'one of the most characteristic features of the tragic mask was the onkos. This was a cone-shaped prolongation of the upper part of the mask above the forehead, intended to give size and impressiveness to the face,' <sup>425</sup> It seems to me possible that in this onkos we have a relic of the elongated animal-head, or even of the crest which we noticed on the Island stones in the case of the ass, lion, and horse. Occasionally the tragic mask was still more realistic: 'Actaeon had to be represented with horns, Argos with a multitude of eyes. Evippe in the play of Euripides had the head of a mare. A special mask of this kind must have been required to depict Io with the ox-horns in the *Prometheus Vinculus* of Aeschylus,' <sup>426</sup> The *Arch. Zeit.* for 1878 <sup>427</sup> published, among others, a mask surmounted by an eagle, from a Pompeian wall-painting.

Lastly, the Satyric drama shows traces of the same origin. The dress of its satyrs consisted in 'a rough goat-skin round the loins, with a tail hanging down behind,' <sup>428</sup> Their masks were 'provided with a shock of bushy hair, and exhibited coarse and lascivious features.' They seem also to have indulged in animal postures, one of which 'was called the *σκῶψ* or *σκῶπενμα*, and is variously explained by the old grammarians as having

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.* i. 538-9.

<sup>421</sup> With this may be compared the use of *πηλός* at the Eleusinian initiation: Dem. 313. 16.

<sup>422</sup> Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 746, 12.

<sup>423</sup> *Art. Poet.* 277.

<sup>424</sup> Smith, *Dict. Ant.* ed. 1891, vol. ii. p. 374

<sup>425</sup> Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, p. 226.

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.* p. 221.

<sup>427</sup> Vol. xxvi. Pl. 2. An eagle head-covering occurs on a cameo in Müller-Wisseler, *Denk.* i. No. 328: also on coins of the gens *Publicia*; see Morell's *Thesaurus Num.* 4-H.

<sup>428</sup> Haigh, *op. cit.* p. 265.



consisted in shading the eyes with the hands, or in turning the head to and fro like an owl.<sup>425</sup>

δ. The wearing of sacrificial skins during religious rites may be connected with the practice of wearing them in war. The underlying idea would be the same in both cases, viz. that of putting oneself literally and metaphorically under the protection of the animal-god. It is, for example, easy to see how the worshippers of the horse might ally themselves, so to say, with their deity by wearing his skin in battle.<sup>426</sup> In fact Herodotus (vii. 70) actually describes the custom. 'These Aethiopians from Asia'—he remarks—'were for the most part equipped like the Indians, but they had upon their heads the skins of horses' foreheads flayed off together with the ears and the crest; the crest serving in place of a plume, and the horses' ears being fastened upright.' To come nearer home; the *Revue Archéologique* for 1890<sup>427</sup> published a fragment of green schist covered with reliefs of a quasi-Mycenaean style, on which we see a procession of warriors. 'En arrière tombe un curieux appendice, que l'on ne peut mieux comparer qu'à une queue de renard, à laquelle seraient encore attenantes les deux pattes postérieures de l'animal... Tout bien examiné, il y a là un travail de hachures obliques et parallèles, qui indique la dépouille de quelque animal à queue fournie... Dans une figure il semble même que l'on distingue la tête de l'animal.'<sup>428</sup> Again, on a vase-fragment found at Tiryns we have two warriors 'from whose hips hangs down a long strip which has been explained, probably correctly, as the tail of an animal's skin thrown over their back.'<sup>429</sup>

The inconvenience of such a costume would ensure its ultimate rejection; but the tenacity of tradition usually retains some emblem of the past. Alexander the Great was often portrayed wearing a lion's mask, or a head-dress composed of an elephant's scalp; and coins of Seleucus I. represent that monarch in a helmet adorned with the horns and ears of a bull. The mintage of the Roman gens Marcia<sup>430</sup> shows the head of Philip, King of Macedon, with two goat's-horns on his forehead.

Parallel customs prevailed among the Italians. The Pontifices and Salii had fur caps made of the skins of sacrificial victims. The early inhabitants<sup>431</sup> of Latium wore a very similar animal-cap by way of helmet—'fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros Togmen habent capiti' (Verg. *Aen.* vii. 688). Again, 'the standard bearers on the arches and columns are universally represented as Vegetius describes them (*Mil.* ii. 16), with a close scull-cap over which the head and skin of some wild beast is drawn, so that the face appears through the gaping jaws.'<sup>432</sup> It is curious, too, how favourite among

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid.* p. 221.

<sup>426</sup> Fraser, *Totemism*, p. 26.

<sup>427</sup> Vol. xv, pp. 145-152, Pl. IV. V.

<sup>428</sup> *Rev. Arch.* l.c. p. 146 and p. 3.

<sup>429</sup> Schnoehardt, *op. cit.* p. 132, Fig. 132.

See Dr. Leaf, *Companion to the Iliad*, p. 192.

<sup>430</sup> Morell, *Thesaurus Num.* 4.

<sup>431</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 23, says: 'In multis autem montibus genus hominum capitibus canibus, ferarum pellibus velari; pro voce latratum edere, ungulibus armatum venatu et aucupio vesci.'

<sup>432</sup> Rich, *Dict. Ant.* s.v. 'Galea pellibus tecta.'

the Romans was the Greek design of Herakles wearing the lion's mask. It occurs on coins of the gens Aburia, Acilia, Caccilia, Cornelia, Curiatia, Curtia, Domitia, Fabia, Fabrinia, Licinia, Livincia, Maenia, Marcia, Minutia, Numitoria, Opeimia, Papiria, Pinaria, Pompeia, Pomponia, Rubria, Servilia, Sextilia, Sulpicia, Terentia, Trebania, Vargunteia, Volteia; also on the 'Roma,' and consular coins. Scarcely less common is the head of Juno Sispita wearing her goat's skin and horns. She appears thus on coins of the gens Cornificia, Julia, Mettia, Papia, Proclia, Roscia, Thoria; and on consulars. A coin of the gens Calpurnia<sup>443</sup> oddly enough shows 'Junonis Lanuvinae caput quod perperam *barbatum* fingitur'. An inspection of Morell's drawing will satisfy us that the head is male, not female, and probably represents a priest of the goddess arrayed in sacrificial garb. Another skin-clad figure on Roman coins is that of Africa wearing an elephant's mask; see the gens Caccilia, Cestia, Eppia, Norbana,—also sundry consular coins. It occurs too on Graeco-Roman gems<sup>444</sup> and other<sup>445</sup> *objets d'art*.

Lastly, the animal-disguise dwindles to a mere emblem or device worn on the helmet or engraved on the shield. Numerous examples may be found in any treatise on ancient weapons; indeed, the custom survived far into the middle ages.

ε. Another trace of primitive skin-wearing is to be found in the numismatic symbols of certain cities. Just as the warrior adopted the animal-garb for his armorial bearings, so the community to which he belonged took it for their monetary token. This is, I think, a plausible explanation for the strange un-Hellenic *half-creatures* which occur so frequently as early coin-types. The fore-part of a *lion* is found on the currency of Miletus, Onidus, Leontini, Acanthus, and Lycia: of a *bull* on that of Phlius, Samos, Acanthus, Larissa, the Perrhaebians and Lycia: of both these animals facing each other on that of Lydia: also the forepart of a winged lion appears on coins of Lycia and Lesbos. Coins of Apollonia and Corcyra show the forepart of a *cow*. Cyne, Zacynthus, Pharos, and Maroneia have the front half of a *horse*; Lesbos, Larissa, the Perrhaebians and Cleitor that of a bridled horse; Zacynthus that of a winged horse. Lycia has the foreparts of a bull and a horse, back to back. Cyzicus, Lycia, Phocis, and Lesbos show the forepart of a *boar*; Samos that of a winged boar. Aegae and Mysia have a half-goat: Sicyon a half-*chimaera*: Argos a half-*wolf*: Cranium and Pheneus a half-*ram*: Psophis and Selge a half-*stag*: Lycia a half-*griffin*. Similarly the type of Stymphalus is the front half of a *bird*: while there are coins of Crannon, Phene, and Tricca, which for obverse have the forepart of a bull grasped by a youth and for reverse the forepart of a horse.

The design may have passed through further stages, since not only animal-heads, but also animal-scalps are used for the same armorial purpose,

<sup>443</sup> Morell, *op. cit.* Tab. iv. 2.

<sup>444</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Nos.* 1497-1501, 2236.

<sup>445</sup> See *Le Musée Pol.* 1875, Pl. 5, Nos. 10

and 12. It forms the topic of a paper in the *Rev. Archéol.* for 1891, vol. xvii, pp. 380-4.



Of these the most famous is the lion's scalp, which was the device of Samos and other cities: its first appearance is on an Island stone of green slate, discovered in Crete and now in the British Museum.<sup>440</sup>

Finally, a community, which adopted as its badge the symbol of the animal that it worshipped, would be not unlikely to call itself by that animal's name. It is in this way that we should probably explain the animal-titles attached to certain early Greek townships and tribes—a custom caricatured in the 'Tārai, 'Oreārai, and Xoipeārai at Sikyon.

A. B. COOK.

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<sup>440</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, No. 13; described as 'cattle-fish.'

## A LECYTHUS FROM ERETRIA WITH THE DEATH OF PRIAM.

[PL. IX.]

THE lecythus which is the subject of the present paper, and which is represented, after a drawing by M. Gilliéron, on Pl. IX., was bought by me at Chalcis in December 1893, and is now in the British School at Athens. It is said to come from Eretria, and this statement is doubtless true. Eretria is well known to be a mine of graves of all periods, especially the finest; and many excavations there, both authorized and unauthorized, have enriched the museum of Athens, and, by clandestine export, those of many foreign capitals also. Most conspicuous among the treasures recovered have been the lecythi with paintings upon a white ground. Our lecythus belongs to an uncommon class; a similar, but not identical variety is familiar to readers of the *Hellenic Journal* from the three examples published last year by Miss Sellers. Of the style and technique of the vase I shall speak later; at present we need only notice that the figures are in black or rather a rich dark brown varnish, laid on over a white ground, and that the style of the drawing, which, especially in the profiled outlines of the faces, is much finer than in the lecythi published by Miss Sellers, seems to belong to the beginning of the fifth century—a date which we shall, I think, find consistent with the results derived from more technical evidence.

The vase is of double interest, from its subject as well as its technique. The subject is a remarkable one, and is especially interesting, from a typological point of view, for the light which it throws on the manner in which the Epic tradition is modified by artistic and technical influences. To this the first part of the present paper will be devoted.

## I—SUBJECT.

In the centre of the field is an altar, with volutes at the top, and raised upon two steps, of which the lower is a high one, the upper a very small one. On this altar sits a bearded man, facing to the left, draped in a himation; his right knee is drawn up, his foot resting on the volute of the altar; he extends both his arms forward as if in supplication to the figure in front of him. Against his knees rest a spear and a shield. From the left there advances towards him another figure in vigorous motion. Unfortunately the upper part of this figure is much damaged; it seems to be that of a young man, clothed in a short chiton, with a breastplate over it, of which the *πέρπυες* are visible on the vase. In his right hand he holds, extended at



arm's length behind him, a severed human head with streaming hair, and he appears to be in the act of hurling it at the bearded man in front of him; his left arm has entirely disappeared.

Behind the altar stands a woman draped in a himation; she raises her left hand to her head as a token of grief, and stretches out her right in supplication to the young warrior. A staff, spear, or sceptre, which she seems to hold in her right hand, is, I think, meant to be leaning against the altar.

The altar, the young man attacking the old, and the suppliant woman behind, suffice at once to identify the scene. Numerous other representations, differing more or less from the one before us, show in a similar manner the death of Priam at the hand of Neoptolemus, on the altar of his own palace. The woman may, from the type, be either Hecuba or Andromache; the firm and youthful profile seems to point to the latter. The subject is a favourite one among vase-painters of all periods, either as a separate scene, or forming part of a larger composition showing various scenes from the sack of Troy. Professor Robert<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that the various scenes of the *Ilupersis* vases were not originally a single composition, from which, in certain cases, various episodes were selected for separate treatment; but that the separate scenes, of more or less independent origin, were later combined into the larger compositions. If we had merely the death of Priam on our vase, our investigation would be a comparatively simple one; it is the complication added by the addition of another element, the barbarous death of Astyanax, whose head we see in the hand of Neoptolemus, that gives to our vase its chief interest.

In its simple form the death of Priam, as we see it represented on vases, conforms usually to one of two main types. The king either lies dead or dying on the altar, while Neoptolemus stands over him, perhaps to give him the *coup de grâce*, or else he sits or kneels on the altar, and stretches out his arms in supplication to his ruthless enemy. Much more commonly, however, Neoptolemus is represented as holding by one leg the boy Astyanax, whom he swings in the air as if about to hurl him at Priam. Here, too, Priam is sometimes lying dead on the altar, sometimes seated on it; and the same is the case with a third type, represented by our vase and one other, where Neoptolemus is throwing the head only of Astyanax. To put it in a tabular form, we have:

#### *Type A.*

(1) Priam lies dead on altar, Neoptolemus stands over him; no Astyanax.—Examples: Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ccxiii.; *Röm. Mittheil.* 1888, p. 109; Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, 48; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, B. 241.

(2) Priam sits on altar, Neoptolemus stands over him; no Astyanax.—Example: *Röm. Mittheil.* 1888, p. 108.

<sup>1</sup> *Bild und Lied*, pp. 59 sqq.

*Type B.*

(1) Priam lies dead on altar, Neoptolemus hurls Astyanax by leg.—Example: Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, 49.

(2) Priam sits on altar, Neoptolemus hurls Astyanax by leg.—Examples: Gerhard, *Etrusk. und Campan. Vasenbilder* 21; *Auserl. Vasenb.* ccxiv.; Heydemann, *Hyperis* i. (Brygos); *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. Oest. Ungarn* 1893, p. 120 (? Brygos); *Arch. Zeitung* 1882, p. 39, taf. iii. (Euphronios); *Monumenti d. Inst.* XI. xiv.; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, B. 205; *Berlin Catalogue*, 2175.

*Type C.*

(1) Priam lies dead on altar, Neoptolemus hurls head only of Astyanax.—Example: Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenbilder* ccxiii.; cf. *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. aus Oest. Ungarn* ii. p. 29, no. 32.

(2) Priam sits on altar, Neoptolemus hurls head only of Astyanax.—Example: our lecythus.

Besides these we have others which show a more or less original treatment of the subject, e.g. the famous Vivenzio vase (Baumeister, taf. xiv, Heydemann, *Hyperis*, ii. etc.) where the dead Astyanax lies in the lap of Priam;<sup>2</sup> but these are the most important for the development of the type.

Let us now proceed to consider the theme as it was originally offered to the vase-painter by Epic tradition, and see how he has adapted and modified it. The story of the fall of Troy, doubtless existing in traditions earlier than any of the set epics that recorded it, formed the subject of the *Hyperis* of Arctinus and the *Little Iliad* of Lesches. According to Arctinus' version, Priam was slain on the altar of Zeus *Ἐρκεῖος* in his own palace; but Astyanax was put to death by a common resolution of the Greeks, chiefly at the instigation of Ulysses; this is the story followed also by Euripides in his *Troades*. According to Lesches, on the other hand, Priam was dragged by Neoptolemus from the altar, and slain at the door of his house; and Astyanax was hurled by Neoptolemus over the walls of Troy,—a tale evidently known also to the writer of the *Iliad* itself, to judge from Andromache's prophetic lament (xxiv. 734)

ἢ τις Ἀχαιῶν  
ρίψει χεῖρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου,

unless indeed the story of the hurling of Astyanax from the walls was originally suggested by this passage. As to the treatment of these, the two most impressive episodes of the sack of Troy, by other writers, such as Stesichorus, we have no clear evidence; but we can see that, while there was a common basis of accepted tradition, there was considerable scope for variety in the details of the story. We know however, of no literary evidence for a tradition of the beheading of Astyanax, as we see it portrayed

<sup>2</sup> For others, see Heydemann, *Röm. Mittheil.* 1888, p. 104, 105, &c.



on two of our vases; nor again is there any literary evidence for a close connexion between these two scenes, so often united on vases. The dramatic effect, if once established in literature, could hardly have failed to leave some trace. The destruction at the same hand and even perhaps by the same blow of Troy's ancient king and the youngest scion of his house, of her link with the past and her hope for the future, forms a most impressive addition to the Iliupersis. But those best acquainted with the methods of Greek vase-painters, and especially with the usual development and adaptation of types in early examples, will hardly be inclined to see here a free invention of the artist for the sake of dramatic effect. Though the early vase-painter was always ready to catch at any suggestion offered by technical conditions or accidental juxtaposition, in order to render the scene he was portraying, or to enhance its effect, he rarely if ever ventured on so bold a flight of fancy as would be implied by this combination, if it were a free and original conception. It is far more likely that the suggestion came to him, so to speak, from outside; and I think we may trace the way it came.

The story of the death of Astyanax is very similar to another story also commonly represented on early vases, that of the death of Troilus. In both cases alike it is the youngest and most promising scion of the Trojan royal house that is killed, and killed with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. The murderer is in one case Achilles, in the other case his son Neoptolemus, who replaces him after his death among the Greek leaders. Thus a confusion between the two myths is easy to explain;<sup>2</sup> and that such confusion actually took place among vase-painters seems to me conclusively proved by a comparison between our new lecythus and the representation of the death of Troilus on a vase reproduced in *Archaeologische Zeitung* xiv. taf. 91. In the two the position of the principal figure, a warrior throwing with his right hand the severed head of a boy, is almost identical; and the presence of the altar in both cases seems to emphasize the identity of the type. In the case of Troilus, the savage cruelty of Achilles, in cutting off the head of his youthful victim, is a regular feature in the representation, and it also has some literary authority.<sup>3</sup> Beheading was regarded by the Greeks as a peculiarly barbarous form of mutilation, and is quoted, for example, in the well-known passage at the beginning of the *Eumenides*<sup>4</sup> where Apollo mentions various horrors fit for the surroundings of the Furies. In two vases a stage in the story after the death of Troilus is represented; in both his severed head appears. On the vase already quoted<sup>5</sup> Achilles is brandishing it in his right hand, as if about to throw it in the face of the brothers of his victim, who advance to avenge his death. In the other case<sup>6</sup> the head appears between the combatants as they advance. Either Achilles

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Robert, p. 112, where the same fusion is mentioned, only that the Astyanax motive is transferred to Troilus in the vase (*Mon. Inst.* i. 34).

<sup>3</sup> *Lecythron* 313 *εμπροσθεν*; mutilation is

mentioned in Sophocles' play, *fr.* 562 B, Dindorf. See *Arch. Zeitung* xiv. p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> l. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Zeitung* xiv. taf. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Gothard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, ccxx L.

has already thrown it, and it is flying through the air, or else he has impaled it on the end of his spear, and holds it out to horrify the advancing Trojans; the intention of the artist is not quite clear, but I incline to the first hypothesis, especially as the hair seems to trail behind the head as it flies; the process of the story, too, remains the same, only being represented at a slightly different moment. Now, as there is no trace of a similar story about the mutilation of Astyanax, I think it is quite clear from the two vases with the head of Astyanax, and especially from our lecythus, that this beheading is transferred by the vase-painter from Troilus to Astyanax, and that Achilles' barbarity in the one case is inherited by his son Neoptolemus in the other.

But another feature also appears to have been similarly transferred. According to the story, Achilles slew Troilus at the altar of the Thymbræan Apollo, whither he had pursued him. This altar is most prominent on all the vases which represent the death of Troilus.<sup>8</sup> In one case the body of Troilus lies on the altar, just as the body of Priam does in some of the vases representing his death; the body of Astyanax on the Vivenzio vase also lies on the altar, on Priam's knees. When the circumstances of the death of Troilus were transferred, as we see they were, to the death of Astyanax, this altar was transferred also. The altar was particularly convenient where Neoptolemus was represented as hurling Astyanax by one leg; according to the epic version, he hurled him over the walls; but, as Dr. Schneider<sup>9</sup> very justly observes, a deep abyss is a thing which it is impossible to represent on a vase; and an altar against which he could be dashed forms a fitting substitute. But I do not think it would be a probable substitute, unless some suggestion of the presence of an altar came in from elsewhere, as we see it comes from the death of Troilus. Then the rest follows easily.

We have seen that the *Ilupersis* as represented on vases is not a varied and original design, but a composition made up of several independent scenes, each having a recognized type of its own. Two of these independent scenes have an altar in them as a most prominent feature; the death of Priam, which in the epic is connected with an altar; and the death of Astyanax, in which an altar is introduced from confusion with the death of Troilus. In the process of composition, it was natural that these two scenes with an altar should be condensed into one; and thus we have a technical, almost fortuitous origin for a combination which was developed by the vase-painters with full perception of its dramatic force. That the altar is the same in both cases seems to receive farther confirmation from a detail which is not without significance. On the Vivenzio vase and on the Brygos vase<sup>10</sup> we see a palm-tree and a tripod, which do not seem at all appropriate beside the altar of Zeus *Ἐπειός* in Priam's house. But both a palm-tree and a tripod occur, as the appropriate emblems beside an altar of Apollo, in the Troilus scene on

<sup>8</sup> For a list of these, see Klein, *Euphronios*, 2nd. ed. p. 213 *sq.* &c.

<sup>9</sup> *Teutscher Sagenkreis*, p. 172.

<sup>10</sup> Heydemann, *Ilupersis* I.



vases.<sup>11</sup> Their reappearance in the Iliupersis scene serves to prove yet more clearly that the altar by which they stand has also been transferred from Troilus to Astyanax.

Thus the juxtaposition of the two scenes, the death of Priam and the death of Astyanax, is explained, and even to some extent their combination into one. But here we enter upon a question which is not so simple as it at first appears. At first sight, one would certainly say that, upon most of the vases which unite the two scenes, Neoptolemus is represented as hurling the boy Astyanax at Priam. But the intention of a Greek vase-painter is not always what is most obvious to the modern eye; and though in the present case I believe the obvious explanation to be the right one, we must not accept it without some consideration. We must remember and allow for the tendency of the Greek artist to get in as much of the story as possible; often what could not, for local or temporal reasons, have been really visible at once. As Professor Robert<sup>12</sup> puts it, 'narration in a sequence of scenes is entirely alien to early art, which condenses all into one scene—but a scene without exact definition of time or space.'

It is interesting to observe the extreme way in which Professor Furtwängler applies this principle to the scene before us.<sup>13</sup> In the first type, he says, 'Priam, already dead, lies on the altar; Neoptolemus swings Astyanax to hurl him into the abyss; here these two incidents, which according to tradition occurred in two different places, are joined together. In the second type, Priam is still alive; seated or crouching on the altar, he begs mercy of the savage Neoptolemus; the latter grasps Astyanax. Here also two episodes distinct in time are united, for Priam was not pursued and his life threatened at the same time as the child was killed. Yet this composition is just the one chosen and longest kept to; the great vase-painters Euphronios and Brygos have reproduced it. It is well known that the naive art of early time, instead of avoiding representations like this, condensed so to speak and seeking to group together distinct actions in the same frame, had actually some preference for them. The artists could assume the legend to be well enough known, and so in a case like that which now concerns us they were in no danger of the misunderstanding—into which some modern interpreters have fallen—that Neoptolemus was going to slay Priam by striking him with the body of Astyanax; everybody knew that Neoptolemus was going to hurl the boy from the walls, and afterwards to kill the terrified old man. But art must have had a peculiar delight in uniting these two episodes in the same composition; how could she represent more impressively both the irreparable ruin of Troy and the presumptuous exultation of the conquerors, than by recording at the same time the tragic end of the ancient chief of the people upon the family altar, and that of its last scion, the young Astyanax?'

This extreme view, though based on sound principles, cannot, I think,

<sup>11</sup> E.g. the Euphronios vase, Gerhard, *Annal. Vasor.* cccxiv. &c.

<sup>12</sup> *Bild und Leid*, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Sammlung Schoupsch*, t. 49.

be successfully applied in the case before us. The possibility of a misunderstanding cannot be so easily dismissed, since it has actually occurred in the interpretation of the vases offered by many archaeologists who are familiar enough with the story represented, and who would certainly not have looked for a new and unknown variety of the myth if the known one would have fitted the pictures. In some of the vases Neoptolemus actually grasps Priam by the hair while he swings Astyanax by the leg in his other hand. We surely cannot imagine the vase-painter, however ill-defined the temporal and local conditions may be, to intend here to represent Neoptolemus as hurling the boy over the walls of Troy with one hand, while he grasps Priam with the other. And the presence of the altar of Zeus *Ἐπειός* makes such a feat still more incredible, since it was inside the palace of Priam in the middle of the town; this fact is still farther emphasized on a vase published by Dr. Hartwig,<sup>14</sup> and attributed by him to Brygos, on which there are visible, behind and above the altar, the remains of a colonnade and architrave which must represent the palace itself.

I think then we may dismiss the theory that the two scenes are only placed in more or less conventional juxtaposition, and not dramatically united. But another point still remains to be decided, though it is rather a matter of detail. Is Neoptolemus dashing Astyanax against the altar, as a visible and representable substitute for the abyss into which, according to the epic, he hurled the child from the towers of Troy, or is he hurling him as a missile against Priam? Here too our new vase is a help. Whatever be the case with the whole body of Astyanax, we can hardly doubt that his severed head is used as a missile, just as the head of Troilus is thrown on the two vases we have quoted. It is a piece of wanton cruelty, to add horror to the death of Priam, and so quite in keeping with the other atrocities that marked the terrible night of the sack of Troy. If the head is so thrown at Priam, it seems natural to suppose that the body is also, when we see it swung in the air. In some cases the shut eye seems to indicate that the boy is already dead, so that there was no need to dash his brains out against the altar, though his corpse could be used as a weapon to assail Priam. For all these reasons I think the more forcible and dramatic explanation is also the more probable, and that the vase-painters developed to the uttermost the tragic horror of a scene which, in its origin, was due to a technical, almost a fortuitous combination.

One more detail on our vase calls for notice. It has already been observed that a shield and a spear lean against the altar in front of Priam. These cannot, from their position, belong to Neoptolemus, who could not well lean his arms against the knees of his victim just before his impetuous advance against him. They must then belong to Priam. And here our literary illustration must come from a source to

<sup>14</sup> *Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* 1893, p. 123. It must, however, be remembered that here the presence of Astyanax is only a restoration, though a very probable one.



be used with great caution. In Virgil's wonderful description of the sack of Troy there is a confused and mysterious horror which contrasts strangely with the clear and definite, though often cruel scenes depicted on the *Iliupersis* vases. The Roman poet is doubtless influenced by the art and literature of later Greece; but there is no reason why he may not have preserved for us some features which belonged to the common inheritance of early tradition; such can only be traced from a coincidence with a representation like that now before us. *Aeneas*<sup>16</sup> relates how Priam, when he saw all was lost, armed himself, and was about to rush forth into the fray, until Hecuba persuaded him to lay aside a defence to him so useless, and rather to take refuge at the altar of his palace. It is difficult to see what else can be the meaning of the arms leaning against the altar, but that Priam had thus taken them up and laid them aside on second thoughts; and so this—not the least pathetic—feature of the story gains an authority nearly six centuries earlier than it had before, and at the same time new light is thrown upon Virgil's use of earlier material. Whether the huge bay-tree which Virgil mentions as growing beside the altar has also any early authority, it is hard to say; but it may very probably have been suggested to the poet by some pictures of the same subject. If so we may very likely seek its origin in the palm-tree which, as we have seen, grew as a symbol beside the altar of the Thymbræan Apollo at which Troilus was slain by Achilles, and which was transplanted, with other elements of the Troilus myth, to the altar in Priam's palace at which Astyanax and the aged king meet a common death by the hand of Neoptolemus.

## II.—STYLE AND TECHNIQUE.

So far we have been concerned exclusively with the subject represented on our lecythus. Its style and technique are no less worth discussion.

The shape is somewhat higher and narrower than that of the lecythi published by Miss Sellers; the size rather smaller, the total height being 11 inches (·275 m.), that of the white ground 5 inches (·125 m.); the rim of the mouth is concave on the outside, not bell-shaped; a slight ridge runs round the neck just above the junction with the handle; the foot is almost a frustum of a cone, but with slightly concave sides. The first process in the ornamentation has been the application of the slip to form the white ground, over the upper part of the body only. Then the figures and the rest of the ornamentations have all been added at the same time, and in the same black varnish, thinning out to reddish brown. This varnish forms a plain covering, applied with a brush while the vase was on the wheel, on the upper part of the neck, down to the ridge, on the lower part of the body, the top of the foot, and the lower part of the sides of the foot. It is also applied to the back and sides of the handle, the inside being left bare.

<sup>16</sup> *Aeneid* ii. 509 &c.

There is a simple and roughly drawn meander, bordered by a double line, at the top of the body, on the white ground; and on the shoulder is a double circle of diverging rays, doubtless a simplification of the interlacing lotus-bud pattern.

In the figures, the most remarkable thing is the use of the incised lines, which are not only used freely to represent folds of drapery and other details within the mass of black silhouette, but are also used to define or correct its outlines, especially in the profiles of the faces, which are thus drawn with a firmness of touch and a delicacy and beauty of style which give the chief artistic value to this vase. Other portions, such as the feet of the woman behind Priam, are very carelessly drawn. But the fine profiles can only be paralleled upon the red-figured vases of the Attic masters of about 500 B.C., and this gives us the most trustworthy indication as to date.

Our lecythus must be assigned in the first instance to a somewhat small class, of which it is in some respects, especially in skill of drawing, the most advanced example. This class includes a set of lecythi with black figures on a white ground, representing mythological subjects; almost all the examples that belong to it have been found at Eretria. The style and technique show in all cases a distinct affinity; but the ornamentation, apart from the figures, varies; there is usually some kind of palmette decoration on the shoulder, as on the later white lecythi with outline designs. But this decoration varies in almost all classes, and I doubt whether any hard and fast rule can be made about it. Doubtless it is usually, on outline lecythi, later than the simple ray pattern;<sup>10</sup> but on the other hand it is impossible, judging by the style, to place our lecythus later than those published in this *Journal* in 1893. In most cases we find purple used pretty freely on the figures; in one case, the Siren lecythus, white, which, on the whitish ground, is remarkable—to this we shall have to recur.

These Eretrian lecythi, as we are I think justified in calling them from the place where they were mostly found, without as yet drawing any conclusions as to where they were made, form a distinct class among the lecythi with black figures on a white ground. Such lecythi are of course found in great numbers almost wherever Greek vases are discovered; their old name, vases of Locri, is due to their frequency at Locri in South Italy; but it was never a name of any scientific value, and it is now generally given up. The ordinary run of such white lecythi with black figures is almost entirely devoid of artistic or mythological interest, seldom rising above the most common-place shop-work; apart from the Eretrian examples there are very few which repay any detailed study. Many of them may be of later period. They do not therefore afford us much help in an attempt to assign to the Eretrian lecythi their due position in the development of vase-painting.

Other vases with white ground are more important to us. Alabasters are nearest akin to lecythi both in shape and decoration; and alabasters with white ground and black figures upon it form an interesting class—those in

<sup>10</sup> See *Müller, Athen.* 1890, p. 44 (Weisshaupt).



particular which have representations of negroes have been often published and discussed.<sup>17</sup> It would clearly be impossible to speak here of vases with white ground in general. As M. Pottier has pointed out,<sup>18</sup> there are two rival methods of technique which go back to a very early period in the history of Greek pottery—the one, which gives a hard and smooth surface to the clay of which the vase is made, and then uses it as a ground for decoration; the other, which covers the clay entirely with some pigment, usually white or whitish, and then paints upon this added ground.

All we need notice at present is that there was a very strong growth of this second method in the sixth century, originating, probably, in Rhodes or Asia Minor, and developing to the highest perfection in the fabrics of Cyrene and Naucratis. We shall have to notice later the affinities shown to these two fabrics by the Eretrian lecythi.

There is, however, another class of vases which must first be considered, before we proceed to trace the relations of the different groups. This class, which has been exhaustively treated by M. J. Six in the *Gazette Archéologique*,<sup>19</sup> has white or polychrome paintings on a black ground. Thus it also belongs to the second of the two great divisions in method, since in it also the clay of the vase is completely covered by a pigment which serves as a ground for further decoration—the pigment in this case being the ordinary black varnish which is used on black-figured vases to draw the silhouettes of the figures upon the natural red of the clay, and on red-figured vases to form a background round the figures, which are left open in the same natural red. It is also worthy of note that both varieties of this second method lead to a similar development, whether the added ground is white or black. On the white ground the figure comes to be drawn in outline instead of in silhouette—a process already familiar at Rhodes and Naucratis; on the black ground also we often find outline drawings, but incised not painted, according to the facility offered by the material.<sup>20</sup>

Among these vases with coloured decoration, laid on over a black ground, M. Six distinguishes two classes—or rather one clearly defined class, and beside it a miscellaneous set, which have not very much beyond the technique in common. The more definite class includes a number of bowls with a raised boss in the middle—*φιάλαι ὀμφαλοείσσαι*—which are almost certainly an Athenian imitation of the interior of Naucratis pottery. As to the others, the evidence is not so satisfactory, but some of them are certainly of Attic origin, and there is a strong presumption that all are.

The lecythus with white ground, in its finest form, with outline drawings and polychrome painting, has always been considered an Attic product.<sup>21</sup> But the finest specimens have been found in great numbers at Eretria;<sup>22</sup> it may

<sup>17</sup> Froehner, *Deux peintures grecques de la Naucropole de Kaneiros*; Heydemann, *Arch. Zeitung* xxx. p. 35; Winnsfeld, *Mittheil. Athen.* 1889, p. 41; cf. also 1890, p. 243 (Bethle).

<sup>18</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890, p. 380.

<sup>19</sup> 1888, pp. 193 *seq.*, 281 *seq.* Pl. 28, 29.

<sup>20</sup> Six, *art. cit.* p. 198.

<sup>21</sup> Pottier, *Les lecythes blancs attiques*.

<sup>22</sup> See *Δελτίον 'Αρχ.* 1888-1892 *passim*.

indeed be doubted whether those found in or near Athens itself can surpass those that come from Eretria either in quality or quantity. At the same time it is impossible to draw any distinction between the Attic and Eretrian varieties; there are indeed, even apart from the style, indications<sup>22</sup> which compel us to attribute the outline lecythi found at Eretria to the same hands as not only the Attic lecythi, but even the finest Attic red-figured and outline vases. The only question is whether these Attic lecythi were exported very freely to Eretria, or perhaps more probably some of the Attic potters transferred their workshops to Eretria, where their wares were in so great demand. The enormous number of poor and common-place examples found at Eretria seems to imply a local fabric, of course under Athenian influence.

With the earlier type of Eretrian lecythi to which our example belongs—those representing mythological scenes in black figures upon a white ground—the case is not so simple. The provenance of these lecythi, so far as I know, is almost exclusively Eretria; yet they are customarily spoken of without discussion as Attic. This attribution may be correct; but it certainly is not so obvious as to require no proof. It has been too lightly assumed that, because these earlier lecythi seem to form one series with the later lecythi with outline drawings, of which the Attic affinities are unmistakable, therefore they also were made in Athens. It is not my intention here to decide finally whether the earlier class are Attic or not, but rather to point out that it is a question that has never been discussed, and that the evidence is not so clear as to make discussion superfluous.

There is evidence for a close connexion, political as well as artistic, between Eretria and Athens about the beginning of the fifth century. The story that Eretria was originally a colony of Athens, and that there were traces of the original connexion in some early Attic and Eretrian cults, may be apocryphal; but they at least imply some recognized relationship. The Eretrians and Athenians were united in the famous expedition which resulted in the burning of Sardis; and when the Persians retaliated by the invasion under Datis, which ended in the battle of Marathon, Eretria was one of the first objects of their attack, and the Eretrians naturally applied to Athens for help. This help was already on the spot, in the persons of 4000 Athenian settlers, who had been planted sixteen years before in the Chalcidian territory. Under these circumstances, we need not be surprised to find strong affinities with Attic art in the vases buried at Eretria about the beginning of the fifth century. On the other hand we know very little of the art of Eretria at this time. After the total destruction of the city by Datis, and its rebuilding upon a different site, we find a set of vases which cannot in any way be distinguished from Attic.

For the beginning of the fifth century and the end of the sixth, the time to which we must assign the Eretrian vases with black paintings on a white ground, we have hardly any other evidence of a local style of art.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. *Διόσκου καὶ Ἡφαιστίου* (5) *Μελαμένη* on three Eretrian lecythi. See *Δελφικὰ Ἀρχ.* 1888, p.

168, 5; 1889, p. 75, 3, 4.



We must next proceed to notice the affinities which we find in the vases themselves to other early styles, and thus, if possible, to discover their origin and their position in the history of ceramic art.

We have already noticed the essential affinity between vases with black or polychrome figures upon a white ground, and those with white or polychrome figures on a black ground, since in both alike the figures are not laid on directly over the natural clay, but over a slip or varnish intended to conceal it. Both these processes—as it has frequently been observed—became popular in Greece about the same time as the rise of red-figured painting on vases, all three alike resulting from a new artistic impulse and a desire to improve on the old-fashioned black-figured technique. Curiously enough, we know the artist to whom both innovations seem to be due; the name of Nicosthenes appears both upon vases of this period with black figures upon a white ground,<sup>24</sup> and also upon a vase which seems a new departure in white figures on a black ground.<sup>25</sup> The artistic character of Nicosthenes is well enough known, and especially his skill in adapting metal shapes and decorations to pottery; but, although he certainly worked in Athens, his origin is doubtful, and the sources from which he derived his types more doubtful still.<sup>26</sup> The association of his name does not therefore clear up to any appreciable degree the problems before us.

Without attempting to follow the whole history of vases with a white ground, from Mycenaean to Roman times, we may at least notice the immediate sources from which this technique was introduced into Greece in the sixth century. There can hardly be a doubt that these were the great vase factories of Naucratis and Cyrene.<sup>27</sup> The character of these two wares is too well known for there to be any need to dwell on it here. What we are now concerned with is the evidence for their influence upon the vases, made in Greece itself, which form the subject of this study. The means by which such influence could be exerted are easy enough to trace. Not only objects which clearly show Egyptian influence, but imports of Egyptian fabric have been found on the Acropolis at Athens; and among these were some characteristic fragments of Naucratis and Cyrenaic pottery. The close friendship of Eretria for Miletus too, which led to the Sardis expedition, would easily lead to commerce with the Milesian colony of Naucratis. The occurrence of the name of Nicosthenes on a vase found at Naucratis is another link; though this vase, like many others, was probably an imported one, most likely from Athens. But the close connexion between the vases of Nicosthenes, with their metallic form and decoration, and those of Cyrene can hardly escape our notice; <sup>28</sup> indeed, this affinity is so remarkable that one

<sup>24</sup> See especially Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeitung* 1881, 33-38.

<sup>25</sup> Six, *Gazette Arch.* 1888, p. 192, &c.

<sup>26</sup> For the latest views as to Nicosthenes, see Pottier, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 421-444.

<sup>27</sup> For Naucratis ware see this *Journal*, 1887, PL. LXXIX., and *Naucratis* I. and II. For

Cyrene, Puchstein, *Arch. Zeitung* xxxix. Pl. 10-13. Also *Naucratis* II. 50-52 for the difference between the two.

<sup>28</sup> See especially the vases published by M. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892, p. 433-444, which show strong Cyrenaic affinities, and also resemble the work of Nicosthenes.

may be surprised it has not taken a more prominent position hitherto in the discussions of the influences under which Nicosthenes worked. That he imitated foreign models is admitted on all sides, whether those models came, as Professor Loeschke suggests, from Italy, or, as M. Pottier shows reason for believing, from Ionia. The question of Nicosthenes, however, is too wide a one to discuss here, and would take us too far from our subject: what we need now notice is that the association of his name with the white-ground and black-ground vases is at least not inconsistent with their derivation from the influence of Naucratis and Cyrene.

We now come to more positive and direct evidence. The white ground was the common feature that first led us to the comparison, though its actual composition and the manner in which it is applied differs in the various wares, being doubtless to a great extent due to the local conditions and the available materials. The use, above this ground, of a white pigment—purer white than the ground, which is cream-coloured—is a feature common to Naucratic ware and the lecythus with Odysseus and the Sirens (*J.H.S.* 1892—3 Pl. I.); and it is in both cases used for the nude parts of female figures; but on the Eretria vase the white is applied over black, and so there is an essential difference of technique, though the result produced in the two cases is similar. The resemblance to Naucratic ware is closer still in some of the late Eretrian vases with outline drawing; closest of all, curiously enough, in those already referred to, which by their Diphilus inscription betray a close connexion with Athens, if not an Athenian origin. Here the white, like the other colours, is laid on directly over the creamy white ground. Another set of vases which we have already noticed as closely akin to the Eretrian lecythi are the alabastra of similar technique—especially those with representations of negroes.<sup>20</sup> There is a close resemblance between these alabastra and Naucratic ware with white ground, especially that variety of it which uses incised lines and chooses grotesque subjects, sometimes negroes.<sup>21</sup> And if, as Dr. Winnefeld suggests, the alabastra served, somewhat like the Panathenaic vases, to guarantee the quality of their contents, as a precious ointment or scent imported from Egypt, it is most natural that their types should be derived from Naucratis, the Greek colony in Egypt most famous for its vases.<sup>22</sup>

We next come to the influence exercised by the painting in white and red laid on over a black ground which is characteristic of the interior of Naucratic vases. In the first place, a whole series has been found on the Acropolis at Athens of vases which were certainly made in direct imitation of Naucratic ware. A glance at the example figured by M. Six in the *Gazette Archéologique* 1888, Pl. 28, D, will suffice to prove this to any one familiar with the vases from Naucratis. The decorative development of this

<sup>20</sup> See above, n. 17, where the references are given.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Naucratis* I. Pl. V. 41 II. p. 39, Class A 4.

<sup>22</sup> The 'negro' vases are chronologically applicable, since, as Dr. Bethé observes, one has been found in the 'Femerschutt' on the Acropolis, i.e. was made before 480 B.C.



type in Athens, which is followed out by M. Six, does not here concern us; but the fact is a most interesting one, since a direct imitation implies the probability of less direct influence also. And the imitation occurs in the case of that polychrome painting on the black ground which we have already recognized as technically analogous to painting on white ground. There is, however, another class of polychrome painting on black ground, also treated of by M. Six, which is not confined to decorative designs, and of which the origin is not so certain. Some specimens of this technique were found at Naucratis, but not enough to justify us in assigning it to that town. Sometimes the painting is applied over a black glaze which covers ordinary red Greek pottery (as in the best known example by Nicosthenes); sometimes it is applied to ware which is black throughout. In both cases the analogy to Naucratis ware does not extend beyond the technique, the decorative forms being different, and subjects and human figures being frequent, while they are entirely absent on the inside of Naucratis vases, which alone has this black ground. I have elsewhere<sup>22</sup> stated my reasons for believing that there is no sufficient reason for believing the black ware with polychrome decoration to have been made at Naucratis itself; but it is doubtless associated with Naucratis, and with those towns in Asia Minor which combined in the colonization of the city. Several examples of the technique have been found in Rhodes,<sup>23</sup> and the ware is one which is known to have been made in Lesbos.<sup>24</sup> All this fits in excellently with M. Pottier's theory that Nicosthenes derived the models for his vases from Ionia rather than from Italy.

We have, however, wandered rather far from our Eretrian vases, in our attempt to sketch out the influence, direct and indirect, of Naucratis. In the case of Cyrena we can keep closer to the subject. First of all, the technique, with its black figures on a white ground, is almost exactly similar; and the way in which the profile of the faces is outlined with incised lines on our Priam lecythus finds a very close analogy in the Cyrenaic vases figured in *Archaeologische Zeitung* 1881, taf. 12 and 13. We find also a surprising correspondence of types, which, considering the comparatively small number of examples of each kind which we possess, can hardly be explained as a coincidence. Thus Odysseus, tied to a column instead of the mast of his ship on the Eretrian lecythus *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. I., is remarkably similar to the Prometheus, tied to a similar column, on a Cyrenaic vase in Gerhard's *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* ii. 86; and the hat of Odysseus in the same picture reminds us strongly of the hat worn by Arcesilas on the well-known vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—doubtless a sun-helmet such as the African Greeks had found necessary. Again, Hercules on the Eretrian lecythus *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. III., is certainly the same type as the Atlas on the same Cyrenaic vase with the Prometheus just mentioned.

The analogy of the very curious treatment of the sea on the Siren

<sup>22</sup> *J.H.S.* 1889, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> C. Smith, *Naucratis* i. p. 49.

<sup>24</sup> *Naucratis* ii. p. 47.

lecythus to that on a fragment from the temenos of the Dioscuri at Naucratis has been noticed by Mr. Cecil Smith.<sup>24</sup> The fragment does not seem to have been made at Naucratis; it resembles no known local ware, and is most probably imported from Ionia. Still we have here one more link of connexion, if not with Naucratis itself, at least with that branch of Greek handicraft with which Naucratis was in commerce.<sup>25</sup> Many of the analogies here noticed have already been mentioned by Miss Sellers in her publication of the three Eretrian lecythi. The need for a systematic collection and study of vases with a white ground must be felt by all who have had occasion to deal with any of these vases; and until such a collection has been made, anything written about them must be more or less tentative. But it at least seems clear that both the technique and the types of the lecythi with black figures on a white ground found at Eretria were derived to a great extent from the African colonies of Cyrene and Naucratis, and that they also show affinities with other classes of vases which are probably Ionian in their origin. It remains to be considered whether these conditions are sufficient to determine where the lecythi found at Eretria were made; for we have already seen that the conditions of their discovery do not point clearly to any other place than Eretria as their origin.

The common assumption that all these lecythi were made at Athens seems to rest mainly on the similarity of the later lecythi, with outline drawings, found at Eretria, to those found and doubtless made in Athens—which, as we have already seen, is not certain: it does not follow that the earlier examples, showing similar shape and decoration, but a different style and technique, were made in Athens also. The facts may easily be explained on another hypothesis. Nor do the influences which we can trace in the earlier lecythi from Eretria seem to me to imply of necessity an Attic origin. Affinities with the wares produced in the African colonies of Cyrene and Naucratis and in Ionia need not surprise us at Eretria. The friendship of Eretria and Miletus was very close and enduring, the Eretrian expedition to Sardis having been undertaken in requital of similar aid given by Miletus to Eretria a hundred years before. And in the case of a city of such commercial activity as Eretria, this friendship would certainly imply close relations with the colonies and allies of Miletus. I think these considerations justify us, at least until further evidence can be produced, in concluding that the class of lecythi of which we have an example before us was made at Eretria, where, so far as I know, examples of this style and technique have exclusively been found. An affinity with Attic art need not surprise us; when we consider the historical relations of Athens and Eretria at the beginning of the fifth century. Later, the lecythus with white ground seems to have been taken up by Attic potters, and to have developed in Athens

<sup>24</sup> Quoted by Miss Sellers, *J.H.S.* 1892-3, p. 2. For the fragment, see *Naucratis II.* p. 31, and *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Vases*, B. 163, 19, with illustration.

<sup>25</sup> A similar treatment of the sea may be seen

also on the well-known lecythus with the 'knet-hauling', Dumont and Chaplain, *Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, Pl. xxiii. (the sea is not shown in the Plate). This is said to have been found in Attica.



under the same influences which we can trace in the earlier Eretrian examples; and the great series of white lecythi with outline drawings may well have been made both in Athens and Eretria, though always under a predominating Attic influence. But the first development of the lecythus with white ground into something beyond the ordinary 'vases of Locri,' and the recognition of its ultimate possibilities, seem due in the first instance to the potters of Eretria.<sup>26</sup> The Attic potters, who carried the technique to its highest perfection not only on lecythi but also upon cylices and other vases, may easily spare this credit to a city of which the artistic attainments have hitherto met with scant recognition. There is no adequate reason why Eretrian provenance should be assumed to imply an Attic origin.

E. A. GARDNER.

NOTE.—I add a brief description of another lecythus of very similar character, which tends to confirm the view expressed above as to an Eretrian fabric.

*Lecythus* with black figures on white ground—probably from Eretria—in private possession.

Total height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. (.22 m); height of white ground  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. (.09 m).

*Decoration and shape* exactly as Priam lecythus.

*Subject*—Heracles clad in lion's skin, advancing to right, club in right hand, with left (very roughly drawn) seizes by the throat a kneeling Amazon, armed with shield and spear and high-crested helmet (Hippolyta). From right, another Amazon, similarly armed, advances against Heracles; on left, another runs away, but turns her head and strikes back at him with her spear.

*Style and technique*.—Purple retouching; incised lines freely used, in the case of Hippolyta alone for whole outline of profile, as on Priam lecythus; but half of it is against arm of Heracles, not white ground. Her mouth is wide open; the mouth, open, but not so wide, is incised on the other profiles. The drawing is vigorous and generally shows a tolerably free and advanced style, but is in places very careless; e.g. Heracles' left arm and hand are a mere shapeless bar of black. There are two conventional branches in the background behind the central group. The figures go all round the body of the vase. The white ground is smoother and less creamy than in the Priam lecythus.

There can hardly be a doubt that this comes out of the same workshop as the Priam lecythus, though it is very inferior in execution.

E. A. GARDNER.

<sup>26</sup> Dr. Waldstein suggests to me that the pigment used for the Eretrian white lecythi was the same as the Eretrian earth mentioned by Pliny, *xxxv*, 38. He tells me this passage sug-

gested to him a fabric of vase with white ground at Eretria before his excavations there led him to the same conclusion.

# SELECTED VASE-FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.—II.

THE vase-fragments represented on Plates II-IV. are with one exception here published for the first time and all belong to red-figured works. For the permission to publish them I am deeply indebted to M. Kavvadias, and I wish also to acknowledge help kindly given me by Dr. Wolters and Mr. Cecil Smith. Three of the works are in the early severe style, one shows the developed severe work and two belong to the advanced fine period. They are distributed on the plates merely with regard to convenience of publication. Nothing is more noticeable to any one glancing over the mass of vase-fragments from the Acropolis than the fact that while the preponderance of black-figured over red-figured works is very great (Dr. Graef puts the proportion at more than three to one), the vast majority of the former are poor in design and carelessly executed but the latter are nearly all careful and good. This seems to show—for the proportion can hardly be due to accident—that the older style continued in favour, probably because it was cheap, long after the introduction of a new method, and that the new school only produced works at the highest level of their ability, and by so doing ultimately commanded the market both at home and abroad. It is not till the second period of red-figured work that careless and hasty productions are turned out. Inferior artists seem to have contented themselves with imitations of successful masters: thus for example one seems to note imitations of Duris in museums.

i.—Pl. II. owing to the interest of its subjects deserves the closest attention. It is a small kylix<sup>1</sup> executed with great care, and with an unusually large number of figures in its outside scenes considering the period at which we must place its execution. There is no difficulty of identification. The interior shows the struggle of Peleus and Thetis with slight variations from the ordinary scheme, while *A* and almost certainly *B*, as Dr. Hartwig has already conjectured, present scenes from the *Iliupersis*. The interior reminds one strikingly of the Berlin kylix of Peithinos, though

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wolters informs me that one fragment of this kylix was found, in August 1886, east of the Parthenon, somewhat deep down, under a layer of potsh-fragments, which in all probability contained debris from the Persian devastation of the Acropolis. The rest of the vase

fragments here figured were not noted when found, but fragments of the vase figured on Pl. IV. *a* were turned up west of the Erechtheion, at the spot where the fourteen archaic statues were discovered all together.



there is sufficient difference to prevent the supposition that both are from one hand: but both painters must at any rate have worked from similar designs. Dr. Hartwig, in the chapter of his *Meisterschalen*<sup>2</sup> which he devotes to Peithinos, has fully emphasized the archaic and stylized severity of this painter's work and has seen in it a definite tendency opposed to that of the rising naturalistic school. The painter of this kylix aimed rather at a free drawing of the human form, but had not reached the mastery of draughtsmanship which we see in Euphronios, while he had no desire to stylize like Peithinos. The scheme of locked hands in this interior scene may well be contrasted with the same in the cup of Peithinos, as converted into a conventional sort of meander. Here we see Peleus with bent knee and lowered head, clad in short chiton girt up round the waist, with sheathed sword at his side (the hanger rendered in purple), holding Thetis round the waist and just lifting her off her feet. His name ΠΕΛΕΥΣ is laid on in purple. Unfortunately the head is only half preserved and the eye is broken, but it seems to have been rendered by a simple black point. The usual ophebic type is here presented, and the growing beard is rendered with thin 'Firniss.' The hem of the sleeves and neck of the chiton are represented by a triple line. On his back is the conventional and heraldic lion, exactly as in the Peithinos-vase down to the carefully drawn mane. On another fragment are the toes of his right foot and part of the bent leg, on which hangs one coil of a snake. This is more carefully drawn than in the Peithinos-vase. The row of thick dots no doubt is intended to represent the upper side, the small scattered flecks the under side of the creature. Thetis wears a long chiton with stiff parallel folds relieved by the ladder-pattern, which is so common on vases of this period (cp. the Peleus and Thetis frags. of the Acropolis *Jahrb.* 1888, Pl. 2, and here p. 191, the Athenodotos-vases *J.H.S.* x. 1, the Antaios-krater of Euphronios etc.), and a himation with swallow-tail folds, unnaturally spread out on the right. The outline of her bent legs is to be traced beneath the drapery.<sup>3</sup> The interior field is surrounded by two circular bands of the colour of the clay, and a segment is cut off from the circle by a similar strip, on which rested the right foot of Peleus and probably the right foot of Thetis, at least in part, while her left foot is near to but does not touch the circular band. The smaller fragment is not quite correctly placed in the drawing: it should be shifted a little to the left, so that the base-line of the segment may meet the exterior circle below the left foot of Thetis. As Mr. Cecil Smith has pointed out to me, it is clear from the relative position of the fragments that Thetis is being actually lifted off her feet into the arms of Peleus. The sandal of the left foot does not touch the enclosing circle and is therefore meant to be in the air, and we should restore

<sup>2</sup> I take the opportunity of hailing the appearance of this great work with delight. Two or three more comprehensive works of the kind accompanied with reliable plates would probably solve nine-tenths of the questions which are debated in connection with Greek

vase-painting.

<sup>3</sup> Two small fragments have recently been fitted to this vase, belonging to E, and thus the left arm of Thetis has been added to the interior.

the right foot as touching the ground only slightly with the toes. Hence we get a slight difference of position from that given by Peithinos, who represents Thetis with both her feet flat on the ground, and the advantage is all on the side of our artist. Turning to the exterior fields, a fragment already published (*Eph. Arch.* 1885, Pl. 5, 3), which corresponds to the smaller fragment of the interior, has long since been rightly interpreted, so far as it goes. The head of *Kassandra* is unfortunately missing, but the drawing of the fragment seems more severe than that of the similar *Vienna* fragment published by Hartwig (*Arch. Epigr. Mitth. aus Oest.* xvi. ii. Fig. 1 a). The nipples are here indicated and the breasts hang in the same direction: the drapery, exactly similar to that of *Thetis*, conceals what it was difficult to draw correctly. The embroidered robe of the image with its silhouette representations of choruses male and female and its apparently conical shape have been already noted by Dr. M. Mayer and others. It may be added that the lower part of the *Palladion* in the *Vivenzio*-vase is less markedly conical, but no doubt the goddess here as there was represented with outstretched spear and shield. Right of *Kassandra* and somewhat behind the basis of the image is an altar with blood-spots (purple) and in the interval the 'unklare Faltenpartien' (Hartwig), which might possibly belong to the himation of *Priam*, as it is quite clear from the next fragment to be mentioned that the altar was the seat of the aged king here as elsewhere. But the relative position of the fragments being shown by the inside, it is likely that here as in the *Vivenzio*-vase sat a female figure, though there is hardly room for two figures as in that work. Next we may restore *Priam* seated much after the fashion of the scene in the vase of *Brygos*. On the next fragment we see the right leg of *Neoptolemos* who is striding to the left. Part of his short chiton, the knob of his sheathed sword, and a greave are visible. Behind are preserved the head and arms of *Astyanax* Ἀστ[Υ]ΑΝΑ[Χ]ς. *Neoptolemos* is about to hurl the child at the seated *Priam*: the child is still alive, the eye being wide open, as in the vase of *Euphronios*, while *Brygos* on the other hand represented him as already dead, and in the *Vivenzio*-vase he lies dead on the lap of his grandfather. It is unfortunate that here, as in the interior of *Euphronios*' kylix, the figure of *Neoptolemos* is almost entirely wanting. At this point in our vase there is a great confusion of legs, as on the exterior of *Brygos*' kylix, parts of two standing and one recumbent man and one standing woman crossing one another. This appearance of confusion is enhanced here by the fact that the circle bounding the exterior scenes on the inside is so small, having a diameter of only m. .084. Behind the body of *Astyanax* stands a female figure to right, clad apparently in himation and chiton with hands outstretched towards a warrior, of whom we see the greaved legs, the shield and lowered spear and a part of the chiton, advancing to her. The latter  $\epsilon$  is in the field between them. There is no motive such as we have in the *Brygos*-vase, where *Akamas* leads away *Polyxena*, or in the *Vivenzio*-vase where *Demophon* and *Akamas* lead away *Aithra*. Rather the woman is supplicating mercy from one who advances with hostile intent. Noack's restoration of the



fragmentary exterior of Euphronios' kylix as representing Odysseus and Menelaos pursuing Helen and Aithra is no doubt correct (v. *Aus der Anomie*), but this is a different scheme. I do not see any other possible view than that this is ELEN]E and the advancing warrior Menelaos; and this view receives support from the remaining figure of the fragment, viz. the recumbent dead warrior, who lies 'en face' in the attitude of the fallen warrior in the Bourguignon kylix (*Meisterschalen* Pl. X.), which is also that of Eurytion, and Palaiste in the respective vases of Euphronios. The anatomy of the body is almost hidden by the leg and arm which cross it. Blood is pouring from three wounds (purple). The left arm and shoulder rest in the shield, which is half shown. The hair falls in schematic curls on either side of the helmet, which covers the face, though the hair is indicated on the forehead by rows of dots and the eyebrows and the closed eyes with lashes are visible. Long curling appendages to the crest fall down on either side, as in the fallen warrior (Gerhard, *Trinkschalen* Pl. D). Behind the figure again we see the foot of a man advancing to left. If in the dead man we naturally see Deiphobos, it may be conjectured that this belonged to Odysseus. Before turning to the small fragment which is all that remains of *B*,\* the position of the handles must be ascertained. From the interior one concludes that *A* contained three groups, and the conclusion is also inevitable that the handle on the one side falls over the warrior who lies dead. If that is so, the extended arm of Cassandra must come under the other handle, and obverse and reverse are thus closely coupled together. Aias must therefore have been the last figure of *B* on the one side, and on the other the warrior to whom the foot belongs, who has been tentatively named Odysseus. The small separate fragment of *B* represents a figure with shield, greaves, and short chiton very similar to Menelaos, advancing to left, while the leg is seen of another warrior engaged in combat with an antagonist, whose leg bent at the knee and encased in a greave is seen overlapping the leg of his foe. In this duel then the issue is practically decided. The first-mentioned warrior must have been engaged with an antagonist over the body of a fallen Trojan archer (?) whose trousered leg is visible. The other pair of combatants on the right would be immediately followed by Aias in this case, and we have the following arrangement of *B*:

←						→
Odysseus (?)	Trojan		Greek	Greek	Falling	Aias
left	right	Fallen Trojan	left	right	Trojan left	right

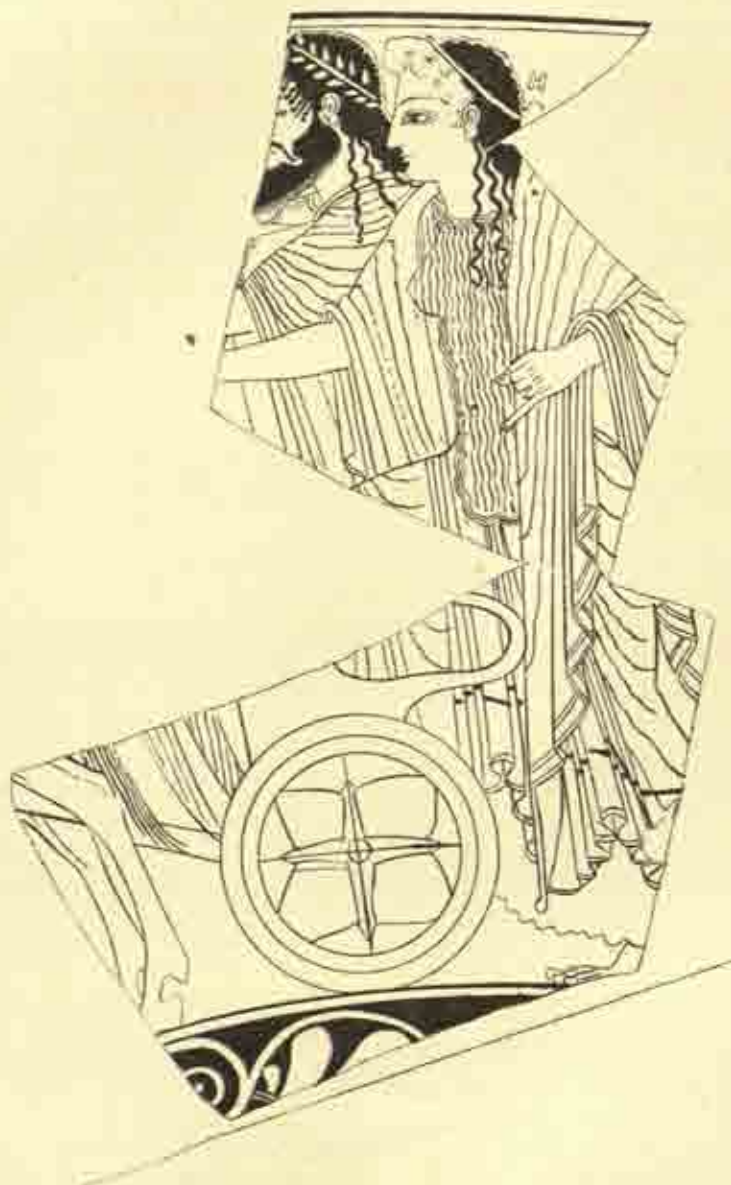
and of *A*:

Kassandra	Female	Priam	Neoptolemos	Helen	Menelaos	
Palladion	figure	right	left (Astyanax)	right	left	Fallen warrior
	(?)					

\* Since writing this, I have heard from Dr. Wolters that two additional fragments of *B*, not here figured, have been added. He writes

Wir haben zwei Fragmente hinzugefügt, welche das einzeln gezeichnete Fragment, auf welchem das Bein eines orientalisches bekleideten

Roughly therefore the number of figures on both sides is the same, but there is no exact correspondence, and the two sides are dovetailed into one another. It would be an unprofitable task to attempt to give names to the combatants of *B*. As to the style of the vase, no doubt Hartwig's estimate of it is correct, that it is a work of the school of Epiktetos. The close



Maenee und die Beine einiger anderen Krieger erscheinen, mit dem Hauptteil der Vase verbinden, und besonders diesen erstgenannten Mann etwas vervollständigen.' A fuller description

will show whether I am right in placing two standing warriors on *B* to the left of this 'fallen Trojan.' Dr. Walters does not mention any additional inscriptions.



connection with the b.f. style is shown (*a*) by the designs on the peplos of the Palladion, (*b*) by the liberal use of purple, (*c*) by the absence of palmettes and meanders under the handles and round the interior, and the use of circles bounding the interior scene, formed by leaving a strip of the clay-ground. There is nothing except profile-drawing, so far as the feet are concerned, in what we have. The full-face is attempted in the dead warrior but there is practically covered by the helmet. It would seem too venturesome to ascribe the work to any particular master in the present state of our knowledge. It is much to be hoped that Dr. Hartwig will speedily be enabled to do for the school of Epiktetos what he has done for the subsequent vase-painters. I do not think that Chachrylion for instance can be connected with this vase.<sup>3</sup> It certainly differs very widely from the Vienna fragments, which are nearer to Chachrylion's work than to any other which has yet been recognized. At the same time the rounded treble-line edges of the drapery and the unnatural wave of the himation of Thetis remind one of several of the vases brought together on the first five plates of the *Meisterschalen*.

ii.—I should like to insert here cuts of parts of the Pelous and Thetis vase from the Acropolis (published incompletely in *Jahrbuch* 1888, Pl. 2). The two heads, incomplete though one is, are valuable helps towards judging



<sup>3</sup> Perhaps I may say that the least satisfactory chapter in Hartwig's book seems to me to be the one on Chachrylion. It is difficult to

attribute to one hand the Cambridge signed kylix Pl. II. 3 and the Bourguignon kylix Pl. V.

of the style of the vase. I am bound to say that they only confirm to my mind Hartwig's view, that this vase is in the style of Peithinos. The head of Hera is just the expressionless type so characteristic of that master. The eye-lashes are carefully indicated as on several figures of the Sosias-vase in Berlin, and with the ornamental separate curls of Zeus one may compare those of Dionysos in that vase. But the inscription remains a standing puzzle. It is as plainly as possible—*ιος ἐγγραφθεν*. Nothing but the neighbourhood of the staff could explain a miswriting of  $\iota$  for  $\kappa$ . The vase cannot however be the work of Euphronios, unless we suppose that the latter painter was so many-sided as to work in two distinct styles according to the nature of his subject.

iii.—Pl. III. 1.—*Fragment of a kylix with exploits of Theseus*. Unfortunately this appears to be a quite isolated fragment. The kylix was of the older shape derived from the 'Kleinmeister,' with edge setting back at the top, above the outer field. All that is preserved is part of the struggle of Theseus and the Minotaur, which formed a portion of one of the exterior scenes. It may be conjectured with probability that this was not one of a series of scenes, as in the later Theseus vases, but, as in the Epiktetos kylix of the British Museum, it occupied the chief position and was similarly flanked by a female figure to right and left. Theseus, whose face exhibits the older type common to the Epiktetan school, with almond-shaped eye without any attempt at a profile view, with wreath of purple on his head, clad in short girt chiton, the sword-hanger crossing his breast, holds the head of the Minotaur with his left arm, and in his right hand, which is missing, doubtless held the sword and was about to give his antagonist the *coup de grâce*. The Minotaur's head and chest are preserved, the head covered with double strokes and flecks, though the chest exhibits no such round spots as were introduced by other painters on the analogy of Argos Panoptes (e.g. Duris A. V. iii. 234 or the painter of the amphora A. V. iii. 160). The head is bent and with his right hand he no doubt grasped at the sword of Theseus, as with Duris, and in his left probably held the stone, which is his usual weapon. The rendering of the anatomy is scanty, the arms of Theseus show no inner drawing, and it is noticeable that even the eyebrow of Theseus, whether by accident or design, is omitted. The same peculiarity, outside of the Epiktetan circle, is to be noted on the fragmentary kylix in the possession of Dr. Hauser (*Meisterschalen* Pl. XVIII. 1), and within it can be paralleled on the Memnon vases. In the field we read ΕΣ, the letters being divided by the head of Theseus. A spot of purple colour at the end of the wreath of Theseus but disconnected with it resembles an  $\iota$ . It is perfectly correctly rendered in the illustration, but I am convinced that it is not intended to be a letter but rather belongs to the wreath; for otherwise the spacing of the letters would be very peculiar, and in such a position we can only restore either Θ[ΕΣ[εὺς] or ἐπ[οτ]ΕΣ[εϋ]. Which of the two stood there, it is not easy to say. One other letter, in either case Ε, would have occurred in the break above the Minotaur's head. It seems to be most probable that this is a work from the hand of Epiktetos, and it is not in the least an objection to this



view that we have another similar work from his hand. He seems to have produced a large amount of works from his *atelier* and the same subject might often be repeated.

iv.—PL. IV. I.—*Fragments of a red-figured Lutrophoros* (*Am. Journ. of Arch.* 1888, p. 358, *Class. Rev.* 1888, 188, *Klein Liebblingsinschriften*, p. 45). This vase was at first called a krater, but since the drawings were made of our two fragments, a great number of others have been added, which when put together make the neck of a large Lutrophoros almost complete; this is decorated with a long procession, of which these two show the one end. The thickness of the clay is considerable. On the larger fragment a bearded man wearing wreath and himation over his left shoulder leaving his right arm and shoulder free is walking to right. In his left raised hand he holds three branches, and his right hand is raised. He is directly followed by two women, the first of whom turns back to converse with her neighbour. Both wear chiton, and himation drawn over the head so as to serve as veil, with stephane, the first also having her head covered by a cap. The first holds in her left the three branches, the second a staff over her shoulder (is it part of a *σκιάδειος*?): her left hand is upraised in the same attitude as that of the man. The separated fingers are treated in a very lifeless manner and nails are not indicated. Beneath the man's shoulder only four divisions of the 'serratus magnus' are shown.

On the other fragment a youth with fillet, wearing the 'iulus' and draped like the man, also walks to right holding in his left the same three branches. He is separated from the bearded man of the preceding fragment by a figure, whose head is lost. On the left edge of the fragment are two unexplained objects, which I at first supposed to be part of a Nike flying to left. The upper one however is probably not a wing, and the lower might be a piece of drapery. What is the scene represented? The branches<sup>6</sup> are no doubt intended for the sprinkling of an altar with purificatory water (*περιπραντήρια*). A sacrifice is therefore about to be performed. Can this be the *προγάμια* or *προτέλεια γάμων*, the sacrifice performed on the day before a marriage? (cp. Becker-Göhl *Charikles* iii. 361). This representation would be a suitable subject for a Lutrophoros.<sup>7</sup>

On the small fragment we read the letters LV retrograde, and by the man's head OLVP|O KA. The latter is of course 'Ολυ(μ)πίο[δωρος] κα[λός], and as there is room for an O in the smaller fragment, I should regard the inscription as a repetition of the same love-name. For instances of the dropping of a nasal in vase-inscriptions see Kretschmer *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* § 142. This name is associated with Leagros on the b.f. hydria of the Museo Gregoriano;<sup>8</sup> and the severity and stiffness of this

<sup>6</sup> Three branches are similarly held by the priestess on the b.f. amphora with sacrifice to Athena (Berlin 1686).

<sup>7</sup> As I have not seen the other fragments of this vase, I fear that what I have conjectured above may prove valueless.

<sup>8</sup> Surely these are not portraits, as Beisch (*Fahner* II. 247) says. Apart from the fact of the beards, are these figures to be regarded as anything but genre-types? Is the young rider really meant for Leagros on the interior of Euphronios' Geryon kylix?

vase show its proximity to the b.f. style. The Olympiodoros in question is doubtless the son of Lampon, who commanded a lochos in the Athenian force at Plataea (Hdt. 9, 21) and thus we obtain, it seems to me, a rough date for this vase, as between 510-500 B.C. It seems to me that Furtwängler's dating (*Berl. Phil. Week.* Jan. 20, 1894) is preferable to Hartwig's, who would make Leagros of the age to be celebrated as *καλός* from 500 to 490. If Olympiodoros and Leagros are mentioned together as *καλοί*, and both occur on r.f. and b.f. works, they must have been approximately of the same age: and quite apart from considerations as to Leagros, the later date makes Olympiodoros younger at Plataea than we should expect; and if, as is probable, his son again was the Lampon who was one of the founders of Thurii, the earlier date better suits the age of Lampon the second.

v.—Pl. III. 2. *Pyxis with scenes from female life.* A continuous frieze depicting life in the Gynaikonitis is here presented, the drawing being on a small scale and of extreme beauty and delicacy. Two female figures, one seated and one standing, are completely preserved, and portions of four others. All are clad in identically the same garments, in Ionic chiton and overdress thrown over it in various ways. In the centre on a *δίφρος* *ὀκλαδίας*, whose rim and bosses are richly ornamented (the feet as usual are in the shape of beasts' claws turned inwards), sits a woman to left, in long-sleeved chiton, with himation wrapped loosely round the lower part of her body, her hair bound with a long purple fillet; she stretches out her arms towards the woman approaching from the left, of whom one foot only and part of the chiton are preserved, apparently rather to receive an object from than to offer one to her neighbour. It was no doubt a box containing articles for the toilet. Above in the field are the letters [E i.e. *κα*] *λη*. Behind, a purple fillet hangs on the wall and vertically written is ΝΑΥΣΙΣΤΡΑ[τα, no doubt her name. The kindred male name Nausistratos occurs on the lip of a lekythos fragment in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Behind the seat is a cock, drawn in a very natural manner, with ample use of purple for the comb, tail and inner markings. Behind, a female figure with similar head-gear and dress, only that the dress is drawn over her left shoulder, advances to right, holding in her right a long stylized flower and in her left a spindle with clew of wool and whorl (purple and black). Before her is a simple stool with cushion, towards which another woman advances holding out a mirror in her right. Between them in the field vertically written is ΕΛΙΤΑ, in front of which is a break, so that Μελίτα is probably the name meant, and above is κΑ[λη]. The name Ἐλιττα is not impossible (*Ἐλισσα* was a river in Elis), but *Melite* is a Nereid's name in *Iliad* xviii. 42, and as such frequently seen in vases in which Nereids play a part, and as the names of Nereids were particularly favoured for scenes from female life (cp. the r.f. pyxis of the British Museum, Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce Propre* Pl. IX.) there is no doubt this is the right reading here. To the extreme right are the tail and foot of another cock. On the other side of the central pair are portions of another pair



and a swan between them. Only enough of the figures remains to show that their attire was similar to that of the other four women. One holds a long taenia (purple) the two ends of which hang down and show an inscription in white letters ΟΔΑΜΑΣ ΚΑ(Λ)ΟΣ and ΚΑ[λός]. The only uncertain letter is the first, which does not altogether look like an Ο and might be an ornamental mark. The love-name Damas occurs with that of Chairestratos on an amphora (*Canino Mus. Etr.* 1756) and Δάμα(ς) καλός is also to be found on the Alkaios and Sappho vase of Munich. But on the whole I am inclined to restore this as Ἰππ[ο]δάμας κα(λ)ός. Vertically written between the two is ΜΑΚΡ, which Reisch (*Zeitschr. für österr. Gymn.* 1887, p. 46) restored as Μάκρον. But the position is of itself enough to disprove the view that this was an artist's signature, and to the style of Makron's vase this pyxis shows no resemblance. It is undoubtedly another female name: but whether Μάκρ[α] (a 'nurse of Dionysos' *Ap. Rhod.* 4, 540) or Μακρ[ώ] (*C.I.G.* 2, 2322 b.) or even Μακρ[ά] we may be content to leave undecided. The name Hippodamas suggests the author of the vase, but even without that guide one cannot help comparing the interior of a fragmentary kylix from the Acropolis with the same name (*Jahrb.* 1887, p. 164), which is undoubtedly the work of Hiero, not of Duris, who prefers to write the name with one Π while Hiero doubles the letter. We may compare the attitude of the woman here, who is walking to right, with that of this lyre-playing boy. The drapery, in the hoop-like manner in which it encircles the waist of the seated woman here, resembles the arrangement of the himation on the boy's shoulder. Finally, the type of face here, with the short upper and projecting under lip and strong chin, is exactly the somewhat sensuous type so characteristic of Hiero. Cocks do not occur in the scenes from the Gynaikonitis so often as other animals, but ducks, geese and swans seem to have been favourite playthings for the children (Penelope had twenty geese κατὰ οἶκον), and the practice of keeping such domestic pets was common at Athens (Stephani, *Comptes Rendus* 1863, p. 51). For a similar inscription on a taenia, only in red letters on white, see the Louvre fragments of Apollodoros in Hartwig's *Meisterschalen*, Pl. LXIX. 2a, ὁ παῖς χαλός. This is probably the earliest extant specimen of these pyxides with scenes of female life. It is probable that this class was in demand for the purpose of presents after marriage or at the birth of a child (ἀνακαλυπτήρια and ὀπτήρια).<sup>9</sup>

vi.-vii.—Pl. IV. 2 and 3. Finally, we have two fragments of the finest free r.f. style. (a) Part of a large flat lid of a vase, to which other fragments have since been added.<sup>10</sup> Athena stands in graceful attitude by her olive-tree, on which she lays her right hand and towards which she looks. The

<sup>9</sup> See Pauz. *op. loc.* on Pl. xxiv. 29 εἰς ἀνακαλυπτήρια ἀνακαλῶν, σμύρνα, φορέα, πέντα, κοίτα, ἀλαβίστρον, σινδάλια, θέασι, μόρα, εἰς τὰ ἑνὶ καὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ, on the ἐπιμολὴ ἡμέρα.

<sup>10</sup> These other fragments are mostly from the edge, so that very scanty portions of the figures

are preserved. The lower half of the body is preserved. Dr. Wolters tells me, of one man in chiton and tall laced boots in rapid motion to right. Can this be Dionysos as in the hydria from Kertsch, and is the subject after all the contest of Athena and Poseidon?

weight of the body rests on the right leg, and the left becomes visible under the chiton, which is girt and has a long kolpos. In her uplifted right hand she holds a spear. She wears the Corinthian helmet raised, and with long plume, and an aegis of the collarette shape. Spots of dark colour on the edge of the plume and borders of the aegis originally bore added white pigment, with which the fruit of the olive-tree was also rendered. On her arms are bracelets. It is natural to inquire whether in this figure we have a free representation of any of the statues on the Acropolis, but difficult to give any satisfactory answer. The attitude will not suit the Athena of the west pediment of the Parthenon, while the resemblance to the Parthenos is practically nil: nor can it be held that this is a reminiscence of the Lemnia. The inscription on the field is also difficult to restore. EVE [ $\mu$ ] ΓΟ[ρος] is probably the name of dedicator or artist, and in the third line the fragmentary letter looks like  $\pi$  or  $\rho$ . It may be ἐπ[οίησεν]. It would be too daring to suggest Ἐρ[μύνης]. Probably it ran in some such form as Ἀθηνα[ῖα ἀνέθηκεν] Εὐε[ $\mu$ ]πο[ρος, ὁ δέῖνα] ἐπ[οίησεν]. The style of the work is very much like that of the Kodros-vase, which one would suppose to be of exactly the same period. The name of Mikion is preserved on several Acropolis fragments as a painter of this period, but of course he was only one among many.

(b) This kylix fragment is remarkable for its very fine drawing. A bearded warrior stands to left, with outstretched right hand, which perhaps held a patera, a himation round his waist and sword in sheath at his side suspended by a cord that passes over the right shoulder. The letters ΓΓ retrograde in the field are apparently a part of his name, but I am unable to offer any suggestion as to their completion. The helmeted head is a beautiful piece of drawing. The fore part of the helmet is in the shape of the snout of an animal (boar?) with the eye shown. Above that is a purple wreath from which springs a large decorative leaf. The part that covers the head is rendered in a careful trellis pattern. The eye is in profile and some locks of hair escape from beneath the helmet. The anatomy is also noteworthy. Not only the linea alba but the linea semi-lunaris are delicately rendered with a double line, as is the groove of the elbow. The intersection of the linea alba with the upper transverse line of the rectus muscle forms a sort of closed diamond. Antaios on the krater of Euphronios shows an approximation to this in the meeting of double lines. The double drawing of the supra-umbilical linea alba, as in the Peirithoos of the Berlin Centaureomachy fragments (*A.Z.* 1888, 17) or in the kylikes of Aristophanes, has been pointed to as a stylistic indication of later date, though it is already found in Euphronios. The more thorough use of the double line as here is a safer indication however of the later r.f. period. In the field we read -eros -evse. The first word is doubtless one of the names ending in -ξeros, but which one cannot say. Pistoxenos suggests itself, but this vase cannot have anything to do with a potter who is associated with Epiktetos and Duris, apart from the fact that he only signs with ἐποίησεν. The other word seems to have been ἐκπαύευσεν. It seems very strange to find it here on a r.f.



kylix of fine style, but what other restoration is possible, all the letters being certain? After all we have only an insignificant proportion of the output of Greek vase-painters preserved to us, and so are often confronted with apparent idiosyncrasies.

The fragments here published are of absorbing interest and the illustrations will be of value to all who read the forthcoming publication of Dr. Wolters and Dr. Graef and see these works treated in a wider context. To the appearance of the important results of their laborious investigations the archaeological world is looking forward with great anxiety.

G. C. RICHARDS.

NOTE.—My attention has been called to the fact that Studniczka (*Jahrbuch* ii, 154) regards the fragments published in Vol. xiii, of this *Journal* Pl. XII, as certainly Chalkidian, which I was not aware of at the time when I published them. As Kretschmer points out (*Die griech. Vasenschriften* p. 69), the inscriptions give no support to this hypothesis, which must rest on considerations of style only. Pending the appearance of Dr. Loeschke's work, it is somewhat hazardous to dogmatize on these matters; but I see no sufficient reason for departing from the view expressed by me, that these fragments show Corinthian influence but are Attic in origin. Dr. Kretschmer (*ibid.*) reads the peculiar inscription of this vase as Φιλόμβρον, and suggests it may be a short form of Φιλόμβροτος. I cannot think of any exact parallel, but his authority is a high one on matters of this kind.

GREEK HEAD IN THE POSSESSION OF T. HUMPHRY  
WARD, ESQ.

THE Greek head of which four different views are given on Plate V. 1, 2, and in Figs. 1 and 2 comes originally from the Borghese Palace whence it was acquired previous to the great sale. It is now the property of Mr. Humphry Ward, to whom I owe very sincere thanks for permission to publish



FIG. 1.

it in this *Journal*. When the head came into Mr. Ward's hands it was tilted upwards at a very displeasing angle and restored with a nose totally out of keeping with the style and proportions of the face: disfigurements which perhaps account for its neglect by the many archaeologists who must have seen it in its old Roman home. Even in that condition however, a close



examination of the treatment of the hair and the eyes showed this acquisition of Mr. Ward's to be nothing less than a Greek original of the first half of the fifth century. In effect, when Mr. Hamo Thornycroft had mounted the head at a proper angle and replaced the old plaster nose by one more in keeping with the general character of the face, the full beauty of the head soon became apparent. Thus restored, the head was exhibited during the spring and summer of 1893 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. I saw it there immediately on my return from Rome and was not only confirmed in my belief that the work was an original but I was also struck with its likeness to the 'Aphrodite' on the central slab of the now famous throne in the Museo Boncompagni-Ludovisi,<sup>1</sup> and was thus led to connect it with that monument and a whole series of kindred works.

The head is apparently of Parian or, as it is perhaps more prudent to say now-a-days, of 'island' marble of singular transparency, and mellowed by time to a rich tone. A small piece of the chin, as well as the nose from a little below the root, are restored in plaster. The neck with the exception of



FIG. 2.

a small fragment on either side is also plaster. Otherwise the head is in a remarkably fine state of preservation, the surface being still singularly fresh,

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, *Führer durch die Öffentl. Samml. in Rom*, no. 886. Published by C. L. Visconti, *Bull. della Comm. archeol. comunale di Roma*,

1887, tsv. xv. xvi., and by Petersen, *Röm. Mittheil.* vol. vii. 1892, taf. ii. (pp. 32-89) and *Antike Denkmäler Bd. ii.* (1891-92) 6, 7.

and the modelling producing an impression of elasticity and firmness. The forehead swells gently over the nose and on either side towards the outer extremities of the eyebrows, thus differing as markedly as possible from the smooth hair brows so common in copies. The eyebrows are delicately arched, and have just that touch of inequality—the left eyebrow appearing slightly more raised than the right—which is so characteristic of original work. The eyes, though tending to the almond shape, are well opened (length of eye = 30 mm., clear height = 10 mm.). The upper eyelid does not project beyond the lower; but the lids, which lie very softly on the eyeball, meet at an angle in the manner characteristic of archaic art; copyists are notoriously careless in the observance of this detail. Enough is left of the nose to show that the present restoration is correct; it has a narrow ridge and projects somewhat beyond an imaginary line drawn to continue the line of the forehead. The mouth is closed, the chin full and round. The oval of the face is charmingly framed by hair parted over the forehead and flowing to either side in gentle undulations. A fillet tied in a knot at the back of the head confines the hair. The ears are placed extremely high;<sup>2</sup> oddly enough the lobe of the ear remains concealed by the waving front hair, but the whole upper part of the ear is allowed to show just below the diadem. Moreover, through some miscalculation on the part of the artist, the ears do not exactly correspond—the left ear being placed somewhat lower than the right.

So curiously individual is the treatment of the ears in relation to the hair that could we but find its parallel on some other work of art we might feel confident of having discovered one clue to lead us to the correct interpretation of the head. One figure alone—so far as I can find out at present—namely the Aphrodite of the Ludovisi throne, shows the ears treated precisely in the same manner (see Fig. 3); only the top is allowed to peep out just below the diadem, while the lower portion is covered by the rich waves of hair, which on the relief, as on the head, flow along the cheek in an unbroken line: it is as if a quaint compromise had been effected between the desire to leave the ear altogether covered—a favourite device of later art—and the childish conscientiousness of archaic workmanship with its insistence on the representation of every feature. In both works, but more especially in the head, the lack of organic connexion between the hair above and below the fillet is another note of imperfect skill very common in earlier Greek art. There is no correspondence between the movement of the waving front locks and that of the wire-drawn hair which in the 'Aphrodite' radiates from the crown to the fillet, after the usual archaic manner, and which in the head is roughly parted at the back. The difficulty of rendering hair truthfully, of fusing its separate masses, of indicating its growth, of expressing its windings and reluctances, is a problem far more perplexing to the early artist than the correct rendering of features. Inability to solve the difficulty probably accounts in great measure for the fantastic head-dresses adopted by

<sup>2</sup> The ears, which are of normal size, appear on the plate absurdly enlarged, through the fault of the photograph.



the archaic masters for female statues. So most of the archaic statues of the Akropolis Museum wear their hair dressed in elaborate spiral curls over the forehead, or in conventional bands of tightly crimped hair carried across from ear to ear, generally without any indication of parting.<sup>3</sup> Side by side with these artificial methods, however, there appears from early times a more natural tendency which is to leave the front hair long and simply comb it back to either side. Such an arrangement we find for instance on one of the Akropolis statues of supposed Samian origin (*Mus. d'Athènes* x.), and at a later date in the maidens from the Louvre Pharsalos relief ('*L'Exaltation de la Fleur*,' O. Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antique* i. Pl. 12, Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkm.* 58), etc. This more natural method is the exception in archaic art, but with the increase of technical skill in the fifth century it gradually tends



FIG. 3.

to supplant altogether the old elaborate head-dresses. One last point about the hair, marking the head as transitional from the archaic to the fine period, still has to be noted: it is the manner in which the masses of hair on either side of the face each consist of one solid mass modelled to suggest a wavy movement; upon this mass the separate strands of hair are carved, even as at an earlier date they might have been painted (cf. the Sphinx from Sparta, *Athen. Mittheil.* iv. Pl. V.; examples are numerous). Professor Furtwängler has shown that this method was employed by Pheidias in his earlier period when he executed the Lemnian Athena. Judging from extant

<sup>3</sup> See Furtwängler's remarks and the numerous examples of head-dress he quotes, *Metast.* *werke der Griechischen Plastik* p. 33, 34.

monuments, it would appear that it was not till the latter half of the fifth century that artists understood thoroughly how to subdivide hair into different masses each with a movement of its own, that was yet subordinate to the movement of the whole. In the head now published the solid mass of hair is strongly undercut, so as to stand out well from the face.

The 'Aphrodite' of the throne being represented in profile on a relief, and with upturned straining face, it is difficult to establish an exact comparison between her features and those of a head in the round. Yet there is an evident family-likeness between the two, notably in the line of profile from forehead to tip of nose, and in the strong full chin. But the figures of the Ludovisi throne have been shown by Petersen (*Röm. Mittheil.* vii. pp. 31-80) to be akin to a whole series of works which archaeological criticism has connected with the name of Kalamis. Certainly no one looking at the head under discussion could help feeling reminded of the Hestia Torlonia (Baumeister, Fig. 746) and of the Apollo so-called of the omphalos, with its replicas. They all have in common the same shaped oval and round chin, which are transitional from the heavy forms of the Naples Harmodios<sup>1</sup> and of the boy's head (*Ephem. archaeol.* 1883, πιν. 3) to the more pointed oval and delicate chin of the Pheidian period. The broken line formed by the forehead and the nose is a characteristic which our head shares with early Pheidian works, such as the Bologna head (*Furtwängler, Meisterwerke*, Plate III.) executed previous to the introduction of the straight profile such as we see it in several heads of the Parthenon frieze, or on the coins of Elis that reproduce the Zeus of Phidias. Finally, we must notice the high oval skull which is defined by a line running unbroken from the birth of the nose to the knot in the fillet at the back of the head. This construction of head is characteristic of works that may be attributed to Kalamis, to Myron (with modifications), and to the earlier Pheidian period. Later on, about the date of the Parthenon or even earlier, this purely Attic shape of head was modified by the introduction of forms that archaeologists have been accustomed to attribute to the influence of the Argive Polykleitos. The firm mouth and closed lips recall not only the works of Kalamis but a series of early Pheidian heads, among which are the beautiful Apollo of the *Museo delle Terme* and the Bologna head. These analogies are sufficient to show that the head is a work transitional from the later archaic schools of Athens to the pure style of the Parthenon. The extraordinary likeness of the head to the 'Aphrodite' of the throne shows that the two works, so far as we can feel certain where there is little evidence except the monuments themselves, are the work not only of the same period, but of the same artist. But from the analogies between the draperies and the treatment of the body under the draperies of the figures of the throne and r. f. vase-paintings of the severe style, Petersen has dated the reliefs at about B.C. 470.<sup>2</sup> It is to this date also that he

<sup>1</sup> Attributed by Furtwängler to the school of Kritios and Nesiotes, see 50th *Winkelmannsprogramm*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> This date has been almost universally admitted. Only C. L. Visconti, who was the first to publish the reliefs (*loc. cit.*), described them as



refers the colossal Ludovisi head (*Momument*, x. 1; Helbig, *Führer*, no. 876), which he has good grounds for thinking belonged to the figure occupying the throne; he shows it however to be the work of a more archaic master than the artist of the reliefs. The same advance which the Ludovisi head marks on a work like *Mus. d'Athènes* xiv. is marked by our head on the Ludovisi head. The artist of the latter work was feeling his way from a conventional to a natural rendering of the lids and of the curves of the mouth; the artist of the head understands natural shapes, and scarcely betrays archaism save in the treatment of the hair.

But we have not yet done with the Ludovisi throne. The close likeness of the head of the 'Aphrodite' on the relief to the head under discussion shows that on the interpretation of the scenes carved on the throne will also depend the further important question of who it is our head is intended to represent. Dr. Petersen (*loc. cit.*) sees in the central relief a Birth of Aphrodite, the goddess being raised from the sea by the attendant Hours,<sup>4</sup> and in the figures of the sides what might be described as an ancient allegory of sacred and profane love. This view, in spite of the different opinions put forward

works of the 'archaistic' school, a view however which that distinguished archaeologist has probably discarded by now. Since the publication in 1889 of Hauser's *Die von Attischen Reliefs*, it has become possible to distinguish between the genuine archaic, genuine copies of the archaic (Pasiteles and his school), and that curious 'mischkunst,' consisting of combinations and permutations of heterogeneous art forms, that marks the works of the Sosibios-Salpinx-Pontios group. The notion that the throne is a copy is of course out of the question; no such perfection of modelling, or accuracy and distinctness of detail (notice in especial the fall of the draperies of the *Hora* over the arms of Aphrodite) can be found in copyist's work. As to the possibilities of the throne being archaistic, the directness with which the story is told and the total absence of mannerism are sufficient evidence that the reliefs are removed by centuries from those self-conscious yet often senseless mimics of an older art which Hauser (*loc. cit.*, p. 178) has so severely but so deservedly criticized. There is still another sort of archaistic art, which Hauser indicated (p. 168), and which Furtwängler has since brilliantly expounded in his *Meisterwerke*: the archaistic in this case was no last outburst of a decaying art, it was merely a tendency to conservatism that coexisted with more progressive methods. In a sense Kalamis himself, as Hauser has shown, might be called archaistic because of a certain tenaciousness to the ways of an older generation that marks him and his school. This archaistic note never quite died out, it makes itself felt now less, now more

strongly; Furtwängler has well shown how it dominated artists like Kallimachos and Alkamenes during one phase at least of their career. We thus obtain a considerable margin of time within which to date the reliefs of the throne, but Petersen's analysis of their artistic affinities (it would be waste waste of time to retail them here) as well as the connexion he points out between the Birth of Aphrodite on the throne and the same scene on the basis of the Olympian Zeus can leave no doubt that the throne is of the transitional period, i.e. of about 475 to 460 B.C. When I read the above paper before the Hellenic Society, Mr. A. S. Murray raised the 'archaistic' question, and expressed it as his opinion that the throne was the work of a late epoch. In spite of his high authority I feel compelled to adhere to the opinion I have expressed. Mr. Murray further pointed out that the treatment of the hair in statues like the Hestia or the Apollon differed markedly from that of the head published here. On the throne, however (Mr. Murray fully admitted an intimate connexion between it and the head), the veiled figure on the right arm wears a short thick fringe of hair like the Hestia, while the Aphrodite of the central slab has, as already noted, long front hair. The artist of the throne, at any rate, was not limited to one method of treatment.

<sup>4</sup> . . . . . τῆς δὲ χρῆταις ἡμέρας  
ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνακλῆται καὶ τὴν ἑλπίδα ἔχουσα  
ἵσταν.

(Horn. *Hymn.* *Vol.* I. 5),

as Petersen appropriately quotes.

by one or two archaeologists,<sup>7</sup> seems to me incontrovertible,<sup>8</sup> if Petersen's arguments are studied *in extenso*. The evidence derived from the similarity of the scene on the relief to those works which echo for us Pheidias' treatment of the same subject on the basis of the Olympian Zeus<sup>9</sup> is specially strong. Therefore, the chief figure of the throne being Aphrodite, I have little doubt that the head under discussion is also a head of Aphrodite. True, in archaic and transitional art Aphrodite is more often represented with an elaborate head-dress and wearing the matronly veil. But side by side with this more august conception we find even at an early date a simpler and more girlish type. On coins of Knidos dated 550—500 B.C. (Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. II. No. 27<sup>10</sup>) she appears with uncovered head and long flowing hair simply tied into a knot on her back. From the likeness to these coins of a bronze head (from Kythera?) in the Berlin Museum it is highly probable that von Sallet is right in identifying the bronze as an archaic Aphrodite (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. ix. p. 141). With long hair loose on her back does the goddess appear on a terra-cotta plaque in the Munich Antiquarium (*Annali* 1867 tav. D, Roscher i. p. 1351), where she is clearly defined as Aphrodite by the love-god on her arm. In addition to these instances, which undoubtedly represent Aphrodite, may be cited a much mutilated but fine head from the Akropolis with long soft flowing hair (*Athen. Mitth.* vi. taf. vii. 1) which Furtwängler (Roscher i. p. 411) inclines to think is an Aphrodite. Impressions gathered from the general character of a work of art are perhaps perilous to go upon, especially in the archaic and transitional periods,<sup>11</sup> but I cannot help noting how characteristic of Aphrodite would be the long slit eyes, the warmth of modelling over the cheek-bone under the eye, the delicate oval, the gracious curves of the mouth that seems to hesitate between a pout and a smile.

The stylistic affinities of the head have already been pointed out; it remains to find out whether its artist can be more definitely named. One answer to the question has already been given, he is identical with the artist of the Ludovisi throne. Dr. Petersen (*loc. cit.*) has hinted—without however laying much stress on the point—that the throne was actually by Kalamis. I should like to take up that hint, which seems to me to receive further

<sup>7</sup> Helbig, *Führer* no. 888, inclines to interpret the central scene either as the return of Kore from the underworld, or as the rising of a fountain-nymph to the face of the Earth (cf. Robert, *Arch. Museum* p. 179). L. Bloch, in Roscher's *Lexikon* vol. ii. p. 1379 (*sub* *see* Kore), also thinks the central slab represents the *anodos* of Persephone.

Wolters, *Εργα ἀρχαία*, 1893, oddly enough explains the central slab as a scene of childbirth *ἐκ γένεως*.

Visconti *loc. cit.* thinks the several scenes relate to the Eleusinian mysteries.

<sup>8</sup> Petersen, p. 53, states that Prof. Furtwängler

had arrived independently at the same interpretation.

<sup>9</sup> Galaridi silver relief, Petersen *loc. cit.* fig. ix. and *Gaz. Archéologique* 1879, pl. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the similar head of Aphrodite on Corinthian drachma, *Brill. Mus. cat. Corinth*, Pl. II. nos. 8, 9, hemidrachm no. 12. The colossal Aphrodite Ludovisi would be an example of long hair and uncovered head (see Roscher, p. 411), were it not that Petersen (*loc. cit.* p. 73) has shown that formerly her head was probably covered with a drapery of bronze.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Kalkmann, *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der Griechischen Kunst* (1893), p. 82.



confirmation from the head now published. Kalamis was the artist praised *τῆς λεπτότητος ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος*—qualities which he must have had every opportunity of developing in his silver chasing (for to distinguish with Overbeck (*S.Q.* p. 95) and Prof. Klein<sup>12</sup> between the *Kalamis cælator ille* mentioned, Pliny xxxvi. § 36, and Kalamis the sculptor is surely unnecessary), and it is precisely *λεπτότης* and *χάρις* and the delicacy of silver work that strike us in the reliefs of the throne. But we also know of two statues by this same Kalamis which must have had characteristics in common with our head: an Aphrodite just within the Propylæa dedicated by the wealthy Kallias (Paus. i. 23, 2), of which the probable basis (Loewy, *I.G.B.* 415) may still be seen not far from its ancient site, and the famous Sosandra, one of whose many charms we learn from an oft quoted passage in Lucian was precisely a *μεῖδιμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθός*, such as we have noted in our Aphrodite. I am fully aware however of the danger of positive attributions except where far more evidence can be adduced than in this case. I only wish to point out that the head like the throne has precisely those qualities which ancient criticism noted in Kalamis; it seemed to me that the hint thrown out by Petersen became in the light of the head something of a solid suggestion. Those who think that even by saying this I am going too far, will at any rate feel that by the publication of a head that has characteristics in common, on the one hand with works like the colossal Aphrodite Ludovisi and the Hestia Torlonia, on the other with the Apollo of the Terme and the Bologna head, an invaluable contribution has been made to our knowledge of Greek art in the period that immediately preceded Pheidias.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

KENSINGTON, May 1894.

<sup>12</sup> *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, v. (1881), 'Die Daidaliden,' p. 36.

## POLLEDRARA WARE.

[PLATES VI—VIII]

THE contents of the famous 'Grotta of Isis' discovered on the Polledrara<sup>1</sup> estates at Vulci in 1839 have been generally known to archaeologists ever since the publication in 1844 of Micali's *Monumenti Inediti*, where a selection of them is given on Pl. iv.—viii., pp. 37—71. The quality however of the drawings there given is very far from answering the present requirements of study: and an adequate publication of these important remains has long been badly wanted. In the course of last year Professor Victor Horsley had a series of elaborate drawings made of some of the principal objects in the tomb, as a present to Professor Montelius. As the latter did not intend to publish the drawings in their elaborate form, Professor Horsley most kindly arranged with Mr. Murray that some of the more important should be presented to the Hellenic Society; it is thus owing to him that the Society is enabled to put this valuable series of drawings within the reach of scholars.

The drawings here given of the hydria (Pl. 6—7) were made by Mr. F. Anderson, a fact which is in itself a guarantee of their reliability: they show more of the detail of the design than will probably be seen at first sight by any one handling the original: as a matter of fact they represent the results of a considerable amount of patient examination of the vase in every variety of light by different pairs of eyes, which however almost invariably served to confirm Mr. Anderson's results. The colours of the design have worn away, not (as has been stated) because they were not fired: such pigments would not have stood a week unless fired: and even now damping does not injure them: they have faded principally for two reasons: partly because they were laid on a very smooth glazed surface which gave no foothold for the pigment: and partly because the artist at that period evidently was not

<sup>1</sup> The name Polledrara has been loosely applied to this particular tomb, but is misleading, inasmuch as several other important tombs have been found in the same locality (see the map in Gsell, *Forêttes de Vulci*). The term however will perhaps serve as well as any

other to distinguish the peculiar fabric which is the subject of this paper; it goes without saying that its usage does not commit one to a theory of origin any more than the similar usage of the terms 'Myceum', 'Melian' or 'Fikellura' as applied to special fabrics.



well versed in the conditions which govern the fusing quality of colours. In some parts the original colouring is fairly well preserved, sufficiently so at any rate to render it easy to determine the character of the drawing, the colours used, and the method which governed their selection. In other parts the colours have absolutely worn away, and nothing remains but a discoloration of the surface, which varies in tone according to the pigment which has covered it. Moreover the vase has been broken, and the lines of fracture have been painted over by the restorer: in one case (on the right of Fig. 5) a small missing portion has been restored: but these imperfections do not materially affect the design of what is, though not absolutely unique, as yet the principal existing type of an interesting class of vases.

The hydria (Pl. 6, Fig. 1), which stands 17½ in. high, is a variety of this form of which I know no other example: it has only the most rudimentary foot, formed by a slight lateral extension of the flattened surface in which the body terminates: it is very broad in proportion to its height, the greatest diameter being below the shoulder, at the side handles, which have a slight upward trend. The clay is not, as might at first sight be supposed, of the typical *Bucchero nero*<sup>2</sup> kind: though it has the smooth black surface, it is not close-kneaded nor grey all through, but dark reddish brown in colour, and somewhat coarse in texture, with occasional flaws caused by imperfect levigation. The surface is coated with a thin slip of deep lustrous black, which is apparently not vitreous, though very close and smooth, and takes a fine (hard?) polish. In the present case this black tone of the surface is only here and there preserved, the action of fire having altered most of it to a tone which varies from a warm yellow to an ashen grey. On this polished surface the colours of the design were laid and certainly fired: but with varying degrees of success, the red alone being preserved in anything like entirety: of the other colours, the blue in protected parts is fairly well preserved: of the yellowish white there is sufficient (principally on the lower bands of pattern) to render its presence incontestable.

The hydria (Pl. 6, Fig. 1) is very light in proportion to its size, the walls being very much thinner than is usually the case in *Bucchero nero*. The lip and handles show the influence of metal-work: the lip is bounded by a broad vertical band which seems to have been suggested by a thin hoop of metal similarly applied in some bronze original: the back handle (partly broken away) terminates below in a raised ornament in the form of a leaf-shaped palmette inverted, with a volute at each side; from between the volutes a raised rib runs up the centre of the handle; the details of these ornaments are picked out in red, and the eyes of the volutes seem to have been blue. The side handles terminate at each end in a vertical moulding which finishes above and below in disc-shaped knobs: on the handle itself is painted a pattern of lines resembling the arrangement of metopes and triglyphs, with a central dot in each metope: and on the outer edge of the vertical mouldings a row of dots between parallel lines, all in red. Within each of the side

<sup>2</sup> See Gsell, *loc. cit.* p. 445, note.

handles is painted an elaborate pattern formed of four primitive lotus palmettes set outwards in cruciform around a central wheel-shaped rosette: this is painted red, with a touch here and there of blue. This ornament occurs frequently on Corinthian aryballi.\*

On the inside of the lip is a guilloche pattern picked out in red outline against a ground of red. On the neck is a band of single disconnected meanders, alternately blue and red. On the uppermost part of the shoulder is a band of alternately a lotus flower and lotus bud (both blue within a red outline) connected below by semicircular lines incised and also painted blue: between each flower and bud is a red disk, and above and below each intersection of the incised lines is a blue dot. The body is ornamented in three friezes of about equal width, of which the uppermost (Pl. 7, Fig. 5; Pl. 6, Fig. 2) is the most important. In this frieze the back handle forms the one structural division: in the second frieze it serves a similar purpose, but this frieze is further divided by the side handles, so that the whole of this second frieze is divided into three portions (Pl. 6, Figs. 3 and 4; Pl. 7, Fig. 6). The third frieze is occupied merely with a series of single meanders, alternately red and blue, each about its own width away from the next. Below each frieze run two thin lines which appear to have been white but may have been blue: below the third frieze is a thick red band, and below this again a thick white band. Lastly, round the base of the body is a series of rays, alternately in red outline and red silhouette, surmounted by a thin red line which joins their points.

At either end of each of the side handles is painted within the frieze the mask of a lion or other animal of the feline race, looking outwards from the handles, drawn at right angles to the frieze: and a similar head, now in very bad preservation, appears to have been drawn behind the back handle, that is, between its lower and upper insertion. These masks are treated in a purely conventional manner which recalls the full faces of lions on the early vases of the Corinthian and Ionian fabrics. The outline, as usual, is red: the main portion was painted in white, the jaw and probably the upper part, between and including the ears, blue: the nose is conventionally rendered by a series of semicircular concentric lines in red. The eye seems to have been first drawn in red outline and then filled in with a wash of red, the pupil painted blue: the eyelashes are drawn as a fringe above and below in a red which stands out in slight relief.

*Upper Frieze.*—Starting from the right hand side of the upper frieze, the first group (Pl. 7, Fig. 5) represents the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur. First on the right is a chariot drawn to the left by a pair of horses driven by a beardless man in a short chiton, who holds a pair of reins in each hand, and in his right a two-thonged whip. Facing the horses is a large dog seated on its hind quarters with tongue protruding: and over it a bird flies almost vertically downward. On the left, the Minotaur, wearing a short chiton, runs to

\* See Brit. Mus. A 414: Berlin Cat. 1047.



right with head *en face*,<sup>4</sup> and is seized by its right horn by Theseus, who seems to have held horizontally in his right hand a sword (of which now no trace remains) which he probably plunged into the side of the Minotaur: the monster seems to be holding something in his clenched hands which may be either the stone which is frequent in later renderings of this scene, or possibly he may have been grasping the sword of Theseus: Theseus wears a short chiton and, like all the figures, has long hair falling on his shoulders. Behind him stands Ariadne, in a long chiton and a himation which covers the back of her head and is held aside by her left hand, so that it forms a background to her profile: in her right hand she holds the clue, represented as a long thick cord which touches the ground at the left foot of Theseus and rises in a spiral between the legs of the Minotaur. Beside the left foot of the Minotaur a lotus flower on a long stalk springs from the ground, and another beneath the bodies of the horses.

The scene on the left of this is not separated from it by any tectonic division of the field, and therefore might be taken as a continuation of the Minotaur group: it consists however of a series of figures which as a composition may well stand as a separate group, and this is the more probable from the fact that the figure in it next to Ariadne moves in a direction contrary to her own. First on the right come two Centaurs, moving to the left in single file: they are of the transitional Ionic type, with human forelegs, and apparently are beardless: each carries over his shoulder, not the usual pine-tree, but a tree of which the trunk hanging downwards ends in a broad aplay, tapering off to a point, and the stem, tapering horizontally over the back, has pairs of leaves and terminates at the top in a bunch of leaves grouped like the petals of a lotus flower. Close behind the shoulders of the Centaur a dead fawn hangs by its forelegs from the stem of the tree: the left arm of the Centaur seems to pass round it. Confronting them are three human figures, one behind the other: the two foremost seem from the character of their dress to be women; the third figure, who has his arms raised, and appears to wear a short chiton, is probably a man, but the design is here too faded to admit of any certain attribution. Beneath the body of the foremost Centaur, and behind the other, a lotus flower springs from the ground: the stalk of this lotus is obliquely striated with thin red lines; it is possible that the other lotus stalks may have been similarly treated, but if so the traces have disappeared: the central petal of this flower is not of the usual form, but resembles the central petal of a palmette. Between the hindlegs of the foremost Centaur is a wheel-shaped rosette: and between those of the other, a smaller lotus flower springs from the ground. Last on the left is (Pl. 6, Fig. 2) a pair of two-horsed chariots like that in Fig. 5, driven towards

<sup>4</sup> The broad mass on each side of the muzzle is not a 'Kopftuch' as Jahn (*Arch. Beitr.* p. 354, note 25) supposed, nor yet a mane as Wulff (*Zur Thierausg.* p. 4) suggests; it is not easy to understand how a bull can have a mane. It is merely the full-face drawing of the

bull's neck, which, in the usual archaic method, has been reproduced on each side, just as the plume is repeated on each side of the helmeted head in full face (see Murray in *J.H.S.* vol. II. p. 318).

each other by a youth in a short chiton who holds reins and whip as before: between them stands a figure in a long mantle to left: in the right hand chariot there may have been a second figure now almost wholly faded: beneath the horses of this chariot a lotus bud springs from the ground, curling over to the left so as to fit into the empty space.

As to the relation of these groups to one another, it is difficult to decide in the present condition of the surface. Probably the myth itself (as usual in the earliest representations) is actually concerned only with the three figures, Ariadne, Theseus and the Minotaur: the chariot and dog on the right, and the Centaurs and standing figures and chariots on the left are merely accessories brought in to fill the space. That such juxtaposition of scenes, related or otherwise, was common in early Greek art is obvious: as a case in point may be quoted the Corneto vase with subjects in relief,<sup>2</sup> which has on adjoining panels Theseus and the Minotaur, and two examples of a Centaur with human forelegs carrying a tree from which hangs a fawn. A similar association of the Minotaur group with a chariot is seen on two of the archaic Corinthian gold reliefs:<sup>3</sup> and on a third is a chorus of women dancing hand in hand, a subject which also recurs on our hydria; even if these particular reliefs did not form part of a connected composition, they at any rate show what kind of repertoire was open to the artist of that date of scenes for selection or for combination. The Corneto vase and the Corinthian gold plaque are already associated by students of mythology<sup>4</sup> as giving, with our hydria, the three earliest types of the Minotaur myth in art.

*Lower Frieze.*—Starting again from the right, beside the back handle, the first group (Pl. 6, Fig. 4) represents a chariot like the one above, moving to left, holding two figures, one of whom in a short chiton (Theseus?) holds in each hand a pair of reins, the other (Ariadne?) wears a long mantle: in the background beside the horses stand three women, all of whom are dressed like Ariadne in Fig. 5, and hold their mantle aside from their face with one hand: the one nearest the chariot is turned towards it, the other two look to the left. On the left the ground space is filled with a conventionalized lotus ornament, above which a bird of the eagle kind flies downward to the right.

Next on the left is a chorus (Pl. 7, Fig. 6) of six figures, who move to the right, headed by one who plays upon the lyre with a plectrum; the second figure holds up in the left hand a cord, which on the analogy of the first scene must be the clue: we may therefore identify this figure with Ariadne, and the personage with the lyre in that case is certainly Theseus. The whole scene thus stands in close parallel with the group of dancers headed by Theseus with the lyre, and identified by inscriptions, which occurs on the François vase: probably the scene on the interior of the Cachrylion cup (British Museum E 14) is merely a shortened form of the same type. On the François vase the dancers are alternately male and female: here there is apparently no distinction of sex, for all have the same dress, a long chiton

<sup>2</sup> Partwängler in *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 8, Figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> Wulff, *Zur Theseusmythe*, p. 2.



girl at the waist, excepting Theseus, who wears in addition a short over-tunic hanging nearly to the knees. The dance which, according to Plutarch, was celebrated at Delos, was of an elaborate character intended to suggest the mazes of the labyrinth; in the François vase each dancer merely holds the nearest hand of each neighbour, but here the artist has ingeniously carried out the idea by joining the hands of every alternate figure; since the left hand of Ariadne is occupied with the clue, the dancer adjoining her places her left hand on the left shoulder of Ariadne. As if further to emphasize the connection with the Minotaur scene, the dog is again introduced here, and sits at the head of the procession, looking, as before, to the right. Between Theseus and Ariadne, between the third and fourth dancer, and behind the last dancer is a lotus flower, which rests on a conventionalized double stalk, springing from the ground. Lastly on the left is a winged lion striding to right, with open jaws and teeth showing. The head and mane and the tooth-like marking on the back<sup>8</sup> seem to have been painted in a separate tone of colour, which can no longer be identified. Between the hind feet a lotus springs from the ground, the flower partly covering the body of the animal. Above its flank, at the top of the design, are traces of what seem to be the capital of a column.

On the left of this side handle, and partly beneath the back handle, is a seated Sphinx (Pl. 6, Fig. 3), an almost exact counterpart of those on the painted slabs from Caere (*J.H.S.* x, pp. 248—9). The function of this figure is probably like that of the Centaurs above, merely decorative.

*Technique.*—Three colours only are used throughout, a deep purplish red, a creamy yellowish-white, and a deep blue; the white has almost entirely faded, but wherever it has been it consistently leaves a yellowish discoloration of the black surface; the colour is however sufficiently well preserved on parts of the lower ornamental bands to place its quality beyond doubt. Incised lines are very sparsely, and, as it would seem, tentatively employed: they occur, as before stated, in the lotus pattern on the neck, and are also used for the outline (and sometimes the details) of the chariot wheels in each scene, laid in throughout by means of a compass. The flesh of both sexes is left in red outline, which forms the basis of the design throughout: it is almost certain that the flesh of the women was not painted white, for in Fig. 5 the chiton of Ariadne was undoubtedly white, and it is unlikely that the foot would have been painted white against it: the details of faces, horses' manes, etc., are also indicated in red lines. The colours are applied generally on a system which is designed to afford effective contrast between different surfaces and variety to the whole. In Fig. 5 the dress of the charioteer is blue, the body of the chariot red: both horses are first drawn in red outline and then washed in, the near one in white, the off one in blue. The dog is in red outline, its mask, belly, tail and

<sup>8</sup> This peculiarity, a kind of mane between the loins and tail, recurs on the Veii wall-painting, Miceli, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. 53, Fig. 1,

and on the bronze relief from Perugia, Miceli, *Studia*, Pl. 28, Fig. 3: cf. Dänninger in *Röm. Mitth.*, 1888, p. 162.

legs blue; its eye and protruding tongue red; the rest of the body may have been white. The Minotaur has the horns left in outline, mane blue, and short chiton (the edges of the sleeves are plainly indicated on the shoulders) probably white: the details of the face seem to have been left in unpainted outline within the red wash. Theseus has blue hair and white chiton: Ariadne has her chiton white with wavy folds in red; of her himation both sides are seen, the outside covering her body, the inside showing where her hand holds it aside from her face: the outside is left in outline alone, the inside is painted in a wash of red with a broad border left in red outline against the black field.

In the remaining scenes these principles of colouring are consistently carried out: the only one which calls for special description is the dance of figures in Fig. 6, where the three colours are applied in such a scheme that each dancer has hair and dress different from those of the dancers on either side: the arrangement is as follows, in order from left to right:

	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.	Ariadne	Theseus
<i>Hair</i>	red	blue	white	red	blue	white
<i>Dress</i>	blue	white	red	blue	white	red

Theseus in this scene as the leader of the chorus has the distinction of an additional upper-garment, a sort of diplois, coloured blue. The general effect of the whole vase when the colours were still fresh must have been gaudy in the extreme.

I feel that an apology is due for this minute and I fear very dull description of technical details: I have perpetrated it on the supposition that this hydria is the 'Haupttypus' of an important class about which very little is as yet known, and also in the hope that it may save trouble in future classification: the class can never be an easy one to study, inasmuch as its technical inefficiency renders the designs specially liable to destruction. It is probably owing to the consciousness of this fact that few specimens were made in antiquity. At any rate, among published descriptions of vases I have only been able to identify two other examples which seem to belong to this category, and even these represent a slight variation, inasmuch as they are described as 'Bucchero,' whereas we have seen that the true 'Polledrara' fabric is not 'Bucchero nero' proper, as it has a reddish and not a grey clay. From the character and technique of their designs however we are justified in assigning them to this fabric.

Treating the hydria as no. i., they are as follows:—

(ii.) *Berlin Cat.* no. 1543. A trefoil oinochoe (Ht. 0.24 m.) from Orvieto, of the large-bodied Ionian form, with a frieze of figures around the body, painted on the black surface in colours which have very much faded, but of which clear traces of blue and red are preserved. Unfortunately very little of the design can be made out, except that there are human figures with long hair and pointed caps,<sup>6</sup> and a tripod in red. Furtwängler

<sup>6</sup> These caps are probably the Etruscan 'tutulus': the petasos which Furtwängler describes may be that which occurs on the terracotta alab from Caere, *J.H.S.* vol. x. Pl. vii.



describes it as 'steifer archaisch etruskischer Stil,' and instances the Polledrara hydria: he classes it by itself as group 9 of the Bucchero fabrics: but Mr. H. Arnold Tubbs, who some years ago kindly examined it for me, stated that 'the clay is a dull brown, generally neutral: in one place where there is a broad blaze, the clay has a yellowish brown tone. The surface is a highly polished black.'

(iii.) *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1881, p. 167, no. 26 (Helbig). An amphora of 'bucchero nerastro,' Ht. 0.295. Upon each vertical handle are reliefs, a leopard with head *en face*, a lion with head in profile, and a bull, all turned towards the mouth [apparently one above the other, in this order]. Of the bull, which is the nearest to the lower extremity of the handle, only the upper part is given. On the neck is a scale pattern running upwards, incised and outlined red. The body is surrounded with zones, divided from one another, above by ribs in relief, and below by painted bands: these zones are decorated with archaic painted ornaments. 'It would take too long to describe minutely the rich polychromy of this vase, among the colours of which blue, red and yellow predominate.' The reliefs also are painted; the leopards have the masks blue, the bulls' heads and legs are red, with bodies white, and horns blue. Of the same class evidently are two vases in the Louvre, of which I owe to the kindness of Pottier the following description:—

(iv.) *Salle de la Poterie Étrusque*, no. 617. Amphora with flat handles of the style of Nicosthenes, 'Bucchero nero,' greyish-black clay, polished surface: much damaged and mended, Ht. 0.35 m. On each handle, in relief stamped from a mould, a file of three animals (lionesses or panthers?). Traces of vermilion colour occur on these animals, and a double red line surrounds the design on each handle. On the neck a series of ornaments painted in vivid red and white colours, consisting of a band of double spirals and another formed by three rows of dots arranged chequer fashion, among parallel lines: on the shoulder a band of vertical arrow-heads formed by punctured dots, with traces of red: on the body, below two raised mouldings a zigzag line in yellow among red lines: on the foot a larger zigzag pattern in yellow. In certain portions of the body one seems to distinguish a blue colour, very pale and much faded.

(v.) *Same Salle*, no. 618, same form, Ht. 0.30. On each handle a stamped subject, 1. a nude man running: traces of vermilion on the legs, arms, and face: 2. (below) a draped woman with a veil on her head, upright before a man who leans with both hands upon a large staff. Vermilion is traceable on the legs, arms, and face of the man, on the legs and face of the woman: clear pale yellow upon the staff and on the border of the woman's mantle. On the other handle, the same details, with colours less well preserved. On the neck, painted decorations as follows: above and below, a band of 'metopes,' i.e. parallel horizontal lines joined at regular intervals by vertical ones: in the upper band, the horizontal lines are red, the vertical alternately red and white: in the lower, the horizontal and the vertical are alike white. Between these is a band of red herring-bone above a band of white single dots, among red and white horizontal lines. On the body between the two

moulded bands, a band of zigzag and of herring-bone among lines, yellow and red. No trace of blue visible.

It seems difficult to decide whether yellow and white are both in use, or whether the one is not merely a discoloration of the other; but in any case the general principle of decoration is the same. The provenance of these two vases is unknown; they formed part of the Campana collection, and therefore probably came from Chiusi. No. iii. was found in a large tomb chamber at Caere, which contained two skeletons and a variety of objects, of which Helbig gives a list: they include (5) an alabastron of green 'smalto' (Egyptian porcelain?). (6, 7) Two flat bone spoons, apparently similar in every respect to the one in the Grotta of Isis. (11) A hydria which from its description seems to be of the 'Caeretan' class. (12, 13) Vases of bronze hammered and with the parts nailed together: one is ornamented with bands of raised dots: [several such vases were found in the Grotta of Isis]. (15, 16) Archaic b. f. amphorae with friezes of animals below the design, probably of the Corintho-Attic class. (16) An archaic Attic amphora. Helbig on the evidence of the painted vases in this tomb assigns it to the last decades of the sixth century; but in the light of our present vase chronology he would probably himself agree to place it in the *first* decades of that century. This date coincides well with the chronology usually accepted for the Grotta of Isis: it is clear I think from a comparison of their contents that these two tombs must belong to one and the same civilization, but that the Caere tomb represents a stage slightly later than that of Vulci;<sup>10</sup> at any rate the presence of the two Corintho-Attic b. f. amphorae seems to point to this.

In the Vulci tomb there was also found a scarab of Psammetichus I. whose date was 656—611 B.C., and dangerous though it may be to regard such scarabs as independent evidence of date, we are justified in accepting them as confirmation of pre-existing inference: Mr. Murray has pointed out moreover (*J.H.S.* vol. x. p. 247) that the presence of porcelain objects and ostrich eggs in this tomb is appropriate to a period shortly before 600 B.C., when by favour of that monarch Graeco-Egyptian trade may be supposed to have entered on a new era of prosperity.

The date thus indicated for the Polledrara fabric receives further support when we come to examine the details of style and technique of our vases. Wulff has shown<sup>11</sup> that the type of the Minotaur contest here represented is the earliest that has yet come down to us: and that it precedes, probably by a short interval, the archaic gold relief of Corinth, the terracotta relief from Caere, and a very early Chalcidian b. f. vase, all of which he there describes. The association of these four earliest types of the legend, which stand apart from all subsequent known types of it, foreshadows the connection which I shall endeavour to establish, of Corinth, Caere, and Chalcis, with the fabric we are discussing. It is hardly necessary to add that

<sup>10</sup> In an adjoining tomb at Caere, unexcavated in antiquity, there was found a sarcophagus like the celebrated Campana one in the British

Museum, and with it the fragments of various Corinthian vases (Helbig, *ibid.* p. 168).

<sup>11</sup> *Zur Thematik*, p. 4 &c.



our type is *a fortiori* considerably earlier than that of the François vase, of which the date is usually assigned to about 570 B.C.

The same result is obtained if we examine the system of decoration. In its outline the Polledrara hydria belongs to a class of vases which are designed specially to afford space for long friezes, and of which the body is therefore extended laterally at the expense of the height: in the seventh century 'Ionian' vases modelled on this principle had found their way over most of the ancient world: their decoration originally consisted of a series of friezes of conventionalized animals, of which the faces and feet are drawn in outline, no incised lines being yet used: the groundwork is filled in with rosettes or with linear ornaments. Gradually the incised line is introduced, the field is freed, and the uppermost frieze of the body is reserved for a design which is not mere decoration: these changes we may regard as taking effect in the last quarter of the seventh century. On the Polledrara hydria we find the most important subject placed on the uppermost frieze; the decorative animals still occur, but their function is merely to eke out the empty spaces in the inherited long frieze: the old ornaments of the horror vacui period have almost wholly disappeared, or are treated as definite organic adjuncts to the scene, not scattered broadcast over the field, but in relative perspective and growing out of the true groundwork of the design: and lastly, though the faces are here drawn in outline, the incised line is already tentatively employed. Allowing for the time which would elapse for such improvements to permeate the various existing fabrics, the period which would best suit these data is the same as that to which the previous considerations also led, viz. about 600 B.C.

The provenance of this fabric has been a question already much discussed. In *Naukratis*, part i. p. 49, I ventured the opinion that it might possibly be referred to Naukratis, and this opinion has been provisionally shared by more than one writer on the subject. A closer study of the examples above described has led me to think differently. We now know that the period to which the Polledrara hydria belongs was marked by a closer communion of artistic ideas between east and west than had previously existed except probably during the Mycenaean period: the reopening of Egypt had led to the dissemination of Greeco-Egyptian trade-products, but it was natural that the principal channels of this intercourse should run through those cities which had contributed to form the Greek colonies in the Delta. Thus it happened that the Egyptizing influences of this period were closely associated with the Ionian traditions of flourishing Asiatic settlements such as Miletus. Dümmler has already shown<sup>12</sup> the complex character of the Ionian influence, part African part Asiatic, in the case of the 'Caeretan' hydriae: the same difficulty in deciding between a fabric imported from such a place as Cyme, and a local fabric strongly influenced from such a quarter, meets us here again. Let us see for a moment what evidence our fabric offers of influences, either Italian or external.

<sup>12</sup> *Mon. Mitt.* 1888, p. 159 foll.

The form of our hydria is as yet unexampled, and its technique, though clearly suggesting an imitation of *Bucchero nero*, is not that of true *Bucchero*. The form of the *Bucchero* hydria is well known, and is altogether slimmer and clumsier than this. Osell has shown that the true *Bucchero nero* comes into Italian tombs for the first time apparently at about 600 B.C.;<sup>12</sup> it seems to me that our vase is the result of an Italian attempt to imitate this new *Bucchero* technique on a form borrowed from elsewhere.

The hydria, contrary to most Greek forms, has no prototype in either the Mycenaean or Dipylon fabrics. The earliest instances of its occurrence at present known are among the Ionian fabrics of the first part of the sixth century, at Daphnae, and in the Caeretan and Chalcidian styles. Another early example is *British Museum Cat. B 58* from Caere, which was formerly referred to Cyrene, but which is more probably of local Italian manufacture: it is clumsier in outline than the others, and approximates rather to that later adopted in the *Bucchero nero*. Otherwise all these hydriae are of the same general form as that of Polledrara. The Caeretan are usually of this large size and have the swelling body: but the nearest resemblance is offered by a Chalcidian vase, *British Museum B 75*, which not only has the metallic hoopformed lip, but has also the moulded palmette at the lower insertion of the back handle: this vase is in a developed h.f. style, and is therefore probably later than ours: but on the other hand it is a Chalcidian vase (Rayet in *Gazette Arch.* 1884, Pl. 1, 2) which first gives us the fully developed type of the Minotaur legend, with the chorus of youths and maidens which we have on the Polledrara hydria also. The Chalcidian and Caeretan fabrics are alike in presenting the general Ionian characteristics, of which the introduction of the lotus bud springing from the ground is one: on the Caeretan hydriae we have the same method of arrangement, the principal scene occupying a long band on the shoulder, and the body of the vase cut in two as it were horizontally by a band of pattern nearly as broad as the principal frieze: the hawk or eagle flying perpendicularly downwards in the field is also common to these hydriae and our vase, and is also found on terracotta reliefs of local Italian fabric of this period (*Gazette Arch.* 1883, Pl. 49). Since however in the Caeretan fabric the incised line is already in regular use, it is probable that these vases also must be of later date than the Grotta of Isis.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the fabric is the striving after a polychrome gaudiness of effect, and the employment for this purpose of blue, a colour otherwise unknown in Hellenic pottery before the time of the Athenian white lekythi and vases with gilding of the beginning of the fourth century. Another characteristic of our vase is the indiscriminate usage of these colours, not only for dresses, but also for the hair of human figures. The best parallel in both these respects is perhaps offered by the porous sculptures of the Acropolis excavations at Athens: these sculptures, which probably belong to the early part of the sixth century, are indiscrimin-

<sup>12</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 443.



ately coated with colours of which the prevailing tones are red and a deep blue, with occasional touches of yellow: a notable instance of their unnatural selection is the head of Typhon from the pediment, whose hair and beard are coloured a vivid blue. Collignon (*Histoire de Sculpt.* p. 213) suggests Oriental influence as an explanation, and finds a parallel in the blue Ammon and green Osiris of Egyptian art. The mummy cases of about 600 B.C. certainly seem to exhibit a peculiar preference for vivid colouring of the hair: and on the whole I think we are justified in regarding these characteristics of our fabric as, directly or indirectly, borrowed from Egypt. To Egypt we must also turn for the explanation of various details in our design: the lotus is so far the leading motive of the decorative repertoire that even the pine-trees of the Centaurs fall under its spell;<sup>14</sup> and the seated dog suggests the jackal which figures in the book of the dead, or the jackal-headed Anubis. The colossal lions' masks are I think due to the same source: the only analogous instance of such a mask similarly employed in Hellenic art is on the scabbard from Vettersfelde,<sup>15</sup> where a mask which looks like a conventionalized form of our lion masks is set at right angles to the two friezes of animals in relief:<sup>16</sup> the objects however of the Vettersfelde find have no relation with our fabric except in so far that they also offer a comparison with early Ionian art. Dümmler (*Arch. Jahrbuch*, vol. 1887, p. 63, note 25) adduces as a parallel instance the introduction of the animals' heads in the field of the Mycenaean gem (Schliemann, *Mycenae* p. 437, Fig. 530); but this seems rather a far cry. Here again I think we shall find the nearest solution in Egypt: in the British Museum there is a series of some seven or eight ivory implements of uncertain use, formed apparently of a thin longitudinal section of a horn, or tusk, and perhaps intended as the handles of flyflaps. The surface is decorated in each case with a frieze of figures in engraved outline, and almost invariably the decoration is terminated at one or both ends with a lion's mask treated exactly as the masks on our hydria, and set at right angles to the direction of the frieze. These ivory objects being light and easily transported may very likely have been extensively circulated in the course of commerce, and may thus have suggested the peculiar use of the lion's mask both at Polledrara and at Vettersfelde.

Graeco-Egyptian art naturally leads us back to Naukratis: and there seems in fact every probability that the products of this city are actually represented in the Grotta of Isis: the scarabs and porcelain objects with their bungled hieroglyphics are strongly suggestive of the Naukratite scarab factory: and the ostrich eggs with their peculiar designs part etched and part coloured and the Greek letters incised on them can hardly be otherwise

<sup>14</sup> The stalks of the lotus in more than one case are drawn as if joined below and at the flower and bulging outwards between: an obviously Egyptian motive, which reappears also in the bone spoon found in the Grotta of Isis.

<sup>15</sup> Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde*, Pl. iii. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Walff (*loc. cit.*) remarks that the lions in the Vettersfelde friezes are drawn like those of our hydria, with the mane indicated by a series of concentric curved lines.

explained.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, although the Naukratis excavations produced specimens of true bucchero nero with traces of colour on the surface (Petrie, *Ibid.* p. 49), no example of this imitated bucchero technique was found either there or at Daphnae; and if any fabric were exported from Naukratis we should expect it to be the specially Naukratite white-faced ware.

There is one centre of early Greek artistic influence which naturally suggests itself in any discussion of early Graeco-Italian fabrics. The influence of Corinth in Etruria in the seventh century, though probably centring in Caere, was certainly not confined to that city. In order to see how much in our hydria is due to Corinthian tradition, we have only to look at the early Corinthian metal work: such for instance as the gold reliefs published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. 8; it was from work like this that the Italian (or Sicilian) vases with bands of relief impressed from cylinders drew their chief inspiration. In these cylinder-impressions we see a parallel to the introduction of the pair of Centaurs with the bent tree over their shoulder in the midst of a scene with which they have no obvious connection;<sup>18</sup> and in the early Corinthian painted plaques we see the same system of drawing the human faces in outline alone and of leaving the flesh of women not distinguished by white colour from that of men (a practice which came very early into use in the Ionian fabrics): it is moreover the Corinthian painters who first indicate the folds of the long chiton by parallel wavy lines in a different colour, and who draw their women with one hand holding the himation aside from the face. Lastly, in the Grotta of Isis there was found a large Corinthian jug of Ionic style and a Corinthian aryballos (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. v. Figs. 3 A and 5; now lost).

Allowing freely for difference of construction and perhaps a slight difference in date, the nearest analogy to the combination of borrowed elements we have traced in the Polledrara fabric is seen in the large terracotta panels from Caere in the British Museum and Louvre which also have the characteristic red and dotted outlines.<sup>19</sup> From their size and construction it is evident that these panels were not imported, but of local product. In any case, we have in the wall-paintings undoubted evidence showing what was the local style of art: in the Veii paintings (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. lxxviii. Figs. 1—3) many characteristic features recur, such as the seated dog, the elongated animals, the curious marking of the lion already noted, and the decorations of the field (a survival from Mycenaean tradition): the same three colours are applied with the same fantastic desire for variation and contrast: and in the wall-paintings given in Micali, *Storia*, Pl. 67, though they represent a considerably later stage than those of Veii, the same principle of colouring obtains, including even the blue tint of the man's hair. On the whole then, I think the best solution which presents itself for the Polledrara fabric is that it was a local Italian ware, made possibly at Caere

<sup>17</sup> Murray, *Handbook of Archaeology*, p. 56; part of an ostrich egg decorated in the same method was found at Naukratis, see

Petrie, *Naukratis*, I. Pl. xx., Fig. 15.

<sup>18</sup> Micali, *Storia*, Pl. xx. Figs. 1 and 13.

<sup>19</sup> Murray in *J.H.S.* vol. x. p. 243.



under the combined influences of Ionian and Naukratian imports acting on an artistic basis principally derived from Corinth.

The Grotta of Isis has furnished another instance which seems to show that the local Italian potters were in fact imitating pottery like that of Naukratis. Although in this tomb no true Naukratian white-faced ware was found, we have one vase from it (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. v. Fig. 2) which can only have been suggested by that ware: it is a small two-handled cup of the form which was the prototype of the early Ionic kylix and of which many examples, usually decorated with eyes, were found at Naukratis (Petrie, *Ibid.* Pl. x., Figs. 4-6). It is carefully made of dark red clay with a smooth surface, which has been covered with a black paint on which designs are laid in deep red, yellowish white, and blue: *ht.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  in., *diam.*  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. Unfortunately the black has much flaked off, especially on the exterior, owing to imperfection of firing or fusibility, and with it the design has also come away.

*Exterior.*—Around the offset lip is a band of simple meander between lines, all in white. Below on the shoulder a band of elaborately drawn lotus flowers, also in white: below this is the main frieze. *Obv.* A winged Sphinx between two lions, all moving to right: the body of the Sphinx is white, picked out with black; the lions seem to be drawn in red outline, with a wash of red on the mane. *Rev.* A Sphinx followed by a lion moving to right, both painted in white. In the field are linear patterns like those of Naukratis, such as a swastika with voluted ends, a lozenge with lattice. Within each handle is a large point rosette, of which the centre is red, the outside white. Below, a band of simple key pattern in white: and round the base rays alternately red and white.

*Interior.*—Lip as outside: below, concentric bands around a large central rosette which has twelve petals alternately red, white, and blue. Next to it is a band of 'triglyph' pattern (cf. the similar pattern on the hydria, *ante*, p. 207) with alternate metopes occupied with a white square or a point rosette in white: then a band of meander of unusual form, of which the main part is red dotted with white,<sup>20</sup> with a wavy white thread passing through the interstices: lastly, next the lip, is a band of point rosettes, formed of a large white centre with a red ring in it, surrounded by white disks. All the different bands are separated from each other by white lines.

It is clear that from its technique we may class this as one more specimen (no. iv.) of the Polledrara fabric. The clay is of the same character as the usual Italian 'red ware': the frieze of animals, the lotus pattern and the character of the linear ornaments all point to Naukratis: moreover it is specially at Naukratis that we find vases of this kind with bands of decoration covering both interior and exterior, and especially such ornament as the frieze of large point rosettes.

It would seem from what has preceded that the Polledrara method of decoration, originally applied in Italy to vases imitating the technique of

<sup>20</sup> The dotted line also occurs on the handles of the hydria and on the Caere shale (*J.H.S.* vol. I, p. 259).

Bucchero nero, came to be applied to Bucchero proper. Whether the principle of polychrome painting on Bucchero ever attained any importance outside Italy is at present difficult to determine. Most of this ware as yet found outside Italy, representing a large variety of sites, is unpainted: it is true that some of the fragments from Naukratis inscribed with Lesbian dedications have faint, but unmistakable traces of colour, but in these instances the colour (red) is usually painted within the engraved letters of the inscription, and at any rate does not suggest any independent scheme of ornament.<sup>21</sup> So far as I know it is only from Rhodes that we have yet got vases resembling the Polledrara style. A trefoil oinochoe of Ionian form in the British Museum, found in Rhodes in 1884, belongs to this category: it is decorated in two, or possibly three colours, of which only a brilliant red (corresponding to the red of our hydria) is well preserved: the patterns on the neck consist of single meanders within parallel lines: on the shoulder, a lotus flower and bud design, inverted: the central petal of the flower is edged with dots: on the body, single meanders as before: and below, a band of lotus flower and bud, the flower more calix-form. Two other oinochoae of the same fabric but with the design more faded, were found in the same excavations and are also in the British Museum. The vases are lightly modelled: the clay is reddish in tone, and the surface has a greyish black slip, like that of our hydria: in fact the whole technique is closely analogous to the true Polledrara fabric. Billotti's diary of excavations shows that this ware was found under conditions very similar to those of the Grotta of Isis, and that it is probably of the same date.<sup>22</sup> From a later series of Rhodian tombs we get the true Bucchero nero: in a tomb at Camirus for example was found a kantharos of the characteristic Etruscan heavy form and construction (Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, suppl. Pl. A—B, no. 54, p. 468). If therefore we are correct in assigning the Polledrara ware to an Etruscan origin, it would seem that Rhodes must have imported both Polledrara and Bucchero ware from Italy: when we consider the important position of Rhodes as a centre of commerce, this does not seem an impossible contingency.

Judging from present evidence, the Polledrara ware does not appear to have continued later than the early part of the sixth century B.C. Stephani in *Compte Rendu* 1874, p. 42, describes a series of vases painted with designs in the polychrome on black: from the description these seem to be of Polledrara technique, but from the character of the subjects they must belong to the fourth century: perhaps with the new growth of Italian vase-painting in that century, there may have been a brief revival of this almost forgotten technique.

<sup>21</sup> The fragments alluded to by Mr. E. Gardner in *Naukratis* ii. p. 47, type J, have of course no real resemblance to Polledrara ware: their designs are painted in white and red on a glaze which is characteristic of Naukratis pot-

tery: they belong more properly to the class described by Siz in *Gazette Arch.* 1888, p. 193 and p. 281.

<sup>22</sup> *Naukratis* i. p. 49.



Returning now for a moment to the early Italian pottery, I am inclined to agree with Osell in his conclusion that the *Bucchero nero* was introduced into Italy about the end of the seventh century B.C. Previous to this date there had existed in that country two principal local fabrics of pottery; the primitive handmade greyish brown ware of the class to which the hut-urns belong; and the finer wheelmade, but still primitive red ware or *impasto Italico*. On both these fabrics painted decoration of a rudimentary character had been occasionally employed. The large hut-urn in the British Museum has both on its sides and lid a geometric pattern painted in a whitish red colour which has almost faded: and on a large lebes from Falerii in the same collection a rude design consisting of waterbirds and linear patterns is painted in a white pigment, also faded. The introduction of the *Bucchero nero* brought with it a new system of decoration by means of bands of figures impressed from cylinders, and this system was applied to the red ware as well. The habit of painting the design however still continued. Local artists attempted to imitate first on the red ware, afterwards on the *Bucchero*, friezes suggested by the imported Corinthian and Ionic vases, while adhering still to their own technique. Hence arose a series of vases decorated in the same methods as that of the wall-paintings. The Grotta of Isis contained a specimen of this ware in the large diota (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. v., Fig. 1). This is decorated with two friezes of animals moving to right, including reindeer, lions with protruding tongue, sphinxes, horses, and an ibex: in the field are rude palmettes. In the upper frieze is drawn an archaic ship (figured in Torr, *Ancient Ships*, Pl. 3, fig. 12). These animals have the faces drawn in red outline, the bodies in particoloured silhouette, which is sometimes spotted (like the animals on the Veii wall-paintings) with yellowish white. The chief bands of pattern are a rude cable, a strip of crossed lines, and below, a series of concentric semicircles. A similar diota exists in the Louvre (*Salle des Vases de style Corinthien*, Case B. no. 660), and has also a ship among animals, between bands of cable pattern: but the style appears to be later than ours, and it has occasional incised lines. A still later stage of the same fabric is shown by the two vases published in *Gazette Arch.* 1881—2, Pl. 28—9, 32—4. Both were found at Caere: they are of the usual Etruscan red-brown ware, on which the designs are painted, apparently in yellowish white and red: unfortunately the prints are too defective to enable one to ascertain definitely the technique: but the general character corresponds with our diota, while the ornament, the crossed lines and the simple cable pattern are all characteristic of the style in question. One of these vases is a pot (marmite, chytra) on roughly modelled legs, similar to *Mus. Greg.* ii., Pl. 100, Fig. 8 (which seems to be of the same fabric): the other is a cup on a circular foot: the buttons on the sides of one and lid of the other are suggestive of *Bucchero*: both are purely Italian forms. But the most conclusive evidence of their local manufacture is the occurrence on the pot of an Etruscan inscription, which somewhat recalls the Aristonophes vase and the Italiot hydria in the British Museum, B 60, and in point of date seems to stand between them: on the reverse is a man in a chariot attacked by a

lion, a scene obviously suggestive of Mesopotamian influence. The pot has three distinct scenes, two lions confronted, the birth of Athene, and the Calydonian boar, and seems to suggest the influence of the so-called Corintho-Attic amphorae. It seems to belong to the first quarter of the sixth century: in that case the diota of the Grotta of Iais, the earliest of the series, would date from shortly before 600 B.C.

It would seem therefore that this painted red ware went on being made in Etruria side by side with the Polledrara fabric, each probably reflecting the successive phases of foreign influence brought to bear on Etruria. Towards the middle of the sixth century, the fine b.f. vases began to pour in, and must have been the cause of the extinction (for a time at any rate) of both classes; the painted red ware on the one hand gave way to the orthodox b.f. style; the Polledrara succumbed to its inherent difficulties, and henceforward Italian *Bucchero nero* was unpainted, and probably received but little figured decoration either stamped or moulded.

To sum up, the conclusions to which the preceding remarks seem to point are as follows:—

- (i.) Polledrara ware includes
  - (a) Vases of reddish clay with black slip.
  - (b) True *Bucchero nero*.

both with polychrome decoration (red, white or yellow, perhaps both, and blue) on the black surface.

- (ii.) This ware is a local Etruscan fabric of about 600 B.C. and reflects the various influences which at this period were affecting art in Etruria.

- (iii.) The series (a) gave way to (b), as *Bucchero* became more common in Italy.

- (iv.) The Polledrara ware found in Rhodes is of the (a) series, and may have been imported from Italy.

- (v.) The development of Polledrara ware went on *pari passu* with a series of Italian vases painted in similar methods on a red surface (*impasto Italico*).

#### PLATE VIII.

These two bands (reproduced in full size) form part of the decoration of the bronze 'bust' found in the Grotta of Isis (Micali, *Mon. Ined.*, Pl. vi. Fig. 2). The upper band (Fig. 1) curves outwards so as to fit the hips of the figure: the lower band, as placed at present, comes immediately below. Judging from its present condition, the figure was found in fragments and has been put together in modern times on a core of deal, roughly carved to follow the present form as far as the top of the waist band: from this point upwards the thin sheets of metal seem to have been backed with stiffened paper glued to them. From the head to the lower part of Fig. 1 the bronze is fairly well preserved; Fig. 2 is considerably broken, and the restorer seems to have exercised his imagination upon it: some of the band is wholly destroyed: from that which remains, it is evident that when complete it must have



covered a still larger space than the circumference on which it is now fastened and which is itself too large to fit on to the band above: some of the sheets have been nailed down overlapping others in such a way that portions of the design are hidden [the unshaded outline in Fig. 2 represents an instance of this]. When perfect, it must have included at least six chariot groups and the Sphinx. Under these circumstances I am inclined to think that the bronze represented originally not a bust, but a full-length figure. It is true, as Mr. Murray suggests, that the bust as a form in art was familiar at this period and place, as is seen from the alabaster vases found with it in the Grotta. But in any case it is certain that the artist has modelled the figure (after his lights) as far as the hips: and that point seems to me an unlikely spot at which to break off. It is possible that the bands formed the upper and lower border of a dress; from a comparison with the marble figure from the Grotta, it would seem that the bronze must in that case have been about 25 inches high: this would leave about 10 inches unaccounted for: these were probably represented by a plain sheet of copper, which in the excavations got misplaced or rejected as valueless. In Micali's drawing the 'bust' rests on a square plinth decorated apparently on the upper surface and on the four sides with animals. Micali, p. 53, says 'si ripetono differenti animali.' Unfortunately this plinth has completely disappeared, or it might afford some evidence of the original disposition of the bronze.

The general idea of such a figure, nude to the waist, with broad tightly fastened waistband<sup>23</sup> and decorated skirt, is exactly analogous to the figures on the early Corinthian gold reliefs (*Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. 8, Figs. 2 and 3). It is obvious that it is to such work as this that we must look for the motives which inspired our bronze reliefs. The lion in Fig. 1, the dotted surface of the skins, and the peculiar form of the horses' bits recur in Protokorinthian pottery: the large tail of the animal on the left with decorated end, and the browsing ibex, belong to Asiatic Greek art: the form of cable pattern and the eight-spoked wheel are probably local contributions to the design.

CECIL SMITH.

<sup>23</sup> The waistband is decorated with a simple meander pattern slightly recessed, in a field which is filled with diagonal notched lines.

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE—1893-4.

THE excavations of the French School at Delphi are now in full activity. They have been looked forward to for years with the keenest interest, but hitherto there has been nothing to record but negotiations and preparations. Now that the work has actually begun, it has proved that even the most sanguine anticipations were not unfounded. The find in inscriptions and in sculpture is of extraordinary richness and interest, and will form an epoch in the history of archaeological discovery no less important than those marked by the excavations of Olympia and of the Athenian Acropolis. In comparison with Delphi, other discoveries must seem of inferior importance. But much valuable work has been done during the season, especially by the various foreign Schools in Athens.

In Athens itself, the excavations in the neighbourhood of the Pnyx and the Areopagus, begun by Professor Dörpfeld last season, have been continued. It will be remembered from last year's report that the chief object of these excavations was to solve some disputed questions of Athenian topography, especially the position of the spring Enneacrounos. A primitive system of waterworks was discovered in the hill of the Pnyx above the modern road; and these had been superseded later by an aqueduct and cistern, which there seemed to be good reason for attributing to the sixth century. There were also some traces of a building for the distribution of the water. Thus considerable probability was gained for the theory of Professor Dörpfeld, that the Enneacrounos was in this part of the town, although at the same time there was no evidence certain enough to convince those who were committed to a contrary view.

The excavations were continued this year in the hope of discovering some such evidence. But though several interesting things have been found, there is as yet nothing conclusive as to the topographical question. The immediate practical result is most welcome. The excavations having shown that the ground in this region is full of buildings and antiquities, the Greek government has proceeded, on the representation of Dr. Dörpfeld, to expropriate the land. It will thus be possible to clear it entirely and to remove the earth to a distance, instead of merely turning it over and leaving it on the spot or in the immediate neighbourhood—a necessity which has hitherto cramped the work. Excavations are promised here on a large scale next season, and it can hardly be doubted that when all the region in front of the Acropolis, and



between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, is laid bare, some of the most difficult problems of Athenian topography will find their solution, and many ancient buildings or precincts, hitherto known only by name, will be identified. If the excavations, thus begun on the west, be continued also on the north and east of the Acropolis, we may really look forward at no remote future to a time when the topography of Athens will no longer be, as it is now, a field for almost unlimited conjecture.

The work of the present season has been devoted to two main objects, the tracing of the aqueduct of which only the end was found last year, and the identification of some of the other buildings known to have been situated near the Enneacrounos, in order to place beyond a doubt the identity of the Enneacrounos itself. The part of the aqueduct nearest to the cistern was destroyed, and consequently there was some difficulty in finding the place where it left the rock: this was, however, discovered, and the cutting was traced in the rock for a considerable distance towards the Theatre of Dionysus. Its identity with the previously known aqueduct, coming down from the upper Ilissus valley and underneath the palace garden, is thus placed beyond a doubt. It is provided with perpendicular shafts at intervals, to help in the construction and to facilitate clearing, and has other peculiarities which serve, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, to confirm its attribution to the sixth century B.C.; many of these it has in common with the great aqueduct in Samos, made under Polycrates. The Athenian aqueduct was frequently repaired in later times, and it was found necessary to protect part of it with large segments of tile wells, placed together to form a pointed arch. It must always have remained the chief source of the water supply for the part of Athens west of the Acropolis.

With a view to deciding the topographical problem, excavations have also been made in the neighbourhood of the Areopagus. The immediate object of these was the discovery of the Odeum or some other building recorded to have been situated near the Enneacrounos. Deep trenches to the north-west of the Areopagus led to no result, and so the work was transferred to the south side, where the earth is shallower, in the angle between the rocky edge of the Areopagus and the modern road. Here the first discovery was a basilica-shaped building of Roman period, chiefly interesting for a long inscription on one of its columns, containing the regulations of the religious club of the Iobacchi, who doubtless occupied the building. Many small antiquities were found, mostly relating to the worship of Dionysus. Others, mainly connected with Artemis, were found in the apse. On digging deeper an earlier stratum of remains was found, but nothing of decisive import, unless we except an early wine-press. Dr. Dörpfeld attributes great importance to this, as an indication that he has found the *Lenaion*; but until further evidence is forthcoming, it seems more prudent to draw no further conclusions. The new position, just in this region, which he assigns to the *Dionysion ἐν Αἰνυαῖς*, will not yet be admitted by those who prefer to follow the hitherto accepted theory about it. The great attainment of the season has been, not so much the establishment of any new topographical evidence,

but the persuasion of both the Greek authorities and the German government that the excavation is promising enough to be worth carrying out on an extensive scale; and so most valuable results may be expected from it next year.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Greek Archaeological Society has attacked the same topographical problem from a different point, by excavating on the traditional site of Callirrhoe, on the Ilissus. It has not been disputed that this is the Callirrhoe of Plato and later writers; the only doubt was whether it was identical with the earlier Callirrhoe, transformed by the Tyrants to Enneacrounos. M. Skias, who conducted the excavation, states that its result was purely negative, showing that there never could have been a copious natural spring in this place, though M. Nicolaïdes, the treasurer of the Society, states in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*<sup>2</sup> that evidence for the spring was found. Unfortunately it was necessary to fill up the excavations again; but it seems clear that there was nothing decisive in their result.

Last spring there were found in some of the houses lying in front of the Theatre of Dionysus, towards the Ilissus valley, some drums of columns which in their forms and style of execution resemble those of the Stoa of Attalus. There can hardly be a doubt that they come from the long stoa of which the foundations are visible, stretching from the Theatre of Dionysus to the Odeum of Herodes Atticus; and thus the identification of that building as the Stoa of Eumenes receives further confirmation.

A fine piece of the town wall was found in the spring of last year close to the modern Sophocles Street. It is on the accepted line, and so gives no new topographical indication. It is apparently of fourth century construction, being built of squared blocks of conglomerate, and it is about five metres thick. Outside it were some graves lined with marble slabs, probably of Byzantine period.

In the cutting for the continuation of the Piræus railway, near the Athena Street, was found a metope, set between triglyphs, which contains a representation of mourning women. I need not describe this in any detail, since it has been published by Dr. Wolters in the *Mittheilungen* for 1893. There can be no doubt that it comes from a funeral monument of rather elaborate architectural form. The subject is especially interesting from its resemblance to the famous sarcophagus of 'les pleureuses' from Sidon.

A marble slab, sculptured in relief on both sides, has been found near New Phalerum, in the region generally assigned to the Hippodrome.<sup>3</sup> The reliefs are of graceful fourth century work. On one side is represented a youth carrying off a maiden, who seems to accompany him willingly, in a four-horse chariot; Hermes, whose name is written over him, leads the way, as in the traditional scheme of the rape of Persephone; the other two figures

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld has already published in the 1893 *Mittheilungen* a provisional account of his excavations.

<sup>2</sup> 1893, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> This too has already been published by M. Cavvadias in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1893, Pl. 9 and 10, though only found last June.



are assigned the names of Echelos and Basile. Though the full mythological significance cannot here be discussed, it may be noted that Echelos is a hero already known to have been associated with the Athenian Hippodrome. Over the other relief is written a dedication to Hermes and the nymphs. It represents Artemis, two bearded figures, one of whom, with horns, must be a river-god, and a charming group of three nymphs. The meaning of these reliefs has been discussed by M. Cavvadias, they are certainly amongst the most beautiful of their kind.

Outside Athens, one naturally turns first to Delphi, where the excavations of the French School are being carried on with the most remarkable skill and success. After long negotiations and tedious delays, the village of Castri has at last been almost entirely removed to its new site, about half a mile nearer to Itea and the sea. A most elaborate system of inclined tramways at different levels has been laid out; down these the trucks run of themselves, to be hauled up again by horses when they reach the end. The whole of the earth is shot down into the ravine of the Pleistus, not immediately below Delphi, but at the projecting point of the road below it, close to the new village. All worked stones, of which the purpose or connexion is not obvious, are piled on terraces beside the tram-lines, so as to get them clear of the site, to which they can easily be brought back if afterwards identified or required. On a site like Delphi, with the steep slope of its rock, the deep accumulation of its soil, and the masses of heavy stones that have to be moved, the engineering of the excavation is a most complicated and difficult work; but it is excellently carried out under the able direction of M. Convert; and thus the archaeologists in charge are free to devote all their attention to the record and study of what is found. M. Homolle, the director of the French School, and other members of the School, are of course constantly on the spot.

The work began with the clearing of the portion of the site immediately below the temple, close to the spot where the French excavators in an earlier campaign had cleared the portico of the Athenians and a piece of the sacred way leading up to the temple. They have now reached to the temple itself and its immediate surroundings, and are still continuing over the whole area below the temple included between the zig-zag windings of the sacred way. A provisional publication of the results is decreed by the French government, and is already in progress. Meanwhile I am permitted by the courtesy of M. Homolle to give a summary account of what has been found. I have to thank him and his colleagues for the kindness and liberality with which they have shown me all their discoveries, and even allowed me to study them at leisure; and I am sure my experience will be confirmed by all other visitors to Delphi. Such a statement would be superfluous, but that contrary rumours have been spread, most unaccountably, through some of the Greek papers.

The lowest of the monuments as yet discovered on the sacred way is a semicircular structure, like an *exedra*, containing the inscribed bases of a series of statues of the legendary kings of Argos, from Danaus to

Perseus and Heracles. This dedication of the Argives is mentioned by Pausanias, and so a fixed point is gained to help in the identification of the other structures that lie above or below it. It is just in front of the house familiar to former visitors to Delphi as belonging to the hospitable guardian of antiquities. It is now used as a provisional museum. Following up the slope of the sacred way, we soon come to two buildings, one in 'poros' stone and one in marble, which are identified, provisionally indeed, but with great probability, by the excavators as the treasuries of the Sicyonians and the Siphnians. Both were surrounded by fragments of corresponding materials, belonging to the sculptures which probably once formed their decoration. Among the 'poros' sculptures, one is a pediment, representing the struggle between Apollo and Heracles for the tripod, while Athena in the centre acts as arbitress, and other figures fill the sides. The colour is well preserved, and a curious feature in technique is offered by the background, which is hollowed away entirely behind the upper part of the figures, so that they stand out against a black shadow—a fine and original effect. Another portion, finer in execution, belongs to a frieze representing a procession of warriors leading a number of oxen; the leaders are identified by painted inscriptions as the Dioscuri; and the same two figures are probably repeated in two horsemen who stand in front of a ship. But these 'poros' sculptures, interesting as they are, cannot compare in excellence to the marble friezes from the next building. The subjects of these seem to be a group of seated gods, a gigantomachy, and a Homeric battle. They show a vigour and naiveté of detail, a freshness of conception, and a delicacy of execution such as can find no parallel elsewhere, except, as M. Homolle has pointed out, in Attic vases of about 500 B.C. To this period they must be assigned, and to Attic art, as is proved by the similar style of the treasury of the Athenians; in a dedication of the Siphnians this is probable enough. The colour, here also, is brilliantly though only partially preserved. The group of seated divinities reminds one of the east frieze of the Parthenon; and although it of course falls short of the dignity and perfection of the Phidian work, it has a grace and charm of its own. And in the gigantomachy there are scenes, one particularly of a goddess in her car drawn by lions who tear a giant that opposes her, which seem almost to anticipate the boldness and originality of Pergamene art. All the decorative details of this building, the carved mouldings, cornices, &c., are cut with a depth, clearness, and delicacy that can be matched nowhere, except perhaps in the Erechtheum. It is simply a revelation of what decorative carving can attain to.

The next building that can be identified, as we turn the corner and mount the eastward bend of the sacred way, is the treasury of the Athenians. Almost every stone of this building has been recovered, and it can probably be actually reconstructed. It is covered with inscriptions, mostly official documents relating to Athens; among these was the already famous ode to Apollo, with its music added. The metopes of this building, the greater part of which have been recovered, offer a most valuable contribution to the



history of Attic art, especially since they are known to belong to the time just after the battle of Marathon. They represent the labours of Heracles and probably also of Theseus, and are again of great vigour and delicacy of style, like the frieze of the treasury of the Siphnians; but a little more advanced; the resemblance both to fine Attic vases and to the best early Attic bronze work is again very clear. Between this building and the already known stoa of the Athenians is a rough rocky patch, free from monuments, and with a great mass of rock projecting in the midst. This must, as M. Homolle has observed, be the rock of the Sibyl. Here too was set up, most appropriately, the colossal marble sphinx, on the column dedicated by the Naxians. This sphinx is now all but complete. Its head was among the earlier objects found, though it was not at first identified. Various other bases bring us up to the front of the temple. Here are the remains of the great altar, bearing, probably, the record of a reconstruction by the Chians and of the right of *προπαρτεία* given to them. Various omphali, of the conventional form and decoration, may also be seen. Though the basis of the temple itself is fairly well preserved, it is still extremely difficult to trace its plan. The cellars beneath it, which used to be shown before the village was removed, have not yet been cleared completely; but they appear to be merely structural appliances to save material. Curiously enough, no sculpture from the temple has been found below it or at either end. But a horse's head, almost certainly from the chariot of the setting sun in the east pediment, has been found in the high wall of earth that still remains above the temple, and so more may be hoped for from this quarter. The horse's head is a fine work, and is most interesting as giving us a clue to the style of Praxias and his master Calamis.

The most interesting of the isolated finds is a large archaic Apollo, which was actually made into a buttress in later times to support a terrace wall. As it is in Naxian marble, and bears the signature of an Argive artist, it will prove fatal to some theories about early art, of which it is an interesting though not a beautiful example. The inscriptions will probably surpass in number all previous records. As many as forty are sometimes found in a single day. The most interesting of all is the hymn to Apollo, which has been performed at the French School and at other concerts in Athens. The music is most impressive even to a modern ear, and some pieces of it seem strangely familiar to those who have heard some of the Greek plays performed in England—a result most creditable to the musicians who had reconstructed so accurately from so scanty evidence.

There are still large areas and great masses of earth to be excavated, so that the promise of the site, richly as it has been fulfilled, is as yet by no means exhausted; certainly there is no fear lest Delphi should disappoint the expectations that have been formed. Certainly both the continuation of the work and the publication of its results will be awaited with the utmost eagerness.

At Delos last summer the theatre was excavated by M. Chamonard of the French School. The plan of the stage buildings is a very peculiar one.

They consist of a central structure of two or more stories, surrounded by a colonnade which supported a platform twelve feet high all round; on the front this was finished in the usual manner as a proscenium, at the sides and back it was rougher, having merely square pillars instead of the usual columns and pinakes. Fortunately an inscription has been found relating to this structure, which is of the highest importance for the decision of the disputed question whether the actors had their place on the top of the proscenium or in front of it. In the inscription—which was quoted by M. Homolle at an open meeting of the French School—the proscenium is identified with the *λογεῖον*. This finally disposes of the assertion that the proscenium in the Greek theatre was not the *λογεῖον*. The only course open to those who maintain Dr. Dörpfeld's view is to say that *λογεῖον* does not mean the place from which the actors usually spoke; but considering the use which has hitherto been made of the term *λογεῖον* in the discussion, such a contention will not be easy to establish. The theatres of Magnesia and Tralles have also been recently excavated by the Germans, that at Magnesia by Dr. Hiller von Gärtringen at his own expense—an admirable example. Both have been published with plans by Dr. Dörpfeld in recent numbers of the *Athenian Mittheilungen*. Both have the curious subterranean passages of which several have now been discovered in theatres, leading from under the stage buildings to the middle of the orchestra. At Magnesia there are two such passages, one of Greek times and one of Roman. The latter must clearly, as Dr. Dörpfeld says, have served the same purposes as the numerous subterranean passages in Roman amphitheatres. Both theatres have, in addition to the ordinary arrangements, a peculiar late reconstruction, with a double flight of steps leading up from the orchestra to the front of a proscenium ten or twelve feet high: the position of these is slightly different, the late proscenium at Tralles being somewhat farther back than at Magnesia. At Tralles it is still, in spite of the staircase, explained by Dr. Dörpfeld as merely a background for the actors in the orchestra; but at Tralles he explains it as a stage ten feet high on which the actors stood, and quotes the analogy of *Aspendus*. After this it will be difficult to impugn the accuracy of Vitruvius in asserting the existence of a stage of this height—more still to maintain it to be practically absurd.

The excavations conducted by the Americans at the Heraeum near Argos have been continued both this spring and last under the direction of Dr. Waldstein. The magnificent foundation of the later temple now stands bare, and the terrace on which the earlier temple stood has also been entirely cleared; only one line of blocks remains of the structure itself. Around have been found porticoes and other buildings, including propylaea on a very fine scale. A good deal of these still remains to be excavated. In sculpture, the later campaigns have yielded nothing to compare to the very beautiful head found the first season; but there are some more fragments from the metopes and other interesting pieces. A vast amount more of early pottery has been collected, and also many Egyptian imports of quite early date. In the last season several tombs of Mycenaean period have been found in



the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, and have yielded a good deal of pottery, interesting both for its shapes and its decoration.

At Eretria, the excavations of the American School have been continued by the Director, Professor Richardson. The remains of the temple and of the altar of Dionysus have been found close to the theatre, which has also been a little more cleared. A tumulus has been opened, and proved to contain a solid tower of masonry; but the attempt to find the temple of Artemis Amarusia has not yet been successful.

Excavations have been made by the British School on the site of the temple of Apollo at Abae, in early times one of the chief oracles of Greece, and destroyed by the Persians. An account of the results will soon appear in this *Journal*, by Mr. Bather and Mr. Yorke, who conducted the work. Although the high expectations which were raised by Herodotus' description of the riches of this temple were not realized, a good many objects of interest were found, especially early decorative bronzes, and all that is left of the plan of the temple and the surrounding buildings has been laid bare.

At Mycenae, M. Tsountas has opened a new 'bee-hive tomb,' making the eighth in all, between the so-called 'tomb of Clytemnestra' and the lion gate. This tomb had two graves dug inside it, of shape and size not unlike the shaft-graves on the Acropolis. Among the most interesting objects discovered were some mirror handles of carved ivory, with female figures in the characteristic Mycenae dress. These and the rest of the results are incorporated in M. Tsountas' new book, *Μυκῆναι καὶ Μυκηναῖος πολιτισμός*, which gives a summary account of all his discoveries, as well as those of Schliemann and others, and their scientific results. With this eighth tomb, and its peculiar combination of the built tomb and the dug-out grave, the relations of the two seem to enter on a new phase. It is true that graves have before been found dug within bee-hive tombs, but never on such a scale.

At Thoricus also tombs of Mycenae period have been excavated by M. Staia.<sup>1</sup> The first of these is of a very peculiar shape; it is an ellipse 9 m. × 3.50 m.; and the pottery which it contained was also very peculiar; it may now be seen in the National Museum at Athens; its ornamentation is a very curious florid development of the Mycenae lily pattern.

On the island of Gha in Lake Copias a fortress and palace, like that of Tiryns but more extensive, have been observed both by M. de Ridder and by Dr. Noack. M. de Ridder, of the French School, has also made excavations on the lower part of the hill of Orchomenus in Boeotia; he has found a temple, probably of Asclepius, and several graves, and has recovered, among other things, a good many early vases and bronze reliefs.

At Eleusis, M. Philios has pursued his excavations, and has found, just on the left as one enters the great Propylaea, an early well of very careful construction, which has been respected even when the Propylaea were built,

<sup>1</sup> I quote this account from Dr. Max Mayer's letter to the *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 Nov. 1893.

one step being displaced to leave room for it. There can hardly be a doubt, that this is the *καλλίχορον φρεῖα* mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>5</sup>

At Epidaurus also some more clearance has been made, to the north of the sacred precinct. Here a great building has been found, which was probably in the form of Propylaea, and formed the main entrance to the sanctuary.

The excavations at Troy have been continued at M<sup>rs</sup>. Schliemann's expense. A provisional account, which gives an admirably clear notion of the results of last season's work, has already been given by Dr. Dörpfeld,<sup>6</sup> who directed the excavations, so that they need only be briefly mentioned here. It has long been known that the stratum which corresponds in period to the civilization of Mycenae, and which therefore seems to correspond most naturally to the Homeric Troy, was the sixth from below, not the second. Hitherto a difficulty has existed, since the second city was the only one known to have a massive fortification wall, and so Schliemann has regarded it as the city of Priam. Now, however, it proves that the sixth city had a magnificent stone wall all round it, far more extensive and of excellent workmanship. It is sad to think that Dr. Schliemann did not live to see this confirmation of his most cherished theory. Above this stratum lie three others, an archaic Greek, a Hellenic, and a Roman. The whole series of strata has again been carefully tested and recorded in an undisturbed place, and so may now be regarded as finally established. This summer Dr. Dörpfeld is continuing the excavation at the expense of the German government. The sixth city contains, within its massive wall, many buildings of the well-known type, and has yielded plenty of Mycenaean pottery, as well as of the black local ware which is also found in the tumuli of the Troad.

Mr. A. J. Evans, in the course of a most successful trip in Crete, found distinct proof of the prevalence of a new alphabet, of which the existence was already beginning to be suspected from the occasional occurrence of letters on objects of Mycenaean period. The results promise to be most interesting. Two inscriptions, one of five letters, one of three, had been found on stone and pottery vases last year by M. Tsountas at Mycenae.

In Cyprus, excavations have been made for the British Museum at Amathus, under the direction of Mr. A. H. Smith; Mr. Myres has also watched the work throughout. After it was concluded, he has made some small excavations on prehistoric sites near Nikosia and Salamis, and has also undertaken to catalogue the Museum at Nicosia.

It is impossible to close this report without a reference to the irreparable loss sustained by archaeology in the premature death of Dr. Lolling. By indefatigable exertions he had already got into order the great epigraphical Museum at Athens, and it is said that his catalogue was almost ready to appear. As the writer of the Greek *Baedecker*, he had earned the gratitude of a still wider circle.

E. A. G.

<sup>5</sup> I. xxviii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Mittheilungen* for 1893.



## THE PAINTINGS BY PANAENUS ON THE THRONE OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.

IN the elaborate description which Pausanias gives of the throne of the Olympian Zeus, few parts have given rise to so much discussion and so much difference of opinion as the paintings by Panaenus, the brother of Phidias. It has been disputed both where they were placed, and how they were arranged.

It is the aim of the present paper to propose a new composition for this series of paintings, and, by doing so, to justify an old and recently somewhat discredited view as to the position in which they were placed. The cuts which are added serve to illustrate this new suggestion and to make clearer its advantages over those which have been previously made. The restoration of one side (p. 240), which has been very kindly drawn by a friend, must not, of course, be taken as an attempt to reproduce exactly the designs of Panaenus. But, since the groups or the figures that compose them are derived from fifth century works of Greek art,<sup>1</sup> they may well give us a notion of the conditions, as to space and balance of figures, that determine the whole composition; and these conditions may be applied with some confidence, when we remember how closely even the greatest artists of this period often adhered to the accepted scheme for any group or subject.

In order that we may have clearly before us the evidence which we possess about these paintings and their position, I give a plan of the cella of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (p. 236), and also a translation of the description of the paintings by Pausanias.

Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> in his description of the throne of Zeus, first refers to the legs and arms, and their decoration; then he continues—

<sup>1</sup> And between the legs of the throne there are four cross-bars, each one

<sup>1</sup> For example, of the two groups, one, that of Theseus and Pirithous, is taken directly from the Polygnotan Argonaut vase, *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. 38-9. The other, of Hercules and Atlas, is composed after the lecythus, *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. III., with the roles of the two figures reversed; the Hercules is from *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888,

viii. 1, and the whole is assimilated to the Olympian metope. The drawing was made to show the composition of all three sides, but it was thought better to publish one side only, so as to illustrate the principle of the composition, without laying claim to a complete restoration.

<sup>2</sup> V. xi. 3.

stretching from leg to leg . . . (Description of subjects on these) . . . And the throne is supported not only by the legs, but also by pillars equal in number<sup>2</sup> to the legs, standing between the legs.

It is not possible to enter underneath the throne, as one goes into the inside of the throne at Amyclae; at Olympia, what prevents this is a set of screens constructed like walls. Of these screens so much as faces the door is only painted dark blue, but the rest of them show paintings by Panaenus. In them is Atlas supporting earth and heaven, and Heracles stands by, ready to take the burden from Atlas. Then there are Theseus and Pirithous; and Hellas, and Salamis holding in her hand the ornament set on the ends of ships. And there is, of the labours of Heracles, that against the Nemean lion, and the wrong done by Ajax to Cassandra, and there is Hippodamia the daughter of Oenomaus with her mother; and Prometheus still held by his bonds, and Heracles is grouped with him; for this story too is told of Heracles, how he slew the eagle that tormented Prometheus in the Caucasus and freed Prometheus also from his bonds. And, at the extremity of the painting, is Penthesilea breathing her last, and Achilles supporting her; and two Hesperids bear the apples of which it is said that the charge was committed to them. This Panaenus was the brother of Phidias, and there is a picture by him of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poecile at Athens.

After this, Pausanias goes on to describe the back of the throne, then the footstool, and the pedestal; then the pavement of black stone in front of it, with a border of white marble.

The most obvious inference from the words of Pausanias is that the paintings were arranged round the two sides and the back of the throne, the front, which was in great part hidden by the legs and drapery of Zeus, being left plain blue. This view is also correct, as I hope to show. But until now it has been open to very grave objections, which are removed by the new arrangement which I have to propose. First, however, we must review the explanations which have been suggested by previous writers, and see how far they are to be accepted, and what difficulties occur in their application.

#### I.—THE OLD ARRANGEMENT.

The subjects enumerated by Pausanias appear at first sight to be nine, as follows:

1. Atlas and Heracles.
2. Theseus and Pirithous.
3. Hellas and Salamis.
4. Heracles and the Nemean Lion.
5. Ajax and Cassandra.
6. Hippodamia and Sterope.

<sup>2</sup> See Peterson, *Kunst des Phidias*, p. 352, where this meaning of *troi* is established.



7. Prometheus and Heracles.
8. Penthesilea and Achilles.
9. Two Hesperids.

The nine groups naturally divide themselves into three sets of three each; these sets were placed upon the three decorated sides of the throne by Brunn,<sup>4</sup> Petersen,<sup>5</sup> Overbeck (up to third edition),<sup>6</sup> and Collignon<sup>7</sup>. Brunn's arrangement, which is accepted by most of those who follow him, is this. He divides the lower part of each side, beneath the cross-bar, into three metope-like spaces, containing the paintings. Above the divisions between the metopes he places the pillars which stand between the legs to support the throne. But, as Petersen points out, this interpretation cannot be maintained in view of the words *ἴσας ταῖς ποσίν*, applied to these pillars; since they can only mean 'equal in number to the legs.' If, on the other hand, the pillars be placed above the middle of the three metope-like spaces, we have a structural anomaly such as it is hardly conceivable that any Greek could tolerate. An improvement might be made by suggesting that the metopes were above, not below the pillars; but this will hardly commend itself as a final solution. There are other very serious objections to Brunn's restoration. The group of Achilles and Penthesilea is said to come 'at the end of the painting,' *τελευταία ἐν τῇ γραφῇ*; yet Brunn and those who follow him place it in the middle of a side. Again, each side, with its three groups, presents a most unsymmetrical arrangement: the first two groups on each represent two figures in close dramatic relation, while the third consists merely of two female figures juxtaposed.<sup>8</sup> This point comes out clearly in our restoration, if we imagine the two female figures below set side by side in a space to correspond with the two groups above them. And moreover, a throne for use with a footstool can hardly be broader than it is high; the difference would most probably be the other way. Thus it is clear that, if the cross-bar were near the middle, the space either above or below it, if divided into three, must provide spaces of which the height exceeds the length at least in the proportion of 3 : 2—a shape too narrow for the groups they contained.

## II.—THE NEW ARRANGEMENT.

In view of these objections, it is no wonder that a new theory which escapes many of them has met with so wide acceptance. This theory was first published by Mr. A. S. Murray in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute in Athens in 1882; it is formally accepted in the official publication of the Olympian excavations;<sup>9</sup> and also in the new edition of his *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, by Overbeck,<sup>10</sup> who says it is 'shown by the

<sup>4</sup> *Gesch. der gr. Künstler*, i. p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> *Kunst des Pheidias*, pp. 352, 359, &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Gesch. der gr. Kunst*, i. (3rd ed.), p. 260.

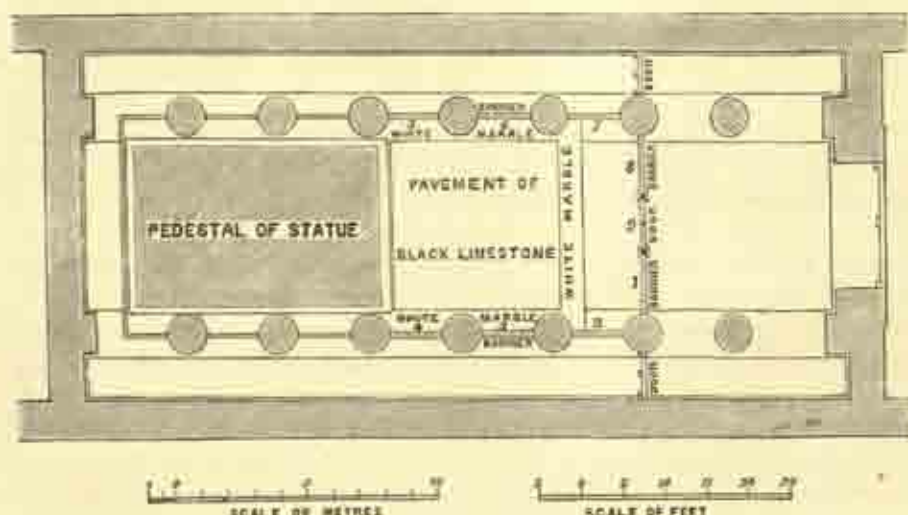
<sup>7</sup> *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, i. p. 530.

<sup>8</sup> This objection is noticed by Mr. Murray, *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Inst. Athen*, 1882, p. 275.

<sup>9</sup> *Olympia*, Text, ii. p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Fourth Edition, p. 360.

excavations at Olympia to be right.' The suggestion which has met with so wide and so authoritative an acceptance is that the paintings of Panaenus were not on the throne of Zeus at all, but were on the barriers which enclosed the space in front of it. The position of these barriers can be seen on the accompanying plan. Remains or traces of them have actually been discovered in the temple, running across the three intercolumniations on each side, in front of the pedestal, and then crossing the nave of the cella from side to side. The paintings are arranged on the inside of these barriers, after the description of Pausanias, in the manner indicated on the plan, the numbers corresponding to the groups, as enumerated on p. 234 above. It is clear that by this arrangement we escape some of the difficulties in fitting the description to the artistic and structural conditions. Symmetry within each side is preserved, since in each we have the group of two female figures



#### CELLA OF TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA.

AFTER DOERPFELD, OLYMPIA, I. IX.

in the middle, and the scenes of closer relation and more violent action at either end: we also have a possible explanation for the description of group 8 as 'at the end of the painting,' since the following group is on the folds of the door. We also have the great advantage that thus the groups of Hercules and Atlas and of the two Hesperids, the first and last in the description, are brought together, as is most appropriate from their mythological connexion. We see, then, that there are great advantages in the new suggestion; it cannot, however, be accepted until we have also considered what objections there are to its application. For the sake of clearness I number these objections, and discuss them in turn.

(1) *The shape of the available spaces.*—The length of the various panels of the barrier is established by the extant remains; it is very nearly two



metres, of six feet six inches. Their height is a matter of conjecture, since in no case has more than the bottom of any panel been preserved. In the restored elevation (*Olympia*, Plates, I. xi. xii.) they are made 1.50 metre high (4 ft. 11), presumably in order to give room for the groups; otherwise it is hard to see why so great a height should be assumed.<sup>11</sup> To me it seems extremely improbable that a solid barrier of this height should have run right across the cella in front of the statue. The normal height of a man's eye from the ground is only 1.63 metre (5 ft. 4);<sup>12</sup> so that over such a barrier a short man could never see at all the decoration on the pedestal of the throne, not to speak of the paintings on the inside of the barrier, while even a tall man would be greatly hampered in his view of the statue and its decoration as a whole. I should have thought one metre a quite sufficient height for such a barrier; it is the height given to the Nike balustrade at Athens, which also serves as a protection without impeding the view. Now, as has been seen by Petersen and others, and as is shown in our restoration, the groups are of a metope-like composition, and so cannot possibly be adapted to an oblong space two metres long by only one metre high. Even if we grant as possible though improbable a height of a metre and a half, the space is still unsuited to compositions which contain two figures each, at least one of them usually standing. For such groups a square frame is the only suitable one.

(2) *The plain blue front* (ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστίν, ἀλλήλιπται κνέφω μόνον).—There is no explanation of the fact that the part of the barrier opposite the door—that is to say, facing those who entered the cella—was left plain. On the contrary, this is the most obvious of all fields for ornament, and must have been covered with designs of some sort, amid surroundings where every available field was so richly decorated. A plain blue barrier running right across the cella would have been most unsightly, especially if it were five feet high. Again, if this were the meaning of Pausanias, it would have been far more natural and intelligible for him to say the barriers were painted by Pausanias inside, plain blue outside. If, on the other hand, the painted barriers or screens formed part of the throne itself, the reason for their being plain in front is obvious.

(3) *The order of Pausanias' description*.—This order may easily be followed on the plan. Presumably no visitor was allowed inside the barrier; it is therefore clear that the panels numbered 2 to 4 could only be seen from the front or from the north aisle; those numbered 5 to 7, only from the front or from the south aisle; while those numbered 8, 9 and 1 were visible only from the north or south aisle. Thus the order adopted by Pausanias becomes very hard to explain. In any case there must be a gap between 4 and 5, which we should expect him to mention; and besides, the only natural way to describe such a set of works would be to begin either at 4 or

<sup>11</sup> Dörpfeld, speaking of the architectural evidence, says: 'Die ehemalige Höhe der Schranken kennt man nicht' (*OL.* ii. p. 13).

<sup>12</sup> See Froberg, *Anatomie für Künstler*, Taf. vii.

5 and go on round in order. It may be added that if the barriers were 5 ft. high, it would have been very difficult for a visitor to have seen some of the panels from any point of view. And it shows peculiar perversity on the part of Pausanias to choose his starting-point arbitrarily in such a way as to separate 1 and 9, the only two groups which have any apparent connexion with one another.

(4) *The purpose of the painted panels.*—Pausanias says that they were 'a set of screens constructed like walls,' to prevent people from entering 'underneath the throne, as one goes into the inside of the throne at Amyclae.' The barriers between the columns and across the cella do not answer to this description; they only prevent people from entering the space which they enclose in front of the pedestal of the statue. Round the pedestal itself there were other barriers, of bronze,<sup>12</sup> which had nothing to do with the painted panels.

(5) *The context in Pausanias.*—The description of these screens forms a part of the description of the throne itself; first the throne as a whole is described, then the legs and arms and their ornamentation; then these painted screens; then the back of the throne, and after that the footstool and pedestal. It is not until this description of the throne is finished that Pausanias goes on to speak of the pavement of black stone, with a border of white marble, which was in front of the pedestal, and of which the remains are extant *in situ* at the present day (see Plan). If, as is suggested, the paintings were on the barriers which surrounded this pavement, surely they would have been mentioned by Pausanias together with it, not in the midst of parts of the throne itself, with which they had no very close connexion. It seems inconceivable, after reading consecutively the description of Pausanias, that these screens were anything but a part of the structure of the throne itself.

(6) *The remains and date of the barriers.*—Here I cannot do better than quote from *Olympia*, ii. p. 13 (Dörpfeld): 'The former height of the barriers is unknown; nor can it be determined whether they belong to the original plan, or were only inserted after the erection of the cultus statue; the latter seems to me the more probable.' Indeed, the addition of the barriers may have been made at any period, since they are merely 'slipped in from above between the columns after the latter were already stuccoed.' They certainly do not necessarily form a part of the work done under Phidias' direction. Professor Dörpfeld also points out, on the same page, that the doors and the triple division of the barrier across the cella are merely a conjectural restoration, based on the supposition that the paintings of Panænus were on this barrier; they therefore afford no monumental evidence in favour of that supposition. When it is added that the barriers, where extant, though covered on both sides with stucco (*ibid.* p. 11), show no sign whatever of the paintings that are assigned to them (p. 13), it becomes clear that we have to do here not with new evidence, based upon extant monuments, as to the position of

<sup>12</sup> *Olympia*, ii. p. 11.



the paintings, but merely with a new theory as to the interpretation of Pausanias. I think, after weighing all the objections against that new theory, we may dismiss it as untenable.

### III.—A PROPOSED SOLUTION.

The arguments that have forced us to reject the new theory compel us also to accept, in part at least, the old one. They at least show that, however the groups were arranged in the painting, the screens formed an integral part of the throne itself, and were placed between its legs. The great difficulty hitherto found in this view is the triple division of each side, and the unsymmetrical arrangement which results from it. This, however, can easily be avoided.

The screen on the front of the throne being left plain blue, and the paintings being divided between the other three sides, there is no room for doubt as to the distribution of the subjects between these three sides. Within each side, however, the case is different. It is true that the subjects belonging to each side seem at first sight to divide themselves into three groups. But what seems to be the third group in each case is of a different nature from the other two; it consists of two female figures, not in any close or dramatic relation to one another; in fact, it is not a group at all. Hellas and Salamis, Hippodamia and her mother, the two Hesperids, merely stand side by side—and not necessarily in the same panel. Here is the solution of the difficulty. By placing these two standing figures in two panels side by side,

#### ARRANGEMENT OF PAINTINGS ON THRONE.

Heracles and Atlas.	Theseus and Pirithous.	Heracles and Nemean Lion.	Ajax and Cassandra.	Heracles and Prometheus.	Achilles and Penthesilea.
Hellas.	Salamis.	Hippodamia.	Sterope.	Hesperid.	Hesperid.
<i>Left side.</i>		<i>Back.</i>		<i>Right side.</i>	

instead of in the same panel, we are at once enabled to arrange the groups and figures in a simple and symmetrical manner. We have four panels, not three, on each side. The square, metope-like groups find their natural place above the cross-bar, divided by a central pillar. On each side of this central pillar, below the cross-bar, stands a simple female figure, almost like a caryatid, to help the appearance of strength and solidity which, for the lower part

of the structure, is so desirable. We thus have a perfect symmetry between the various groups and figures, and each is assigned to a place for which it is peculiarly appropriate. Yet no violence whatever is done to the description of Pausanias, who could hardly have followed any different order: he speaks first of the two metope-like groups above, then of the two single figures below. Thus, too, better than on any other hypothesis, the words *τελευταία*



RESTORATION OF PAINTINGS ON LEFT SIDE OF THRONE.

ἢ τῇ γράφῃ are explained.<sup>11</sup> The group of Penthesilea and Achilles does actually occur at the extreme end of the whole series of paintings; the two figures mentioned afterwards are not beyond it, but below it. Thus every test which we can apply is met most satisfactorily by the arrangement which I propose.

<sup>11</sup> In fact it was these words that first suggested the new arrangement to me.



There is only one objection which occurs to me; this is that the Hesperids are again separated from the group of Atlas and Heracles, with which we should naturally expect them to be associated, and to which they were joined in Mr. Murray's arrangement. I admit that this objection has some weight, though I think it is lessened by the following considerations. There is no mythological impossibility in the separation of the Hesperids from the group of Heracles and Atlas; according to one version they were the daughters of Zeus,<sup>15</sup> and therefore might appropriately appear by themselves on his throne. And again, if their separation, on the throne itself, from the group of Heracles and Atlas is a thing that requires comment, it is most unlikely that Pausanias, who was familiar with the mythological connexion of the two groups,<sup>16</sup> would have arbitrarily separated them in his description. Such a separation seems only explicable if they were really remote from one another on the monument itself.

In any case, this one objection must be outweighed by the many arguments which tell in favour of the arrangement of the paintings on screens placed between the legs of the throne. Such screens are structurally a great advantage; they made it possible to erect inside the throne whatever supports were necessary for the great chryselephantine statue seated upon it. When we remember the great weight and complicated structure of the framework necessary to a colossal statue, we see that it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make such a statue seated upon an ordinary chair, of which the seat was supported only at the sides. And, even apart from extra supports, the eight legs or pillars and the cross-bars, as described by Pausanias, would have been unsightly if one could have seen right through from one side to the other, and would have made the whole, as has been suggested, more like a scaffolding than a stately throne. If, on the other hand, each side was completely filled with a screen, then the pillar and the cross-bar would divide the field it offered into four panels admirably adapted for the subjects which were painted upon them by Panaenus. The two caryatid-like figures below, and the two metope-like groups above do not merely add to the richness of the ornamentation; we see in them one more instance of the architectural design which controlled every accessory of the great work of Phidias, and gave to it a unity and breadth of conception without which so profuse a decoration might have impaired the effect of the whole.

E. A. GARDNER.

<sup>15</sup> Roscher, *Mythologie*, s.v. 'Hesperiden.'

<sup>16</sup> Cf. VI. xix. 8.

## NOTE ON MEGALOPOLIS.

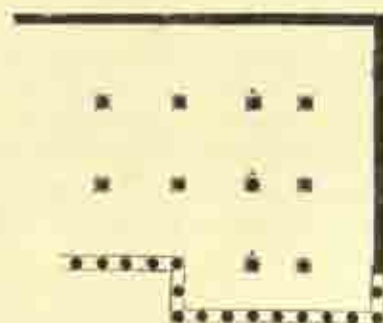
My attention has been called by Professor R. B. Richardson to an occurrence of the word *σκανοθήκα* which we overlooked when we published our report on the excavations at Megalopolis, believing that we had come across a word not known before. On a tile at Sparta, published in the *Athenian Mittheilungen* ii. p. 441, and previously, but without the word in question, in the *Bull. & Inst.* 1873, p. 191. is impressed the following inscription

ΠΑΙΝΘΟΙΔΑΜΟCΙΑΙCΚΑΝΟ  
ΘΗΚΑCΕΠΙΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΟC  
ΕΡΓΩΝΑΝΙΚΑCΙΩΝΟC

No transcription is given in previous publications; I suppose we must read

Παίνθοι-δαμόσιαι σκανοθήκας ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος ἔργον α' Νικασίωνος.

It may be remembered that we supposed the Scanotheca at Megalopolis to be situated in the peculiarly constructed western parodos; it could not, from the position of the Thersilion, have stood behind the scena. At Sparta



END OF STOA OF PHILIP AT MEGALOPOLIS.  
AAA—BASIS OMITTED IN PREVIOUS PLAN.

there is no evidence for any such abnormal arrangement; but the occurrence of the name Scanotheca there also does not necessarily invalidate any of our conclusions as to the application of the name in the theatre at Megalopolis, except so far as concerns its unique use.



I take this opportunity of pointing out another omission in the Megalopolis publication, of which the probability was suggested to us by Professor Dörpfeld. In the plan of the Stoa of Philip (*Megalopolis*, Pl. XV.) three more column-bases should be inserted at each end, in a line parallel to the three that form the extreme aisle in the wing, and at the same distance from the inner edge of the wing as those three are from the end wall of the stoa. That is to say, the new rows of columns come opposite to the sixth column from either end; and thus the wings present a symmetrical structure. The bases are not all extant, but the evidence that they existed is quite clear.

E. A. G.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE BACCHAE.

IN two recent numbers of the *Classical Review* two most interesting notes have appeared the first by Dr. Verrall under the same title as that of the present paper, and the second a notice of the second volume of Rohde's *Psyche* by Miss Harrison. Dr. Rohde in his work and both Dr. Verrall and Miss Harrison in these notes are led to the conclusion, if they do not assume the fact as an axiom, that the worship of Dionysus is not an indigenous cult in Greece but came in from Thrace and the north. It is a fact which at first sight appears incontestable: the mythology of nearly every state in Greece has the tale of the incoming of the god from abroad. Thebes and Athens, Argos and Orchomenos, Corinth and Brasiae—all have their own stories of his advent. The very name Dionysus has a foreign, probably a Phrygian, derivation. Thus it is no wonder that modern mythologists almost without exception have adopted the view of the ancients themselves that the worship is one imported into Greece.

But, though it is evident that much of the later cult is undoubtedly not indigenous, there does yet seem to be a groundwork of a real old folk religion at the bottom of all these Phrygian and Thracian mysteries of later times. It would seem to be an almost unscientific method, if I may use the term without offence, on the strength of certain similarities in customs and cults between the deities of two different countries, to conclude that therefore the two are identical. Plutarch, indeed, and other writers<sup>1</sup> identify Dionysus and Osiris, and so too a modern mythologist has attempted to show that Demeter herself is a stranger colonist from Egypt. But the study of comparative mythology has shown us how similar are the early folk customs and folk cults throughout all the world, and the fair conclusion is not that one people borrowed its customs from another but that all found their origin independently in certain instincts common to all humanity. The case however with Dionysus worship in Greece is somewhat different. Dr. Rohde attributes to it the origin of the belief in immortality and derives both cult and belief from the north. He would not, I think, assert that of necessity the local myths and the customs which gave rise to those myths also necessarily came from the north. On the contrary there is a considerable amount of evidence to show that the cult of a wine god, who originally was known under different titles in different parts of Greece, was one of the

<sup>1</sup> v. Min. Fid. (Onze), p. 163 and notes.



earliest indigenous cults in nearly every Greek township and village. The vine was one of the earliest agricultural products of the country and the worship of the vine god is essentially a worship of country men in country districts. Moreover in regard to this very belief in the immortality of the soul it may be remarked that, whereas the personification of the god by the priest is an element common in Pelasgic ritual and indeed in very many primitive religions, the old Thracian beliefs seem to point rather to a recognition of the painfulness and worthlessness of life than to any hope for a brighter hereafter. We are expressly told that the belief in a future life owed its origin to Pythagoras, and before the date of Pythagoras the worship of Dionysus must have spread itself over Greece.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover we have records in the fields both of mythology and ritual which would seem to point to extremely primitive and thoroughly indigenous cults of the deity. In mythology Thebes and Naxos both claimed to have been the place of his birth: we find him nursed in infancy at Thebes by the nymph Ino,<sup>3</sup> in Euboea by Makris,<sup>4</sup> on Parnassus by the Thyiades,<sup>5</sup> at Athens and near Nysa by the Muses,<sup>6</sup> at Brasiae by the inhabitants themselves and by Ino.<sup>7</sup> Finally we hear of the death and tombs of Dionysus at Delphi and in Crete, and similarly at Argos there seems to have been a belief in his annual death and resurrection in his favourite form of a bull, cf. Plut. *Is. Os.* 35 ἀνακαλούνται δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὕδατος ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ.<sup>8</sup> Indeed throughout Greece we find very many feasts and cults of the deity which appear to belong naturally to a primitive population in the agricultural stage: at Elis, for instance, where at the feast of the Thyiae the women invoke the god to appear as a bull, and the miracle of the filling of the wine-jars took place,<sup>9</sup> at Rhodes at the festival of the pruning of the vines,<sup>10</sup> at Phigaleia at the feast called μαζῶνες, at which there was a contest in eating,<sup>11</sup> at Alea where the women were beaten just as the Spartan youths at the feast of the Orthia,<sup>12</sup> at Kynaetha where the holy bull was miraculously revealed to the worshippers,<sup>13</sup> and in Attica itself where the incoming of the god was commemorated in a distinctly primitive fashion,<sup>14</sup> where the marriage of the god to the 'queen' in the Boukoleion at the Anthesteria clearly belongs to a primitive cult, and the carrying of the statue round the town, as at Lesbos,<sup>15</sup> is a direct development of a maypole custom.

A further and still more fatal objection to the theory of the importation of the worship of Dionysus lies in the fact that the stronghold of the cult of the deity lay not in any superior race of conquerors or in any hieratic

<sup>2</sup> v. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* ii. pp. 1416 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Nonn. ix. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. Arg. iv. 1131.

<sup>5</sup> Teet. Lye. 143.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. i. 3, 6; *O. F. S.* iii. 351.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. iii. 24, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Poll. iv. 80; Hes. i. v. γαρύβες; Plut. *Symp.* iv. 6; Nonn. xlvii.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. vi. 26, 1; Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 86; Ath. i.

61.

<sup>10</sup> Hes. i. v. Παγαλάδα.

<sup>11</sup> Ath. iv. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Paus. viii. 23, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Paus. viii. 19, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Schol. Luc. *Dial. Merc.* vii. 4; *Rhein. Mus.* 1879, p. 557.

<sup>15</sup> Bull. *Corr. Hell.* vii. p. 187.

caste, but among the poor country people; it was not a state religion in the earliest times but belonged to the country districts. This we see most clearly in the case of Attica: more than one Attic deme claimed to have introduced the cult: Eleutheræ, Icaria and the Semachidae all have their different legends: Brauron had its special primitive cult, while still another account tells of the introduction of the god from Eleusis. The conclusion to be drawn is obvious: where several districts claim to have originated the same worship, and each has its own legend to account for and justify that claim, the probability is that each of them had originally its own cult and that these several cults, being all rooted in some one natural primitive belief or custom, were later assimilated to one another in one great state religion. And the history of the development of the worship in Athens further bears out this view: it would appear that it was not until the popular tyrant Pisistratus came into power, that the popular god Dionysus assumed the full dignity of a state deity,<sup>16</sup> while the greater Dionysia were not established to overshadow the country festival before the date of Cimon.<sup>17</sup> The rudeness and simplicity of the earlier feast is borne witness to by Plutarch: *de div. cup.* ἡ πατριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἡλαρῶς· ἀμφορεύς οἶνου καὶ κληματίς· εἶτα τράγον τις εἵλεκεν ἄλλος ἰσχάδας ἄρριχον ἡκαλούθει κομίζων· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ φάλλος. From the political side also there is certainly no impossibility in the theory of Welcker<sup>18</sup> that the story of the appearance of Dionysus Melanaigis in connexion with the feast of the Apaturia<sup>19</sup> owes its origin to the enrolment as citizens of the Dionysia-worshipping clan of the Aigikoreis.

Without then entering into any discussion of the origin and nationality of the early worshippers of Dionysus on Greek soil, a question with which I hope to be able to deal on some other occasion in connexion with the Kouretes, I shall be content to have established that in Greece there was an early indigenous cult of a vine and vegetation deity, who was later identified with the stranger god of Thrace and with him passed under the name of Dionysus. This being so, how are we to explain the fact that in nearly every state in Greece where we find the worship of Dionysus established we also find stories of his incoming from abroad? It is to this problem, more especially in connexion with the Theban myth as embodied in the *Bacchae* of Euripides, that the rest of this paper is devoted.

The plot of the *Bacchae* of Euripides is too well known to need recounting here: it is to three scenes in the play that we must devote our attention: the dressing up of Pentheus in the guise of a bacchante, the scene of his slaying as reported by the messenger, and the return of Agave with the head of her son (vv. 810-860, 925-945, 1043-1152, 1170-1200).

The first of these scenes has a more than half comic character: when Dionysus and Pentheus re-enter from the palace (925), Pentheus must indeed have presented a ridiculous figure. He has a lock out of place; his girdle

<sup>16</sup> Mittelhaus, *de Baccho Attico*, p. 63.

<sup>17</sup> *Ib.* p. 64.

<sup>18</sup> *Anh.* zu *Tril.* p. 200.

<sup>19</sup> *Suid.* s.v. Ἀπατούριον.



is loose, his dress does not hang straight; he is at a loss in which hand to hold his thyrsus. Finally, after he has been further made up by Dionysus, he is led through the middle of the town to be the laughing-stock of all Thebes (854, cf. 961). Nonnus (xlv. 108ff.) gives a somewhat similar account of his dressing up and also dwells at some length on the crowding of the Theban men to see Pentheus led out. In the second scene Dionysus conducts Pentheus to the pine-grove and there they find the maenads resting quietly. Pentheus cannot get a good view of them, so Dionysus bends down a tall pine and, setting him on the top of it, lets it go, so that Pentheus appears perched aloft. Then the god disappears; a voice is heard calling on the maenads to punish the intruder and at the same time a column of fire appears reaching up to heaven. The maenads, catching sight of Pentheus, at first pelt him with sticks and stones: then at the bidding of Agave they tear up the pine-tree by the roots and so Pentheus falls. In spite of his entreaties they fall upon him and Agave acts as priestess and begins the murder. Laying her left hand on his shoulder and her foot against his side, she wrenched off his shoulder with heaven-sent power. Then there is a scramble led by Ino and Autonoe for parts of the body. Eventually Agave seizes the head and, fixing it on her thyrsus, rushes off with it to Thebes calling on Bacchus to share her triumph. Nonnus again gives a similar account emphasizing her race back to Thebes:

xlv. 217 *καὶ φορέω ταχύγονος ἀνέδραμε χάρματι λύσσης.*

Theocritus (xxvi.) tells us that there were twelve altars set up by the women, three to Semele and nine to Dionysus, and that on these they offered specially prepared cakes, according to the rites prescribed by the god. He further emphasizes the scramble for pieces of the flesh. From Oppian we get as the cry of the revellers:

*ὦ μάκαρ ὦ Διόνυσε  
ἅπτε σέλας φλογερὸν πατρώιον, αὐτὸ δ' ἐλέλιξον  
Γαίαν.*

In the third scene, with which we have to deal, the following points, which seem the salient ones in the myth, call for special consideration. In the first place Agave returns proud of her exploit. She has the prize of victory in the hunting (vv. 1147, 1200, 1239, Nonnus xlv. 222, 233) and enters the city calling on Bacchus (v. 1145) and with the cry of triumph:

*φέρομεν ἔξ ὀρέων  
ἔλκα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα  
μακαρίαν θήραν.*

Further, as having been the first to strike the victim, she has special honour among the revellers:

*Chor. τίς ἂ βαλοῦσα πρῶτα;  
Ag. ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας  
μάκαιρ Ἀγαυή κληζόμεθ' ἐν θιάσοις.*

In honour of this victory she is to give a feast to all her friends, and Cadmus himself shares the honour she has won:

1241ff. γαυρούμενος δὲ τοῖς ἑμοῖς ἀγρεύμασιν  
κάλει φίλους ἐς δαῖτα· μακάριος γὰρ εἶ  
μακάριος ἡμῶν τοιάδ' ἐξειργασμένων.

Nonnus xlv. 221 Κάδμε μάκαρ, καλέω σε μακάρτατον.

Finally the head of Pentheus is to be fixed on the triglyphs of the palace:

1212ff. Πενθεύς τ' ἑμὸς παῖς ποῦ 'στιν ; αἰρέσθω λαβὼν  
πηκτῶν πρὸς οἴκους κλιμάκων προσαμβάσεις  
ὥς πασσαλεύσῃ κράτα τριγλύφοις τόδε.

Nonnus xlv. 232

δμῶες ἑμοὶ στείχεσθε· παρὰ προπύλαια δὲ Κῦδμου  
πῆξατε τοῦτο κάρηνον ἑμῆς ἀναθήματα νίκης.

The main points then of the whole story, as we shall treat it, are the following. The king of the country is elaborately dressed up as a woman and in this guise is led through the town to be a laughing-stock to the inhabitants and so out into the woods. There he is set upon a tree and at a given signal is pelted with sticks and stones by the assembled women. After a time the tree is pulled up by the roots and the body of the king is torn in pieces by his mother and her two sisters. Then there apparently follows a scramble for the various limbs and eventually the mother seizes the head and races off with it, fixed on her ivy-wreathed thyrsus, to the town. Here she proclaims herself as victor in the hunt, ordains a feast and bids her servants fix the head on the triglyphs of the palace. Such is the main story; minor points, such as the technical uses of particular words, will be dealt with in their proper places.

Now we have seen that in all probability the worship of Dionysus was not a cult introduced into Greece from abroad in the way described by Euripides, and, this being so, we are justified in looking for some other interpretation and explanation of the story. In dealing with Greek mythology the most fruitful source and origin of myths lies in early custom and ritual: indeed it is a safe rule to go by, that, where in the later accounts mythical stories are celebrated and perpetuated by means of feasts, in by far the majority of cases the ritual is older than the myth and indeed gave birth to it. This is to be proved not only by a comparison of the religions of various Greek states, in which feasts, which are in their origin identical, have totally different stories tacked on to them, but also by a comparison with similar festivals in other parts of the world belonging to peoples in the same stage of civilization. In the present case, then, our inquiry must divide itself into two chief heads:

(1) the consideration of Greek and other cults and customs, which may have any bearing on the question;



(2) the examination of the Dionysus worship as we know it in Thebes, to see if any such ritual, as would give rise to this myth, can be found there, and, if so, to assign a name, if possible, for the feast in which these customs were preserved.

(1). That at certain seasons of the year it is an almost universal folk custom to take out of the town or village some figure representing the vegetation god of the past season and to return bringing back into the village another figure of the new god, has been sufficiently proved by Mannhardt and Frazer. The existence of this and other similar customs in ancient Greece and Italy has also been established by these writers in connexion with such ceremonies as those of the Argei and Mamurius Veturius at Rome and of the Thesmophoria and Adonis rites in Greece. Further, unless I am mistaken, we may see distinct traces of this custom in those festivals in which the statue of the god or goddess is carried out of the town and then brought back again, this being a natural development of the earlier custom due chiefly to the sanctity supposed to reside in the statue itself. Such rites are to be found in the *Toneia* at Samos,<sup>20</sup> and perhaps also in the *Anthesteria* and *Plunteria* at Athens. The same principle is involved in rather a different manner in the cases where a goddess is regarded as having a double character as mother and virgin. Thus we find Hera as a virgin and bride at Hermione,<sup>21</sup> and as a virgin, bride and widow at Stymphalus:<sup>22</sup> so too Athene was regarded as a mother goddess at Elis,<sup>23</sup> and there can be no doubt that, hieratically speaking, the maiden Persephone of one season became the mother Demeter of the next. It is then perhaps in some similar custom and belief that we are to look for the origin of the myths of the introduction of Dionysus, accompanied as it generally is by the death or exile of some earlier king.

In treating the Pentheus myth in detail it will be most convenient to divide the story under the various heads of the various stages of the ceremony, looking for parallels, drawn from somewhat similar customs, to each particular act. These heads then will be:

- (a) The dressing up of the figure as a woman.
- (b) The leading of it through the town for all to see.
- (c) The setting of it on a tree.
- (d) The pelting with sticks and stones.
- (e) The tearing to pieces and scramble for the parts.
- (f) The carrying home of the head on the thyrsus at racing pace.
- (g) The fixing on the triglyphs of the house.

(a). The dressing up of Pentheus as a woman is perhaps the point hardest to explain in the whole story. The emphasis laid upon it in all the

<sup>20</sup> Lact. *Inst.* i. 17; Pausan. i. 23; Ath. xii. 30; Monodot. *ap.* Ath. xv. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ἑρμιόνα*.

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<sup>22</sup> Pind. *OL.* vi. 84; Paus. viii. 22, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Ath. xiii. 90; Eust. *II.* xx. 282; Paus. v. 5, 3.

accounts and the half comic character given to the scene by Euripides would seem to make it impossible that it should be simply a disguise demanded by the exigencies of the case. Also we must bear in mind that in the corresponding stories of Orchomenos and Argos, to be discussed later, the victim is in reality a woman. This phenomenon may point to an original gynaeocratic age, such as that proposed by Töpffer in the case of the Minyadae; and so perhaps an originally feminine personification of the deity was superseded by a male dressed as a female.<sup>24</sup> However that may be, it is a phenomenon common to many forms of folk custom throughout Europe. Thus in Russia, on the Thursday after Whit Sunday, the villagers cut a young pine-tree, dress it as a woman and bring it with rejoicing into the village: three days after, on Trinity Sunday, they drag it out and throw it into water.<sup>25</sup> So too at 'the burial of Carnival' in Lechrain a man dressed in black woman's clothes and accompanied by a train of male mourners, dressed as women, was carried out of the village to a large dung-heap, where he was drenched with water and burned.<sup>26</sup> For an early Esthonian instance Mannhardt quotes Thomas Hiarn (c. 1500 A.D.): every new year a figure of straw was dressed as a man and called Metziko: the people attributed to him the guardianship of their flocks from wild beasts and the keeping of their boundaries. They all accompany him out of the village and set him on the nearest tree (c). A later record<sup>27</sup> tells us that at the feast of the Annunciation a large straw figure was made called 'metsa isa' (father of the wood) or 'metsa ema' (mother of the wood), according as it was dressed as a man or woman; this was kept in the cowhouse till the day of the procession; then it was fixed on a long pole, carried first round the village (b), then out into the wood where it was set on a tree (c). This was followed by gross revels.<sup>28</sup> This festival relates no doubt not to the destruction of the old deity but to the setting up of the new one, but the carrying on a pole and the setting on a tree are clear parallels to the Pentheus case. In Italy used to be observed the custom of 'sawing the old woman' on the Fourth Sunday in Lent: at Palermo the part was played by an old woman, at the back of whose neck was a bladder of blood: this was sawn through and the blood spurted out. At Florence the old woman was a figure stuffed with walnuts and figs and fastened to the top of a ladder. At Mid-Lent this was sawn through and there was a scramble for the fruit<sup>29</sup> (c). In many places of Germany on the eve of St. Peter Stuhlfeyer (Feb. 22) or on Rupert's Day, the straw-witch, the old woman or the grandmother of winter, was driven out or burnt; sometimes the dead spirit of winter is conceived as a bird and in Saxony this song is sung:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 52 f.

<sup>25</sup> Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, pp. 157 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* p. 411; Frazer, *Golden Bough* i. p. 235.

<sup>27</sup> Kreutzwald at the end of the last century.

<sup>28</sup> *Id.* p. 407.

<sup>29</sup> *Id.* p. 251.

<sup>30</sup> Jahn, *Die Deut. Opfergebräuche*, pp. 91-92.

A very similar and primitive custom is that recorded by Ptolemy as taking place at Thebes, *Symp.* vi. 3. 1. There was a πάρος θούρα of the Archon ἐν τῇ κοῦρῃ: ἰερὸν, τὸν δὲ ἑλάσσει ἱκανοὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ· καλεῖται δὲ θουρίαν ἐξέλασσι.



'rut 'rut Sunternegel!  
 Sünste Peter dai es kuemen:  
 Sünste Tigges kuemet noch:  
 hai verbätt di Hus un Huoff,  
 Lant un Sant  
 Lof un Grass.

Or:

Herauss, herauss du Schwellenvogel:  
 S. Peters Stuhlfeyer ist kommen,  
 verbeut dir Hauss und Hoff und Stall  
 Häwschoppen Schewer und anders all.  
 Bis auff diesen Tag übers Jahr  
 dass hie kein Schade widerfahr.

Other instances of the vegetation spirit being represented as a woman will be found in the *Golden Bough* i. pp. 262, 265, 267, 271, 272, 273, etc., Mannhardt, *Bk.* pp. 414, cf. p. 420.

(b). Little need be here said of the leading of the figure through the village: it is a feature common to nearly all such forms of ritual. The figure, as Mr. Frazer has shown, may be greeted either with cries of sorrow or with jeers of derision and loathing.<sup>31</sup> In Thebes, if we may reconstruct the ritual, the yearly Pentheus seems to have undergone the latter treatment.

(c). The setting of the figure on a tree is also an extremely common feature in these rites. Among the Saxons of Transylvania the Carnival is hung on a tree.<sup>32</sup> The Metzlik of Esthonia was, as we have seen, set for a year on a tree. So too, in the provinces of Orleans, the 'grand Mondard' is carried solemnly round the village and then put on the oldest apple-tree. This is in April; at the apple-gathering the figure is taken down and either burnt or thrown into the water. The first apple-gatherer of the year is called the grand mondard for the next season.<sup>33</sup> It is only a modification of the rite when the figure is set on a pole or as in the case of 'the old woman' at Florence at the top of a ladder. So we find a very similar instance to the one discussed: in Austrian Silesia on the Fourth Sunday in Lent a straw figure made by the boys is dressed by the girls in women's clothes. Attached to a long pole it is carried out of the village followed by a troop of young people alternately rejoicing and lamenting. In a field outside the village the figure is stripped of its clothes and ornaments; then the crowd rushes in and tears it to bits scuffling for the fragments (c). Every one tries to get a wisp of the straw, which if placed in the manger would make the cattle thrive.<sup>34</sup> So in Upper Lusatia, Death, a figure made out of straw and rags, was dressed in the veil of the last bride and smock of the last dead; then with signs of

καὶ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν ἴσα τέτταρες ἀγγίαι βάβλαι  
 διὰ θυγῶν ἐξελαιόσασσι ἐπιλέγοντες· Ἐξο Βαβλί-  
 ασι ἴσα δὲ πλοῦτον καὶ ὀλίαν, cf. Henrich.  
 Βαβλίαι· μέγα λιμὸν.

<sup>31</sup> *G. B.* i. p. 276.

<sup>32</sup> *G. B.* p. 255.

<sup>33</sup> *BE.* p. 409.

<sup>34</sup> *G. B.* i. 267.

the deepest mourning carried in on a pole, pelted with sticks and stones (*d*), and finally plunged into a pool outside the village. Then all those taking part plucked a green twig and brought it home.<sup>36</sup> Nor again are those cases in any way different from the parallel custom of representing the spirit as a tree dressed up as a man or woman as was the case at the Boeotian Daedala. So too we find *Marena* (Winter) in Russia represented by a tree which is afterwards thrown into the water.<sup>37</sup> Often again the figure of Death is made of birchen twigs or of the branch of a beech-tree and sometimes it is hung on a little tree and carried about by girls collecting money.<sup>37</sup> Indeed we may say that one of the commonest ideas about this spirit conceives it as residing in the tree just as we see the goddess on the coins of Myra,<sup>38</sup> and that naturally this belief is reflected in folk custom.

Of customs obviously belonging to the class of maypole ceremonies which we find in Greece perhaps the best instance is the feast of the 'Daphnaphoria' celebrated once in eight years at Thebes, as described by Proclus. Probably however the feast was originally an annual one, as we find the priesthood was annual (Paus. ix. 20, 1). A boy of noble birth and distinguished beauty, wreathed with laurel, richly dressed and with his hair let down, formed the principal figure in a procession headed by his nearest relation carrying a pole, called *κρω*, decorated like a maypole with ribbons and coloured balls. He is followed by a band of maidens holding out boughs of olive and singing songs of supplication. The procession visited the shrines of Apollo Iaménios and Chalazios. Customs such as this show that primitive rites, which may be ascribed to an early tree worship, were by no means extinct in Greece even at a comparatively late date.

(*d*). *Bacch.* 1095

ὥς δ' εἶδον ἐλάτῃ δεσπότην ἐφήμενον,  
 πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ χερμάδας κραταιβόλους  
 ἔρριπτον ἀντίπυργον ἐπιβάσαι πέτραι  
 ἄλκοις τ' ἐλατίνοισιν ἡκοντίζετο  
 ἄλλαι δὲ θύρσους ἔσαν δι' αἰθέρος  
 Πενθίως, στόχον δύστηνον κ.τ.λ.

At first sight this may appear to be merely a poetic amplification of the ritual: that this is not the case, but that it formed a regular part of the ceremony, will appear from the following similar instances, where it undoubtedly has a special meaning. In Upper Lusatia, as we have seen, the figure of Death is set on the end of a long pole and the tallest and strongest girl runs with it out of the village, the rest pelting the effigy with sticks and stones. Whoever hits it will be sure to live through the year.<sup>39</sup> Similarly in other parts of Lusatia the women who carry out the figure are pursued by

<sup>36</sup> *Ill.* pp. 412 f.

<sup>37</sup> *G. B.* i. 272.

<sup>38</sup> *G. B.* i. 269.

<sup>39</sup> P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. XV. d.

<sup>40</sup> *G. B.* i. p. 264.



urchins throwing stones.<sup>40</sup> Mannhardt quotes another somewhat similar instance from Poland.<sup>41</sup> But it is in Greece itself that we must look for the most striking parallels to this custom: a cognate instance of such a ceremony is that of the Λιθοβόλεια of the maidens at Troezen, Paus. ii. 32, 2 ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν, καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίοις μέτεστιν αὐτῶν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν οὐδ' Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Λίγινῃται λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης-στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν σφισι Λιθοβόλεια ὀνομάζοντες. So too at the festival of Dionysus at Alea, mentioned above, the women were beaten in accordance, as we are told, with an oracle from Delphi (Paus. viii. 23, 1). The Thessalian women are said to have beaten to death *Lais ξυλίναις χελώναις*, in consequence of which a feast was instituted in honour of Aphrodite Anosia, in which doubtless the practice of beating was preserved, and at Thebes it will be remembered that the βούλιμος was beaten ἀρνίαις ῥάβδοις.

Similarly at the Eleusinia there would seem to have been a Lithobolia.<sup>42</sup> It also appears at the Roman feasts of the Lupercalia and Nona Caprotinae. This rite appertains always to festivals the object of which is to stimulate the powers of generation. Mannhardt connects it with the similar beating of Fauna with myrtle, of Pan with squills, and of Demeter with whips of tree bark, while similar instances in modern customs are plentiful such as that where the 'Laubkönig' carries a long stick in his hand with which he beats children and dogs.<sup>43</sup> It combines the notions of the destruction of the evil spirit and the stimulating of the generative powers. But why is such a stoning resorted to in the case of Pentheus, who is doomed to death? Surely for the same reason that the φάρμακος at Athens was stoned,<sup>44</sup> that the scapegoat in Asia Minor was beaten with squills and the branches of trees,<sup>45</sup> that Mamurius Veturius was beaten with rods, and that the slave at the Chacronean festival was beaten with agnus castus.<sup>46</sup> The answer is given us by Mr. Frazer:<sup>47</sup> it is to dispel any malignant influences by which the figure may be possessed, in order that his spirit and reproductive powers may be transmitted to his successor at a time of full activity. It will be noticed that many of the objects with which the representative of the spirit was beaten had in themselves special magical powers, and this may find a parallel in the pelting of Pentheus with the magical thyrsus and the roots of the oak-tree. If then we are able to show grounds for the belief that the Pentheus myth found its origin in some form of ritual akin to the carrying out of Death in modern Europe, we shall be also justified in assuming that the pelting of the figure set in the tree was originally an integral part of both ritual and myth.

(e). The fate of the body of Pentheus does not seem certain. According to Euripides the various limbs were scattered over the barren slope of

<sup>40</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>41</sup> *Bk.* p. 413.

<sup>42</sup> *Myth. Form.* p. 209.

<sup>43</sup> *Ib.* p. 143.

<sup>44</sup> Harp. s.v.

<sup>45</sup> Thett. *Chil.* v. 726-761.

<sup>46</sup> *Ael. Nat. An.* ix. 26.

<sup>47</sup> *G. B.* ii. 314 f.

Cithaeron and then collected and buried by Cadmus. Nonnus apparently makes each woman carry home a piece of the flesh with her. Similarly on two vases published by Hartwig we see the maenads carrying off legs and arms as prizes.<sup>48</sup> In either case we have numerous parallel rites in modern folklore. The body of Orpheus seems to have been scattered over the fields, the earliest account of it being that Orpheus was slain for not honouring Dionysus;<sup>49</sup> and he is connected with the introduction of Dionysus by Schol. Eur. *Alc.* 968. The fact that the figure of Death is often torn to pieces is so commonplace that we need not here adduce instances, beyond those already quoted. The scramble for pieces of the victim however introduces to us a new idea: the representative of the god has been killed in the full vigour of life, so there is still virtue in the parts. Speaking generally of the German spring fire festivals U. Jahn says: 'finally when the fire burns low, they jump through the flame, the smoke having healing properties. Then the remains of the fire were carefully collected and carried home as having virtue as a talisman: there they were tied to fruit-trees, buried in the flax-field, or scattered broadcast over the corn.'<sup>50</sup> So too in Austria we find the flesh of the victim stewed over the Easter fire is divided among all the partakers in the rite.<sup>51</sup> Similar scrambles take place in Austrian Silesia, the parts of the victim either making the crops grow, or bringing good luck to the cattle or causing the hens to brood.<sup>52</sup> Again, if the bearers of the figure on their way home meet cattle and strike them with their sticks, this will make them prolific;<sup>53</sup> a belief which corresponds nearly to the magical power of the thyrsus. At Athens fragments of the pigs of the Thesmophoria brought fertility to the crops.<sup>54</sup> There is however another possibility: if we accept the account of Euripides it appears that the limbs of Pentheus were scattered over the barren slopes of Cithaeron, i.e. outside the immediate cultivated lands of the town. For this we may find a close parallel in the carrying of the figure of Death to the boundary of the village,<sup>55</sup> which is the usual custom at these rites. It is not necessary for me to decide which of these views may be the right one; nor again in the case of the latter is it to the point here to discuss the origin of such a custom; whether it is in its origin simply the driving out of the polluted old year, or whether it is a substitute for the eating of the victim. This question has been fully enough examined by Dr. Robertson Smith in *The Religion of the Semites*.

Another point which we may here notice is the blaze of fire<sup>56</sup> which

<sup>48</sup> *Jahrbuch* 1892, p. 162, Pl. V.

<sup>49</sup> Aesch. *op. Erat.* 34.

<sup>50</sup> *G. Off. Gob.* p. 98.

<sup>51</sup> *Ib.* p. 134.

<sup>52</sup> *G. B.* I. 267.

<sup>53</sup> *Ib.* *ib.*

<sup>54</sup> Schol. Luc. *Diol. Meret.* II. § 1; *Rhein. Mus.* 1870, p. 549.

<sup>55</sup> *op. Bk.* p. 153.

<sup>56</sup> Dionysus is generally invoked to appear

with a blaze of light. Cf. Soph. *O.T.* 209 ff., a passage which may have a secondary reference to this feast under discussion:

τὸν χρυσομήτρας τε σικλήσαν  
τῶνδ' ἐπ' ἀνέμους γὰρ  
οἰκῶντα Βάκχον εἶον  
Μαινάδων δαύτολ' ὅρ'  
τελευσθῆναι φλέγοντ'  
ἀγλαῶνι <σώμαχον>  
πύλας 'πὶ τὸν ἀπέρμον ἐν θεοῖς θεῶν.



appears stretching up to the sky at the disappearance of Dionysus. This we may connect with the tradition of the Thracian Bisaltæ that at the gathering of the worshippers of Dionysus in the sacred grove a bright light appeared *ὅταν εὐετηρίαν μέλλῃ ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο πάντας ὄραν τοὺς περὶ τὸ τέμενος διατρίβοντας. ὅταν δ' ἀκαρπίαν, μὴ φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ φῶς ἀλλὰ σκότος ἐπέχειν τὸν τόπον ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας.*<sup>57</sup> May this tradition be compared with the analogous auguries drawn from the fire kindled at modern rites? In Hestia on Easter-day a fire was lighted: it was carefully watched to see which way the smoke blew. In those parts where it was blown the flax was sown for the next year and would thrive best.<sup>58</sup> So in another district wherever the smoke went no harm came from the weather to the crops.<sup>59</sup> But these and all the thousand other instances of such fires undoubtedly belong to a class of sun charms, while it is difficult to conceive how such can be the case with this miraculous blaze of light; and it may be that Euripides simply borrowed this incident from the Thracian tradition, the play of the *Bacchæ* being indeed written at the neighbouring Macedonian court.<sup>60</sup> However we may compare the cry of the revellers as given us by Oppian: so perhaps there was a similar tradition also at Thebes.

(f). The next point which we may discuss is the racing of Agave home. This is not a point which is accentuated in ancient authors; but still the fact is given by both Euripides and Nonnus. As therefore we can find parallels for the custom in modern rites, and since this running home seems to have been an important part in the later Theban festival, it will be better to discuss the matter shortly here. An at first sight tempting theory would assign this running of Agave to a class of ceremonies dealt with by Mannhardt, in which the winner of the race is made King or Queen of the May;<sup>61</sup> and certainly no more dramatic scene could be conceived than such an entry of Agave followed by the other maenads. Further we might perhaps translate *μάκαιρ* 'Ἀγαυή κληζόμεθ' ἐν θιάσοις' 'I shall be called Queen of the May in the revels.' Certainly the constant use of the word *μάκαιρ* at this stage of the play and also in the other versions of the story would suggest some such meaning. And in Thebes the epithet *μάκαιρ* had a very special and definite meaning; cf. Suid. s.v. *μακάριον νῆσοι· ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῶν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Θηβῶν τὸ παλαιὸν, ὡς Ἀρμενίδας*. Hesychius and Photius give a similar record. Further *μάκαιρ* is a very favourite epithet and synonym for Dionysus, Opp. *Cyn.* iv. 391; Orph. *Hymn.* 45, 1; 50, 1; 53, 8; 30, 8; 45, 7; 46, 8; 47, 6; 52, 1. It is applied to Thebes in close connexion with this myth of the introduction of Dionysus, Pind. *Isth.* vii. 1. And Soph. *O. T.*

'Come Bacchus of the golden *μήτρα* and drive out Ares the god who is no god (as you drove out Pentheus).' Such is the cry of the Theban elders. Cf. the similar Theban invocation, Soph. *Ant.* 1146 ff.:

ὡς πῶρ πταϊόεσσαν χοράγ' ἄστραυ, νυχίαν  
φθονμάτων ἐπίκουσι  
καὶ Διὸς γένεθλον· προφάρου,

Δεῦρ, θαῖς ἡμῶν περὶτάλαι  
Θοίσιον, εἰ σε μοιρόμενοι πάντες χορεύουσι  
ἐν ταμίᾳ ἱαχῶν.

<sup>57</sup> Aristot. *Thaum.* *Met.* p. 842.

<sup>58</sup> Jahn, p. 126.

<sup>59</sup> *Id.* *ib.*

<sup>60</sup> Sandys, *Bacch.* xxxiii. ff.; Paley, *Introd.*

<sup>61</sup> *Id.* pp. 382 ff.; *Myth. Forsch.* 178 ff.

210 τᾷσδ' ἐπώνυμε γὰρ seems to refer to this epithet more probably than to the epithet *Βακχεία* for Thebes or *Καδμείας νύμφας ἀγαλμα* for Dionysus (v. Jebb, *in loc.*). The frequency of the use of the word in the passage necessitates some special meaning and here there seems to be one ready to hand. *Μάκαρ* is the very opposite of *Πενθεύς* and Agave is *μάκαιρα* as Queen of the May just as Dionysus, the young May spirit, is *μάκαρ*. It was on the Cadmeia, the *μακάρων νῆσος*, that the sanctuary of the god originally lay. But translate this as we will, it will appear evident that it was not the winning of any race that gave Agave her place of honour. The head of Pentheus is a prize of victory, but not for running: rather for being the first to strike the figure either when seated in the tree or after it had fallen. 'Who was the first to strike it? Mine is the honour.' What then is the meaning of this running? Does it like the winning of the race simply point to the rapidity and vigour of action of the spirit?<sup>62</sup> or is it an outcome of the dread which surrounds the effigy of Death, as we sometimes find the bearers of the figure run home lest Death should follow them?<sup>63</sup> or is it like the regifugium at Rome and the flight after the Bouphonia at Athens—the flight from the consequences of slaying the most sacred of powers? It is thus in fact that we find Agave driven out of Thebes after her deed: but now she is running into the town, not away from it. Doubtless the nearest parallel instance is that at the slaying of the October horse at Rome, when the tail was carried from the Campus with such speed that it was still bleeding when it reached the altar or hearth of the Regia.<sup>64</sup> The reason for the running in this instance is to bring the blood fresh to the sacred altar, in order to renew the holy life there, just as the holy life is renewed by the offering of a child in the following instance: Porp. *Abst.* ii, 56 Δουματηνοὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατ' ἔτος ἑκάστον ἔθνον παῖδα, ὃν ὑπὸ βωμὸν ἔβαπτον, ᾧ χρώνται ὡς ξοάνῳ. Such then I conceive to have been the object of speed in bringing the head of Pentheus into Thebes: the special sanctity of the head and its meaning in this instance we must now deal with.

Following the carrying out of Death in modern folk customs we have the bringing in of the new life. 'Death we draw out of the village, Summer we draw into the village,' is the song of the Bohemian maidens.<sup>65</sup> Now, as we have seen in dealing with the scramble for parts of the body, a generative power still resides in the parts of the slain victim, which are taken home and jealously guarded. Further, we find that the life is sometimes passed on from the dead spirit to the new one: this comes clearly to the fore in the Lusatian custom to which we have already referred. On a certain day the women went out in mourning apparel and dressed up a straw figure in a smock, putting a scythe and a besom in its hands: this they took to the boundary of the village and there tore it in pieces, then they cut a healthy tree out of the wood, put the smock on it and brought it home with songs.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *Il.* pp. 391 f.

<sup>63</sup> *G. R.* i. pp. 259, 275.

<sup>64</sup> *Plut. Qu. R.* 97.

<sup>65</sup> *Il.* p. 156.

<sup>66</sup> *Il.* p. 155.



Similar is the Transylvanian custom of dressing up a girl, the May Queen, so to speak, in the clothes worn by the figure of Death.<sup>67</sup> The meaning of this custom has been dwelt on by both Mannhardt and Mr. Frazer:<sup>68</sup> here I only wish to apply it in the case of the Pentheus myth, where it is the head of the victim which is set upon the thyrsus and carried home, and confine my attention to the special sanctity given to the head of the victim. 'The head,' says Dr. Robertson Smith,<sup>69</sup> 'is by many nations regarded as a special seat of the soul, and so in Egyptian sacrifice the head was not eaten but thrown into the Nile, while among the Iranians the head of the victim was dedicated to Haoma, *that the immortal part of the animal might return to him.*' So too it appears that in ancient times the heads of rams and asses were used as charms.<sup>70</sup> The same sanctity occurs in many instances collected by Mr. Gomme from Indian and other sources.<sup>71</sup> Again we find four horses' heads buried in the corners of the cornfield to protect it against bad weather.<sup>72</sup> So too courage and vigour are supposed to be given to a man, if he eats his enemy's brains: here the idea is that the life of the dead man passes in to the other, just as Haoma is revived by the head of the victim. The special sanctity of the head and the taboos appertaining to it are fully discussed by Mr. Frazer.<sup>73</sup> A striking parallel to the Pentheus offering comes before us in the Aino bear ceremony described by Mr. Frazer;<sup>74</sup> here we have the leading of the animal round the hut, the shooting at it with blunted arrows, the flesh and sacred parts distributed among the men, and eaten, and finally the bear's skull set upon a pole.

(g). But it is as an emblem and talisman nailed above the door of a house or stable that the head perhaps most frequently appears. So in North Germany we find a cow's or a calf's head hung below the roof to protect against disease.<sup>75</sup> In Westphalia we find the skulls of horses kept by the roof as a talisman against bad weather, illness, and all other evils. In Silesia over the stable doors are hung the heads of oxen, horses, or rams. The same custom is found in Prussia and Holland.<sup>76</sup> Hence comes the custom common in the Tyrol, Bavaria, Bohemia, Thuringen, Westphalia, Brunswick, and elsewhere, of decorating the gables of houses with rudely carved horses' heads.<sup>77</sup> So again a fox's head was nailed to the door in parts of Scotland to bar the entrance of witches;<sup>78</sup> at Hornchurch in Essex a boar's head is wrestled for, while in the belfry of Elsdon Church in Northumberland at the highest point in the church three horses' skulls were found. Jahn deduces as a law that such heads must be hung close under the roof, a part specially sanctified by the presence of the house-spirit.<sup>79</sup> This question is dealt with by Mannhardt in connexion with the head of the

<sup>67</sup> *G. B.* i. 265.

<sup>68</sup> *Rek.* p. 419; *G. B.* i. 286.

<sup>69</sup> *Rel. of Sem.* p. 359.

<sup>70</sup> *Ib.* pp. 449, 456.

<sup>71</sup> *Eth. in N.* p. 16 ff., 35 ff.

<sup>72</sup> Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 101.

<sup>73</sup> *G. B.* i. 187-193.

<sup>74</sup> *op. cit.* ii. 161 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 20.

<sup>76</sup> *Ib.* p. 21.

<sup>77</sup> *Ib.* p. 29.

<sup>78</sup> Gomme, *op. cit.* p. 35.

<sup>79</sup> p. 20.

October horse in Rome which in a precisely similar way was hung on the wall of the Regia, the old palace of the king.<sup>80</sup> It is true that in this case it was a harvest festival, whereas any feast connected with Pentheus was probably in the spring: but we also constantly find the maypole set up on the roof of a house, at a window, over the door, on the wall by the door, over the cattle-shed, etc. (v. Mannhardt, *Bk.* pp. 161—167, 219, 220, and *passim*).

We have seen then, even from the few instances here collected, that there is not a single point in the story of the death of Pentheus which cannot be amply illustrated by the closest parallels in modern folk-customs. Indeed if we had to construct a type of the most primitive May custom, as we conceive it to have been, it would be difficult to improve on the story of the *Bacchae*. Before however we go on to consider the place any such ritual may have held in Thebes, there are still one or two points in the myth which it would be well to indicate as emphasizing the connexion with these customs. In connexion with Pentheus we may first mention his name, with which we must deal later. Here it will be enough to point out that it is obviously connected with the root *penθ*, meaning suffering. So in slaying Pentheus, the women were in reality slaying the representative of the suffering of the dead season. He is in fact from one point of view the scape-goat, sacrificed for the whole people, just as in time of plague one of a herd of cattle is sacrificed for all. But that is not the original view in which he was regarded. Rather he was king of the people, and, as such, the representative and embodiment of the god.<sup>81</sup> Moreover he was the specially sacred first-born son offered up by Agave.<sup>82</sup> Finally the confining of the rite to women is a characteristic common to very many of these customs. So for instance in Swabia and on the Moselle it is the women who every year at Carnival time cut down the fairest tree in the wood and bring it into the village.<sup>83</sup> The reason for this is given by Mannhardt:<sup>84</sup> 'As Mimirs tree and the Varträd help women in childbirth, so we often see given to women exclusively the right to cut in the woods the tree which is to serve as Maypole, etc.; this implies an attribute of special influence on animal fruitfulness.' So also the women come to the fore at the time of the Harvest May: this emphasizes the generating principle of the corn growth and side by side with this its birth out of the womb of the earth. The reason for the confinement of the rites of the Thesmophoria to women is doubtless the same (v. Mannhardt, *Bk. pass.*, esp. 211—216 f.; *Myth. Forsch.* pp. 351 ff.).

(2). The present state of our argument is as follows: we have seen that in spite of the fact that throughout Greece there existed myths of the introduction of the god, the probability is that Dionysus was a god of the earliest and most primitive population on Greek soil. An explanation then had to be sought for these myths of his incoming, different from the most obvious one, that Dionysus was a god of foreign origin. In order to find this,

<sup>80</sup> *Myth. Forsch.* pp. 156 ff.

<sup>81</sup> *G. B. passim*, esp. pp. 217 ff.

<sup>82</sup> *Rel. of Sem.* 164, 210, 443 ff.; *G. B. I.* 326-7; Jahn, *op. cit.* 128-163, 203-205, 303-

305 and *pass.*

<sup>83</sup> *Bk.* p. 173.

<sup>84</sup> *Ib.* p. 183.



we examined in detail that one of these myths of which we have the fullest account, and we have seen that the story of the death of Pentheus corresponds most closely to the spring folk-custom of carrying out Death, and further that the bringing home of his head by Agave answers similarly to the bringing home of the Maypole. But where does the introduction of Dionysus enter into this story? It is my object to show that just as the Silesian boys sing:

We have carried Death out,  
We are bringing the dear Summer back.  
The Summer and the May  
And all the flowers gay.<sup>85</sup>

so the Theban women might have sung:

We have carried Pentheus out;  
Blessed (*μάκαρα*) Lusias bring we back.

The bringing in of this strange Maypole is in fact the introduction of the god; the new god that is, for Pentheus was the representative of the old god. It was not the bringing in of a new worship, but simply the renewal of the spirit of the old deity.<sup>86</sup> In other words, the Pentheus carried out one year was the Dionysus Lusias brought in the year before. Hence it comes that the incoming of Dionysus in most of the states of Greece was accompanied in the myth with the death of some victim. This victim in the myth may be either the priest of Dionysus, or his friend, or again his opponent and derider, or finally some maiden of the royal house, as at Argos. It matters nothing in what character this personage is represented: we may be sure that originally it was the sacred priest or priestess of the god, in whose person was embodied for a time the sacred life. Thus in the Attic myth we find this position occupied by Icarus, the king, the friend of the god, who was carrying the new wine round to his subjects *ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν*,<sup>87</sup> when he was set upon and beaten to death with sticks in the wood.<sup>88</sup> His murderers either left him unburied,<sup>89</sup> or, according to others, buried him under a tree, or, according to Hyginus, threw his body into a well;<sup>90</sup> afterwards, like Agave, *statim fugae se mandaverunt*. Similarly, according to some, Erigone threw herself into a well called Anigrum, which we may compare with the purificatory springs which washed away the blackness of Demeter Melaina and Demeter Erinnys in Arcadia. However we may perhaps see in this Icarus myth a

<sup>85</sup> G. S. i. p. 253.

<sup>86</sup> The representation of the god by a priest king is too common an element in all religions to need discussion here. Some few of the many instances in Greece may be added. In Homer the priest is honoured as a god (*Il.* v. 78, xvi. 604), and, in the case of Maron, dwells in the sacred grove (*Od.* ix. 290). In many places in Greece priesthood and kingship were identical (*Plut. qu. Rom.* 113) and in others the priests

and priestesses went through all the ceremonies just as the gods did (*Paus.* x. 34, 4, viii. 13, 1). See too *Βάκχος* is the name not only of the god but also of his priest (*Schol. Ar. Eq.* 409, *Haerch.* 4 v.). Finally at Tanagra a boy represented Hermes (*Paus.* ix. 22, 1).

<sup>87</sup> *Eust.* 1535.

<sup>88</sup> *Hyg. fab.* 130.

<sup>89</sup> *Id.*

<sup>90</sup> *Poet. Astr.* ii. 4.

reference to a custom of annually slaying the holy priest of the god and preserving the phallus, just as is preserved the head of Pentheus.<sup>91</sup> Again at Potniae we have a record of a feast of the same nature, though here we do not find it definitely connected with the introduction of the god, a difference which only serves to strengthen our argument. The inhabitants being intoxicated at a feast of the god, as the story runs, once slew the priest of Dionysus. A disease attacked them, and they received an oracle to sacrifice a boy, annually as it seems, to the god. Not many years after, a goat was sacrificed instead of the boy.<sup>92</sup> Here, if anywhere, we have a transparent piece of mythography; in point of fact there must have been at first an annual (?) priest slain and in after days came in the principle of substitution. At Orchomenos and Argos we have two very similar stories of the Minyadae and Proetidae. In both cases we find three princesses driven out in Bacchic frenzy and tearing their children in pieces, and in both cases one of the three afterwards perishes.<sup>93</sup> Both these two deeds were also commemorated with the feast of the Agrionia or Agrania. This feast we must consider in some detail, as it is to it that we must refer the rites described in the *Bacchae*. The principal *Schriftquellen* are the following:

Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 112 ἀγριωνίοις δὲ καὶ νυκτελίοις ὧν τὰ πολλὰ διὰ σκότους δρᾶται πάρεστιν. Ἡ καὶ τοῦτο συμβολικὴ θιύσων καὶ βακχευμάτων ἀπαγόρευσις ἦν; αἱ γὰρ ἔνοχοι τοῖς βακχικοῖς πάθεσι γυναῖκες εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν κίττον φέρονται, καὶ σπαράττουσι δραπτόμεναι ταῖς χερσὶν καὶ διεσθίουσι τοῖς στόμασιν. They also ask one another riddles.

*Qu. Gr.* 38 καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἐνιαντὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωνίοις φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διονύσου ξίφος ἔχοντος· ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τὴν καταληφθεῖσαν ἀνελεῖν...

These women were taken from the clan of the Minyadae.

Hea. s.v. ἀγριάνια· ἑορτὴ ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷ τῶν Προΐτου θυγατέρων.  
 ἀγριάνια } νεκύσια παρὰ Ἀργείοις, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐν Θήβαις.  
 ἀγριώνια }

Plut. *Symp.* viii. *Proem.* αὐ φαύλως οὖν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωνίοις τὸν Διόνυσον αἱ γυναῖκες ὡς ἀποδεδρακότα ζητοῦσιν· εἴτα παύονται καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς πρὸς τὰς Μούσας καταπέφενγε καὶ κέκρυπται παρ' ἐκείναις.

*Ins. Ath. Mith.* vii. 349

Θρασίου ἄρχοντος ἀγῶνοθετοῦντος  
 τῶν Ἀγριωνίων Νικομάχου...  
 ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Διονύσου [... τοῦ  
 ῥύγχωνος ἀπὸ δὲ [τῶν τεχνιτῶν (?) ...  
 -ου τοῦ Εὐάγρον Χαλ[είως τὸ δευτε-  
 ρ]ον, πυρφοροῦν[το]ς  
 Στ[ρατονίου] Θη[βαίου] οἱ νικήσαντες κ.τ.λ.

<sup>91</sup> For such preservation cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 134.

<sup>92</sup> Paus. ix. 8, 2.

<sup>93</sup> v. Roscher, p. 1053 f.



Further there was a month *Agriónios* at Thebes (*Inss. in Athenaeon*, vol. ix. pp. 353 ff.) and at Rhodes, as is found on the handles of amphorae at Naucratis. In Sicily a month *Agrianios* came about the beginning of the year. It is doubtful whether the Theban month was the fourth or seventh of the calendar; the older authorities Bischoff and Lipsius give it the fourth place; Latischew assigns it to the seventh,<sup>94</sup> but brings forward no arguments in support of this view. If we may regard the Pentheus ritual as a May custom the former view harmonizes well. *ἀγριώνιος* also occurs as an epithet of Dionysus, *Plut. Ant.* xxix. p. 916—*Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένον χαριδότην καὶ μειλίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὠμηστής καὶ ἀγριώνιος.*

From these passages we may to some extent reconstruct the Theban festival. It was celebrated in the night by women, a priest, and a *πυρφόρος*. It consisted of tearing in pieces some figure made out of or covered with ivy; then, like the *Thyiades* on *Parnassus*, they ran over the mountain looking for *Dionysus*, whom in these later days they imagined in the hands of his nurses. Probably on the following day there were games and other competitions. And surely at the end of the night this search for *Dionysus* was successful and the young god was brought into the town. At *Argos* and *Orchomenos* more prominence was given to the death of the old god: it was a feast of the dead, such as we also find at the Athenian *Antheateria*: at *Orchomenos* the tragedy is fully enacted in the slaying by the priest of one of the daughters of the old sacred house. Now at these two latter places we have it definitely stated that the feast was connected with the myths of the *Minyadae* and *Proetidae*, myths which obviously correspond to the *Pentheus* myth at Thebes. There can then be no doubt that the Theban feast in precisely the same manner corresponds to the Theban story. Just as in the story, the feast is confined to women, and it is at night: these women tear some object in pieces, and then summon the new *Dionysus* whom they bring home. Further I would suggest that the older name of the feast may have been that given by *Hesychius*, *ἀγρᾶνια* or hunting festival, which being misunderstood would naturally be changed to *Agriónia* or Wild festival. This is supported by the extraordinary frequency of the word *ἄγρα* in the play and further by the name *Εὐαγγος* in the inscription—the name probably of one of the guild, which was perhaps descended from a priestly clan. This however can be nothing better than a conjecture in the face of the more frequent use of the other form.

One point remains to be discussed: whereas in the *Bacchae* it is the figure of *Pentheus* dressed as an old woman which is pulled to pieces, *Plutarch* tells us that the women rushed upon the ivy. So again the cry of *Agave* on reaching the city is not, 'Look on this head,' but *φερόμεν ἐξ ὀρέων ἔλικα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα*, a line which may possibly retain the very wording of the song at the ceremony. What then is this ivy which is torn in pieces and part brought home? I have already had occasion to point out

<sup>94</sup> *Ath. Myth. l.c.*

that originally in Greece there were not any single great statues of many of the gods, but each year the old statue like the old maypole was carried out of the town and a new statue brought in. Where we find statues plunged into water and brought home, the original rite no doubt was to bring home a different statue. Similarly at the Boeotian Daedala there was no one statue, but at each celebration a new one was brought home. And such a rude figure of Dionysus we find set up by the farmers in their fields: *Max. Try. 8, 1 γεωργοὶ Διόνυσον τιμῶσι πύξαρτες ἐν ὄρχατο ἀποφύες πρέμνον ἀγροικὸν ἄγαλμα*. Now the primitive statue of Dionysus at Thebes appears to have consisted of a wooden column, which fell from heaven at the union of Zeus and Semele and was dedicated by Polydorus;<sup>92</sup> this was apparently bound with ivy, which was said to have wreathed the columns of the palace at the same time,<sup>93</sup> and surmounted by a human mask also wreathed in ivy (cf. Voigt in Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 1047). Such is the meaning of the name Dionysus *περικλιόνιος*, and such the most primitive representations which we have of the god; also he is represented as crowned with ivy on Theban coins (cf. Thraemer in *Ros. Lex.* pp. 1091 ff., 1113). The view, then, which I adopt, is that Agave in bringing back the head of Pentheus set on her ivy-wreathed thyrsus in truth brings back the new statue of Dionysus: and it is noticeable that a still further likeness between the head of Pentheus and that of the god lies in the fact that both wear the mitra, a form of head-dress peculiar to women (*Bacch.* 931; cf. *Soph. O.T.* 209, *Orph. h.* 52, 4, *Luc. Dial. De.* 18, 1). Thus we could not have a more exact account of the statue or maypole, which would be set on the triglyphs of the house of Cadmus or against the column before his door. In later days the shrine was moved to a place near the Proctid gate, and, like the most sacred temple of the god at Athens, was only opened once a year.<sup>94</sup> I have already suggested that the annual taking out of the statue at the Attic Anthesteria, the conducting of it by night outside the gates and its triumphal re-entry on the following day took the place of an earlier renewal of the statue, the old god being carried out and the new one brought in to the shrine where he was kept for the year: and the case was just the same at Thebes; once a year Pentheus, the Dionysus *Lusios* of the year before, was carried out and the new god was brought in. Finally I would suggest that herein lies the explanation of the fact that in nearly all the Greek states there were two Dionysi worshipped: at Athens, Melanaigis or *Μόρυχος* and Eleuthereus, the black winter god of the Apaturia and the freeing god<sup>95</sup> of the Anthesteria; at Corinth and Sicyon, *Βάρυχειος* and *Lusios*, the god of the winter revels and the freeing god: so we got *ὠμηστής* and *ἀγριώνιος* by the side of *μελίχιος* and *χαριδότης*. It is noticeable that the statues at Corinth were made of the pine in which Pentheus hid.<sup>96</sup> Finally, as though in confirmation of our theory that the

<sup>92</sup> *Paus.* ix. 12, 4.

<sup>93</sup> *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 651; cf. *Orph. Hym.* 47; *Eur. Aol. fr.* 302; *Chem. Alex.* p. 418 P.

<sup>94</sup> *Paus.* ix. 18, 6.

<sup>95</sup> A possible meaning, though generally condemned.

<sup>96</sup> *Paus.* ii. 2, 5.



death of Pentheus was the death of the Dionysus of the past year, we have the record which tells us that the body of the god was torn to pieces at Thebes. Clem. *Recog.* x. 24, 594 Iovis et filiorum eius sepulera manifestissime demonstrantur Mercurii apud Hermopolin, Cypriae Veneris apud Cyprum, Martis in Thracia, Liberi apud Thebas ubi discerptus traditur.

Such then is the explanation which I would offer of the story of Pentheus, and of the other myths of the introduction of Dionysus. They do not find their origin in any introduction of the god from without, but in the yearly inbringing of the new statue. Of this rite we have a full and fairly accurate account in the *Bacchae* of Euripides, in which we have, not an instance of the poet's mythography, but the preservation of an old tradition as to the original form of the ceremony. At the same time it is of course most improbable that Euripides himself knew that in his account he was in reality describing any early religious rite. But it was not the poet that invented the myth: he inherited it in its crystallized form as developed out of the earlier custom. Whether in other of the ancient tragedies also we may look for somewhat similar details of other folk customs, which may linger in myths which have their origin in ritual, is a question which, however interesting, does not call for discussion here.<sup>100</sup>

A. G. BATHER.

P.S.—On January 12 of this year (1895) there appeared in the London papers an account of what is possibly the survival of a somewhat similar ceremony to that of Pentheus, among a sect called the Votiaks, of the province of Viatka in Russia. This sect worships a spirit of evil, Kourbane, and in the spring of 1894, during the great Russian famine, they offered to their deity, instead of the usual animal sacrifice, a human being. The ritual is interesting, if not entirely explicable; having secured their victim, they made him drunk, cut his throat, and decapitated him: the headless trunk they then suspended from the ceiling of the room, and, after making five incisions, collected the blood in dishes and extracted the heart and lungs for further use in their rites; the body was finally cast out by the roadside. The most analogous points in this sacrifice to the rites quoted and dealt with above are: (1) the fact that it was a spring offering to stay the course of the famine; (2) the hanging up of the body between heaven and earth; (3) the preservation of the heart and lungs, as being the parts in which resided the life of the victim; and (4) the final casting out of the dead polluting body.

A. G. B.

<sup>100</sup> Since this article was written, Dr. Leaf has called my attention to an article by Prof. Jevons (*Folklore*, vol. ii. pp. 220 ff.), in which, from a slightly different point of view, he seems

to have arrived at much the same general conclusions as I have. With the Theban myth of the *Bacchant*, however, he does not there deal.

## THE PARTHENON FRIEZE TERRACOTTAS.

THE terracotta relief, of which an illustration is given below, is one of the series of fragments with reproductions of the Parthenon frieze which have of late years attracted considerable attention.

The present fragment<sup>1</sup> was bought by me in Rome, in February 1894, of a small antiquity-dealer in the Via Tor di Nona. The vendor vowed that it had been found in the bed of the Tiber, in the course of the works in connexion with the Ponte S. Angelo, but no doubt his statement merely indicates that the bed of the Tiber is for the moment the fashionable provenience. The terracotta is 10½ inches high, and it is obvious that it contains a part of the design of the slab at the west end of the north side of the Parthenon frieze. The original marble is in the British Museum.

Hitherto, three similar fragments have been identified, viz.: (1) Priest and boy with peplos, at Copenhagen; (2) Upper part of Athene, in the Louvre, (3) Lower part of Athene and figure of Hephaestus in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome. All the fragments are published by Dr. Waldstein in his *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*. Each of the fragments had been accepted as genuine at its respective museum, and Dr. Waldstein in the text of the work just quoted proposed to regard Nos. 1 and 2 as clay studies for the frieze by Pheidias. The subsequent discovery however of No. 3, and the information to which it led, made the authenticity of the series more than doubtful. This was pointed out by Dr. Waldstein in an appendix to his *Essays*, and till recently the fragments found no defenders. Prof. Furtwaengler,<sup>2</sup> however, basing himself on the technique of the terracotta, has declared the Copenhagen fragment (and therefore presumably all the fragments) to be genuine antique reductions of the frieze, made in the time of Augustus. It is therefore worth while to reconsider the question with the further light thrown on it by the new fragment here published. For my own part, I am of opinion that it proves incontestably that all four fragments are of recent origin.

The fact which we have to take into account is that there exists in Rome a

<sup>1</sup> *Rom. Mitt.* ix. p. 94, *Rev. Arch.* 1894. p. 77: see also certain letters, mainly occupied with other issues, addressed by Dr. Waldstein

and M. S. Reinach to the editor of the *Nation* (New York), May 2, 31, July 10, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *Meissnerwerke*, p. 743.



series of moulds of a reduced copy of parts of sixteen slabs of the frieze,<sup>2</sup> and that the figures which occur on the terracotta fragments are similar in every detail to those of the moulds. To this Furtwaengler replies that the resemblance is explained by the fact that both are faithful copies of a common original. The new fragment, however, and the figures of the Roman series are not quite similar to the original marble, and *the same discrepancies occur in both.*



In the new fragment, the finer details of drapery etc. are by no means accurately reproduced. The small creases, if carefully compared with those of the original, are fewer and larger, and more hastily sketched, and in these discrepancies the terracotta agrees exactly with the Roman mould.

It is therefore certain that the two series are not independent reductions, as Furtwaengler suggests.

The Roman moulds are believed to have been based on a series of casts made by Choiseul Gouffier. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that

<sup>2</sup> Waldstein, p. 262.

the series as a whole is not ancient because the head of Iris is now known to have been wrongly restored,<sup>4</sup> and because some of the slabs are made up of different parts of the original frieze brought together in a way which proves that the original was in a ruinous state when the moulds were made.

The only possibility that remains is that the terracotta fragments were genuine, and were made by some sculptor to serve as a base on which he founded his reduction of the frieze. This does not seem likely, and each fragment that is discovered increases the improbability. Moreover it is evident that the new fragment was copied from the frieze when it had reached its present state of decay. The drapery on the shoulder of the attendant was once no doubt worked like other drapery of the frieze. The surface of the marble is now however broken away, and the clay has been smoothed down to a plain flat surface over the fracture.

For these reasons I conclude that both moulds and terracottas are works of the present century. One question remains, whether the moulds preceded the terracottas or *vice versa*. Prof. Petersen<sup>5</sup> inclines to the former view, because the clay seems to have been pushed into a mould in such a way that the front and back of the plaque are not completely united. It appears to me however that the terracotta preceded the mould. Certain strokes, folds, etc., that were evidently drawn in the wet clay with a blunt tool, reappear in the mould.

A. H. SMITH.

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<sup>4</sup> *American Journ. of Arch.* v. p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Röm. Myth.* ix. p. 94.



## TWO GREEK RELIEFS.

## [PLATE XI.]

THE two Greek reliefs which are published together on Pl. XI. are recent acquisitions of the British Museum, and considerably strengthen its collections in a branch of ancient art in which it had previously been rather weak.

The earliest of the two reliefs is that of Glykylia (Fig. 1). It was brought to this country by a sailor trading to the Levant, and was by him offered to the British Museum, in 1893. It was said to have been found at Thebes, but this is doubtful. In style, at any rate, it is clear that it must be classed with the Attic reliefs.

The material is Pentelic marble, with an untouched surface of golden colour. Height 3 ft. 1 in., width 1 foot 10½ ins. The relief is nearly perfect, only the upper part of Glykylia's face and the left arm of her attendant being injured.

In this charming sculpture we have one of the many forms of the theme of the jewel-casket. The seated lady, matronly and richly draped, is trying or putting on a bracelet about her left wrist, while her left hand is negligently raised. An attendant stands at her feet, holding open the lid of the casket, from which the ornament has just been taken, and watches the putting on. The bracelet is a massive one, with a spirally twisted design.

The casket, as was observed above, frequently recurs on tombstones such as the present. I am not aware that the motive of trying on the bracelet has been recognized elsewhere. It seems to occur, however, on a relief formerly in the Pourtales collection, and now at Berlin,<sup>1</sup> which has, I think, hitherto been misunderstood. In that relief there is a scene of a seated lady and attendant, somewhat as here. According to the Berlin catalogue, the right hand of the lady holds a small object, that can no longer be recognized, while she stretches out the left hand, with the open palm upwards, to take something from the attendant who stands before her. The left hand is a restoration, and it is impossible to judge from the illustration whether it is certainly correct. If it is so, the way in which the hand is held out and the gestures of both figures are more suitable to the clasping of a bracelet, than to any action of giving or taking.

<sup>1</sup> Panofka, *Cab. Pourtales*, Pl. 24; Berlin Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, Pl. 35 fig. 1, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures*, No. 755; No. 74.

Our relief is crowned by a simple pediment, with small acroterial ornaments, but unsupported by pilasters. On the architrave it is inscribed with the name of the deceased, ΓΑΥΚΥΛΛΑ (Γλυκύλλα), a name which I have not found elsewhere.

The period of the work appears to be that of transition, towards the close of the fifth century. On the one hand, the single name without that of father, husband or deme, and the crowning pediment, unsupported by pilasters, are characteristic of the group of reliefs attributed<sup>2</sup> to the latter part of the fifth century. On the other hand, in the comparatively high relief, with partial undercutting, there has been a considerable divergence from the Pheidian tradition. The inscription shows that the Ionic form of Λ had been adopted, in place of the old Attic V, but this fact does not help us much, as the Ionic forms were common in private documents at Athens for a generation before the archonship of Euclid.

The fragmentary state of Phainarete, now in the National Museum at Athens, is in many points of detail curiously akin to that of Glykylia. It seems somewhat later, but is attributed to the fifth century.<sup>3</sup>

The second relief (Fig. 2), like many other objects in the Museum, had some strange adventures before it reached its present resting-place. It was found, some twenty years ago, by the late Mr. Saunders, the then owner of Alphington House, Jersey. Alphington House, Mr. Arthur Saunders, the present owner, informs me, was originally a large farm-house. It is believed to have been built about the year 1737. About 1825 the house was purchased by Mr. Bernard Saunders, the grandfather of the present owner, and it was enlarged a few years later by the addition of a large wing. When found, the relief was turned face downwards in the cellar and served as one of the flagstones. This cellar was a part of the house in its older form, being placed under the stairs, and hence it is natural to suppose, without evidence to the contrary, that the burying of the relief took place at the building of the house, early in the last century. Mr. Saunders could not tell me the names of the builder or early owners of the house, and it is therefore impossible to connect the relief with any known traveller or collector. Mr. Saunders suggests, and I think correctly, that the Jersey men were frequent traders in the Mediterranean, and in that way the stone might easily have been brought home, as many others were brought to Venice, Pisa, and Marseilles, though regarded as little better than ballast. From Jersey the relief was taken by Mr. Saunders to Inverness, where it remained until it was acquired by the British Museum in the summer of 1894.

A similar accident befell the sepulchral relief of Epigona, which was presented by Mr. J. Johnstone in 1890. This was seen at Athens by Spon in 1676, and by the Abbé Fourmont, about 1720, and was next met with deep down under the foundation of 67, New Bond Street. So too the

<sup>2</sup> Koehler, *Athen. Mittheil.* x, pp. 273, 275.

<sup>3</sup> Couze, *Att. Grabreliefs*, Pl. 39, No. 104.



valuable archaic head,<sup>1</sup> lately presented through Mr. Colvin by Mr. R. W. Webb, had been recently rediscovered in a cellar.

The relief is of Pentelic marble. It is 2 ft. 7½ inches high, and 1 ft. 6 inches wide. As may be seen from the plate, the sculpture is nearly perfect. Unfortunately the front surface has suffered in colour and texture from too drastic cleaning, and only the edges are intact.

The meaning of the work is sufficiently plain, and is touchingly conveyed. A lady, now nameless, has died young, perhaps in childbirth. In any case, she has left an infant, whom we see closely wrapped in swaddling-clothes, to the care of a nurse. The mother, as usual, is seated, and her hands toy idly with the lid of her jewel-casket, while her eyes are turned towards the child in the nurse's arms.

The completion of the first volume of Professor Conze's great work on the Attic grave-reliefs makes it easy to review the known examples of this subject. Beside the present relief, we have ten representations, preserved at least in part, of a mother and young child in swaddling-clothes<sup>2</sup> (Conze, Nos. 274-279, 281, 302-3, 306). Five of these are mere fragments, and the remainder are badly broken, so that our relief seems to be the only perfect example of the type. In all these cases the child is held by the attendant, and not by the mother. As the mother sometimes holds a child in her arms when it is past the age of swaddling-clothes, we may perhaps infer that this group of monuments commemorates mothers who died in childbirth, and so never nursed their infants, but left them to the care of others.

The combination of the casket motive with that of the young infant is unusual, and only occurs in one other case (Conze, No. 306). Both there and here, the casket is not the centre of interest, as it is for instance on the relief of Hegeso. The casket is shown, but the mother's thoughts are directed elsewhere.

Above the relief is a pediment, supported by flanking pilasters, and inscribed on the architrave. Of the inscription, however, nothing can now be made out with certainty except the letters...ΕΩΞ, the termination of the deme name, probably of the father, possibly of the husband of the deceased.

The relief is obviously an Attic work, and appears to be a little later than its companion. It is probably about, or shortly after, 400 B.C. In the pediment, with pilasters, we are a step further in the transition from the 5th century stole to the 4th century aedicula. The look directed upwards from under arched and prominent brows becomes common in the 4th century, but hardly occurs in the 5th. It has been noted already that the full form of inscription, which may be presumed to have been written on the architrave, marks this relief as later than the group to which that of Glykylia belongs.

A. H. SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 1893, Pl. XII., XIII.

*Marbles* ix, Pl. 11; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Sculpture* i, No. 789.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the votive relief from Sigenni, *Mus.*

PRIMITIVE PICTOGRAPHS AND A PRAE-PHOENICIAN SCRIPT,  
FROM CRETE AND THE PELOPONNESE.

[PLATE XII.]

§ I.—CRETAN DISCOVERIES.

IN the absence of abiding monuments the fact has too generally been lost sight of, that throughout what is now the civilized European area there must once have existed systems of picture-writing such as still survive among the more primitive races of mankind. To find such 'pictographs' in actual use—the term is used in its most comprehensive sense to cover carvings on rocks or other materials whether or not actually overlaid with colour—we must now go further afield. Traces of such may indeed be seen on the rude engravings of some megalithic monuments like that of Gavr Inis, on the rock carvings of Denmark, or the mysterious figures known as the *Maraviglie* wrought on a limestone cliff in the heart of the Maritime Alps, to which may be added others quite recently discovered in the same region.

In Lapland, where designs of this character ornamented the troll-drums of the magicians till within a recent period, survivals of some of the traditional forms may still be found to the present day, engraved on the bowls of their reindeer-horn spoons. Of actual rock-paintings perfectly analogous to those of Cherokees or Zulus, I have myself observed an example—consisting of animals and swastika-like figures painted probably by early Slavonic hands on the face of a rock over-hanging a sacred grotto in a fiord of the Bocche di Cattaro.

But the perishable nature of the materials on which picture-writing, having for most part only a temporary value, was usually wrought has been fatal to the survival of primitive European pictographs on any large scale. If we had before us the articles of bark and hide and wood of early man in this quarter of the globe or could still see the tattoo marks on his skin we should have a very different idea of the part once played by picture-writing on European soil. As it is, it is right that the imagination should supply the deficiency of existing evidence.

In the areas embraced by the older civilizations such as Egypt, Babylonia and China, a different kind of influence has been at work, by which the void caused by the disappearance of the more primitive materials may in a great measure be filled up. For there the early pictographic elements, such as we



still find them among savage races, were, in the hands of priestly and official castes, developed into a more complicated and exact system of writing, by which however we are enabled in many cases to trace back the original forms of the object selected. The same development from the simple pictographic to the hieroglyphic or quasi-alphabetic stage might naturally have been expected to have taken place in more than one European area had it not been cut short by the invasion of the fully equipped Phoenician system of writing.

Even as it is however, it must be allowed that there are strong *a priori* reasons for believing that in the Greek lands where civilization put forth its earliest blossoms on European soil, some such parallel evolution in the art of writing must have been in the course of working itself out.

For we now know that in the South-Eastern part of our Continent there existed long before the days of direct Phoenician contact an independent form of culture which already as early as the first half of the second millennium before our era might be regarded as in many respects the equal contemporary of those of Egypt and Babylonia. In view of the extraordinary degree of artistic and mechanical development reached by the representatives of what is now conveniently known as the Mycenaean civilization—at least as early, approximately speaking, as the seventeenth century, B.C.—and the wide ramifications of their commerce, is it conceivable, it may be asked, that in the essential matter of writing they were so far behind their rivals on the Southern and Eastern shores of the Mediterranean?

There is moreover a further consideration which tends to make the absence of any system of writing among the Mycenaean peoples still more improbable. At the dawn of history Asia Minor, whether we regard the predominant elements of its population from the point of view of race or of culture, may be said to belong to Europe. Its area from the earliest times of which we have any record was largely in the occupation of the great Thracio-Phrygian race and its offshoots. Its prehistoric remains, as far as we know them from Cyprus to the Troad, fit on to those of a large archaeological area, the continuation of which may be traced over the island stepping-stones of the Aegean to the mainland of Greece, while in the other direction kindred forms extend along the Danubian system to reappear amongst the pile-dwellings of Switzerland and Carniola, the *terre-mare* of the Po valley and even in Ligurian caves. But it is on the Eastern borders of this wide field of primitive culture that recent researches have brought to light the principal seats of the higher form of early civilization conveniently known as Hittite. Living in the Syrian and Cappadocian regions in the immediate proximity of upper Mesopotamia, and almost in the highways as it were of old Chaldean culture, its representatives yet show independent characteristics and traditions, the sources of which seem to be drawn from the North or West. And of these one of the most noteworthy is the possession of an original system of hieroglyphic writing, the relics of which are scattered from the banks of the Orontes to the Western shores of Anatolia. At a later date

again we find the Greeks of Cyprus and the inhabitants of a large tract of Asia Minor in the possession of syllabic scripts altogether distinct from the Phœnician alphabet.

When it is once realized how largely the early civilization of the Aegean Islands and even the mainland of Greece was evolved out of similar elements to those of Asia Minor, it must certainly seem surprising that on this side no system of writing belonging to pre-Phœnician times should as yet have been clearly ascertained. The geographical contiguity to Anatolia, and the early trade relations which can be shown to have existed between the Aegean Islands and the valley of the Nile would assuredly, it might be thought, have given an impulse to the higher development of whatever primitive form of picture-writing was already to be found amongst the inhabitants of this Mediterranean region. It is impossible indeed to suppose that this European population was so far below even the Red Indian stage of culture as not to have largely resorted to pictography as an aid to memory and communication. And—even if an existing system was not perfected under the influence of foreign example—the race which laid the arts of Egypt and Western Asia under such heavy contribution was at least capable of borrowing and adapting a system of writing.

It is true that Schliemann's great discoveries at Mycenæ produced nothing that could be safely interpreted as a form of script. The objects seen in the field of many of the ordinary Mycenaean gems—the so-called 'island-stones'—are simply inserted as the space left by the principal design suggests, and are primarily of a decorative character—and due to the *horror vacui* of primitive art. Nevertheless, especially when we see a part standing for a whole—as a branch for a tree or the head of an animal for the animal itself—it may be fairly said that many of these gems do bear the impress of people familiar with the expedients of primitive picture-writing, such as we find it still in so many parts of the world. The lentoid and amygdaloid gems in question did not, as we now know, serve the purpose of seals, but were simply ornamental beads worn round the wrist or neck.<sup>1</sup> Like the oriental periapts, however, worn in the same manner at the present day, they may often have been intended to serve as amulets or talismans; and both the principal type of the intaglio and the smaller or abbreviated forms introduced into the field may have possessed something beyond a mere artistic significance. Still more is this likely to have been implied in the case of the engraved designs on the besils of the gold rings from the Mycenaean graves which seem actually to have served the purpose of signets. It certainly is not unreasonable to suppose that in this case some of the smaller objects in the field may have had a conventional religious meaning, and that they were in fact ideographs taken from a recognized hieroglyphic code. The bulls' heads and lions' scalps, the ears of corn and double

<sup>1</sup> See Tasoulas, 'Αρχαίολογικὰς ἀποκάλυψεις ἐκ Μυκηνῶν', *Επετ.* 'Αρχ. 1888, p. 175. There are probably, as will be seen below, some exceptions

to this rule in case of some Cretan lentoid gems presenting groups of symbolic figures.



axe certainly suggest that we have here to deal with symbols of divinity, perhaps standing for the divinity itself, or ideas of cult and sacrifice,—the latter form of symbolism being well brought out by the gold ornaments representing oxes' heads with a double axe between the horns. In the same way, to take an example from the practice of modern savages, a drawing of eyes and beak stood among the Iroquois for the Thunder-Bird or a rayed head for a Spirit among the Ojibwas. The whole of later Greek symbolism may in fact be regarded as a survival, maintained by religious conservatism, from a wide field of primitive pictography. The figure that stands as the personal badge of the names of individuals at times actually appears as the equivalent of the written form of the name, as when a monetary magistrate called *Leôn* places a *lion* on his dies. The same symbolic script is frequent in the rendering of city names, one of the most interesting examples being found on a coin of *Mesembria* where the part of the civic legend signifying day is supplied by a *swastika*—the emblem of the midday sun.<sup>2</sup>

The symbols on the Mycenaean seals are themselves of too isolated occurrence to be used straight away as examples of a hieroglyphic system—though there seem to me to be good reasons for supposing that some at least among them did fit on to such a system. But more recently one or two objects have been found at Mycenae itself and in Mycenaean deposits elsewhere which are calculated more effectually to shake some of the preconceived notions of archaeologists as to the non-existence in Greece of a pre-Phoenician system of writing. The most important of these are the handle of a stone vase apparently of a local material (Fig. 1) found at Mycenae, which has

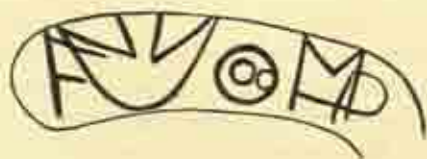


FIG. 1.—SIGNS ON VASE-HANDLE, MYCENAE.

four, or perhaps five, signs engraved upon it, and the handle of a clay amphora from a chambered tomb in the lower town of Mycenae with three



FIG. 2.—SIGNS ON AMPHORA-HANDLE, MYCENAE.

characters (Fig. 2). Single signs have also been noticed on the handles of two amphoras of the same form as the last found in the Tholos tomb of

<sup>2</sup> P. Gardner, *Nouv. Chron.* 1880, p. 69; Heud, *Hist. Nouv.* 237.

Menidi,<sup>2</sup> on a three-handled vase from Nauplia<sup>3</sup> and a stone pestle from Mycenae.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Tsountas in describing these finds lays stress on their occurrence in two cases in groups of three and four respectively, and reasonably asks whether we have not here to deal with some form of writing. Professor Petrie again has discovered a series of isolated symbols on what he considers to have been fragments of early Aegean pottery discovered by him at Gurob in a deposit which he assigns to the period of the Twelfth Dynasty, and again at Kahun amongst Eighteenth Dynasty relics.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding these indications, however, the last writer on the Mycenaean and early Aegean culture, M. Perrot, sums up the evidence as follows: 'The first characteristic which attracts the historian's notice when he tries to define the pre-Homeric civilization is that it is a stranger to the use of writing. It knows neither the ideographic signs possessed by Egypt and Chaldaea nor the alphabet properly so called which Greece was afterwards to borrow from Phoenicia.' He admits indeed that some of the marks recently observed on the vase-handles bear resemblance to letters, either Greek or Cypriote, but observes that they do not seem to form words, and that they are perhaps nothing more than the marks of the potter or the proprietor, or ignorant copies of Phoenician or Asianic characters. 'As at present advised,' he concludes, 'we can continue to affirm that for the whole of this period, nowhere, neither in the Peloponnese nor in Greece proper, no more on the buildings than on the thousand objects of luxury or domestic use that have come out of the tombs, has there anything been discovered which resembles any kind of writing.'<sup>6</sup>

The evidence which I am now able to bring forward will, I venture to think, conclusively demonstrate that as a matter of fact an elaborate system of writing did exist within the limits of the Mycenaean world, and moreover that two distinct phases of this art are traceable among its population. The one is pictographic in character like Egyptian hieroglyphics, the other linear and quasi-alphabetic, much resembling the Cypriote and Asianic syllabaries.

In the course of a visit to Greece in the spring of 1893 I came across some small three- and four-sided stones perforated along their axis, upon which had been engraved a series of remarkable symbols. The symbols occurred in groups on the facets of the stones, and it struck me at once that they belonged to a hieroglyphic system. They were however quite distinct from

<sup>2</sup> Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι* p. 213. One has a sign resembling the Greek Π, the other,  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  the Cypriote, *pa*, *ba*, or *pha*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 1892, p. 73. It was discovered by Dr. Stais in a tomb of the *Protomai*. On each handle was engraved a sign like the Greek Η but with offshoots from the top of the upright strokes.

*Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας*, 1889, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, *La Grèce primitive: l'Art Mycénien*, p. 385. In describing the Knidian

marks (see below, p. 282) M. Perrot had previously admitted (*op. cit.* 461) that the Cypriote signs may have had an Aegean extension 'during a certain time.' But the subsequent passage on p. 385 retracts this admission as far as the Mycenaean period is concerned. Dr. Reichel suggests (*Homericke Wages*, p. 142) that the linear designs below the combatants on the silver fragment from Mycenae ('*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1891, Pl. II. 2) are signs of an unknown script. But the figures in question represent throwing-sticks (*J.H.S.* xiii (1892-3), p. 199, n. 17).



Egyptian in character, and though they seemed to show a nearer approach to Hittite forms it was evident that they belonged to an independent series. My inquiries succeeded in tracing these to a Cretan source. Knowing of the considerable collection of 'island' and other early gems in the Museum of Berlin, I addressed myself to Dr. Furtwängler, mentioning my discovery and asking whether any specimens of the forms and characters indicated existed in the Imperial Museum. In response to my inquiries Dr. Furtwängler very courteously sent me several impressions from similarly formed stones in the Berlin Museum, presenting symbols which fitted on to and supplemented the series that I had already obtained. In this case too the source of the stones, as far as it was known, turned out again to be Crete. The impression of a gem taken at Athens some years since by Professor Sayce and kindly placed by him at my disposal supplied a new piece of evidence, and I found that an unclassified four-sided stone in the Ashmolean Museum, which had been brought back by Mr. Greville Chester from Greece and was noted by him as having been found at Sparta, was engraved with symbols belonging to the same series as the others.

The evidence as a whole however clearly pointed to Crete as the principal source of these hieroglyphic forms, and I therefore determined to follow up my investigations on Cretan soil. Landing at Candia early last March, I made my way round the whole centre and East of the island,—including the mountainous districts of Ida and Dikta, the extensive central plain of Messarā and the sites of over twenty ancient cities. The number of relics illustrative of the prehistoric periods of Cretan culture that I was thus able to collect was surprisingly great, and in particular the evidence daily accumulated itself of the very important part played by the Mycenaean form of civilization in Cretan story. And, in what regarded the more special object of my quest, my researches were well rewarded by the discovery *in situ* of traces of a pre-Phoenician system of writing in the island, of which two distinct phases were perceptible, one pictorial and hieroglyphic, the other linear and quasi-alphabetic.

From indications obtained at Candia I was led more particularly to investigate the Eastern part of the island and the land which to the borders of the historic period was still occupied by the Eteocretes or indigenous Cretan stock. Here by the site of Praesos, their principal city, has been discovered a remarkable inscription,<sup>8</sup> which, though written in archaic Greek characters, belongs to an unknown language which we may reasonably regard as the original speech of the Cretan natives before the days of the Greek colonization. This fact by itself renders investigations into the antiquities of this easternmost district of special ethnographic value, and here too may some day be discovered the remains of the shrine of the Diktæan Zeus, mentioned by Strabo as existing in the territory of Praesos.

At Praesos itself, which lies on a conical limestone hill near the modern village of Vavéles I observed, besides its primitive walls of rude horizontal

<sup>8</sup> See below, pp. 354, 355.

and polygonal masonry, fragments of very early pottery, some of which must be classed with the ceramic relics of the first prehistoric city of Hissarlik, while others belonged to the Mycenaean style. I further obtained from a peasant on the spot a prism-shaped stone of the kind of which I was in search, presenting engraved characters (*see* below, Fig. 29), and subsequently from the same district three other three- and four-sided stones with linear and hieroglyphic symbols (*see* below, Figs. 22, 26, 38). On the site called Palaekastro, the akropolis of which lies on the easternmost cove of the island, opposite the islet of Grandes, and which represents another ancient city, perhaps Grammion, that was situate between the territories of Praesos and Itanos in the same Eteocretan region, I secured another four-sided stone (*see* below, Fig. 35), presenting no less than fifteen hieroglyphic symbols. Two other stones of the same pictographic class found in Eastern Crete (*see* below, Figs. 23, 24) also came into my possession, and I further succeeded in tracing to the province of Siteia, in which the sites of both Praesos and Itanos are included, two interesting examples which I had observed in the collection of the Archaeological Society in the Polytechnion at Athens (*see* below, Figs. 32, 36). In gems of the ordinary Mycenaean class I found the whole of this Eteocretan district to be specially prolific.

In my search after these minor relics of antiquity, often, it may be remarked, of greater archaeological importance than far more imposing monuments, I was greatly aided by a piece of modern Cretan superstition. The perforated gems and seal-stones, so characteristic of Mycenaean and still earlier times, are known to the Cretan women as *γαλόπετρας* or 'milk-stones,' and are worn round their necks as charms of great virtue especially in time of child-bearing. It was thus possible by making a house-to-house visitation in the villages to obtain a knowledge of a large number of early engraved stones, and though I was not always able to secure the objects themselves, on account of the magic power that was supposed to attach to them, I was in nearly all cases enabled to carry off an impression of the stone. Engraved stones of other types, to be described more in detail below, with pictographic symbols, were procured by me from the neighbourhood of Knōsos and the Messarā district, and others of uncertain provenience were obtained in Candia.

The seal-stones with the linear type of symbols I found to have an equally wide distribution in the island. Two stones from the Praesos district (Figs. 29, 36), of the same angular form as those with the pictographic characters, present symbols of this 'alphabetic' class. They were the first of this type that I came across, and the discovery was the more gratifying that, on the ground of distinct resemblances in outline between simplified forms of some of the hieroglyphs observed by me in the preceding year and certain Cypriote characters, I had already ventured to predict that the pictorial forms would be found to fit on to a linear syllabary like the Asiatic.\* But

\* I made this forecast in a brief announcement of the existence of the Cretan hieroglyphs communicated by me to the Hellenic Society in 1893.



here such linear characters were actually occurring, and engraved moreover on triangular and quadrangular stones identical with those presenting the pictorial types.

In the case of these quasi-alphabetic forms I was able to ascertain their application to other objects and materials. Of all the remains of ancient cities that I visited during my Cretan journey the most wonderful were those of Goulàs, as the site is at present known, lying on and between two peninsular heights, a few miles away from the sea on the Eastern side of the Province of Mirabello. Its natural haven would have been the port of St. Nicolas, in ancient times the harbour town of Latos, but the remains at Goulàs itself are, so far as I was able to observe them, so exclusively prehistoric that there seems no reason to suppose that it was ever occupied by a later Greek settlement. The remains themselves are stupendous. Wall rises within wall, terrace above terrace, and within the walls, built of the same massive blocks of local limestone in rudely horizontal tiers, the lower part of the walls of the houses and buildings are still traceable throughout. The site had been observed by Spratt,<sup>10</sup> but so incompletely was it known that I discovered here a second and higher akropolis with remains of primitive buildings on the summit, one containing, besides a fore-court, a chamber with *antae* recalling the ground-plan of more than one Megaron of the sixth or Mycenaean stratum of Hissarlik.<sup>11</sup> The whole site abounds with primaeval relics, stone vessels of early 'Aegean type,' bronze weapons and Mycenaean gems, of which I secured either the original or the impressions of no less than seventeen examples. In the mass of remains existing above ground, the ruins of Goulàs exceed those of any prehistoric site, either of Greece or Italy, and there cannot be a doubt that we are here in presence of one of the principal centres of the Mycenaean world.

Whilst exploring the remains of this unknown city a most remarkable piece of epigraphic evidence came across my path. A peasant who owned a little cultivated patch below the Northern akropolis, near the ruinous Byzantine Church of Hagios Andonis, pointed out a spot where he had just discovered three ancient relics which he handed over to me. One was a Mycenaean lentoid gem of cornelian, the chief design of which was a two-handled cup, the copy no doubt of a golden original, beside which in the field of the intaglio was a rayed sun and a spray of foliage. The second object was a terracotta ox (Fig. 3) of a type common in late Mycenaean deposits throughout the island, similar examples having been found in the cave of the Idaean Zeus, in that of Psychro in the heart of Mt. Lasethi and in another grotto near Sybrita in company with early bronzes. The third object was a clay cup (Fig. 4) which looked as if it had originally

<sup>10</sup> Spratt (*Travels in Crete*, ii. 129 *seqq.*) wrongly identified Goulàs with the ancient Oloros, the site of which is now known to be at Messaleri (Haliherr), also confusing it with Olous (Elounta).

<sup>11</sup> See Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 1893, p. 15 *seqq.* and

Pl. II. VI. A, VI. B, VI. C, and VI. G. From the recurrence of the ground-plan Dr. Dörpfeld rightly observes that the first-discovered foundations VI. A, like the others, rather represent a *Megaron* than a *Temple*.

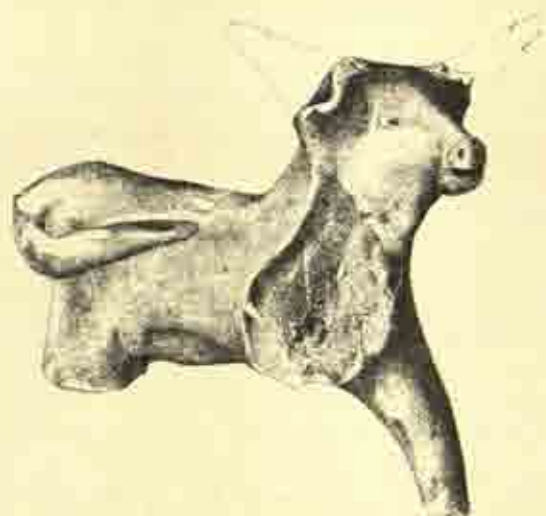
FIG. 3.—TERRACOTTA OX, GOULAS ( $\frac{1}{2}$  HINCH).

FIG. 4.—CLAY CUP WITH INCISED CHARACTERS, GOULAS.



FIG. 45.—CHARACTERS ON GOULAS CUP.



been intended for a vase, but had been rudely and unevenly cut down before the clay was baked. Its surface had originally been covered by a dark varnish. But its special interest lay in the fact that on one side just below the rim are three graffito characters, the two latter of which are identical with the Cypriote *pa* and *lo* (Fig. 4*b*). Another peasant brought me from a neighbouring hamlet called Prodlromos Botzano a plain terracotta vase of primitive aspect (Fig. 5), with a suspension handle and incised hatching

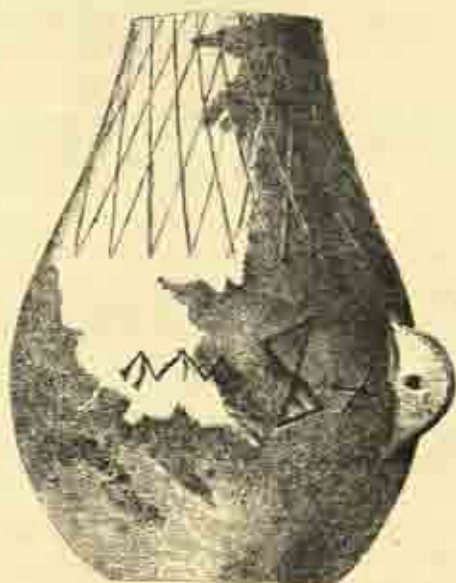


FIG. 5.—VASE WITH INCISED CHARACTERS, PRODLROMOS BOTZANO.

round its neck, which showed on its body three more graffito symbols of the same kind. One of these seemed to represent the double axe-head which occurs among the hieroglyphic forms reduced to a linear outline, while the last, as in the case of the former example, was identical with the Cypriote *lo* (Fig. 5*b*). From Goulàs itself I also obtained a perforated steatite

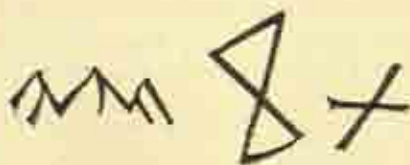


FIG. 5*b*.—CHARACTERS ON VASE FROM PRODLROMOS BOTZANO.

ornament nearly worn through with use, the face of which was also engraved with three linear marks of a more uncertain nature. It was found near the spot whence the inscribed cup and the other objects were derived.

Nor are these linear signs confined to seals and pottery. On a double-headed bronze axe (Fig. 6), procured by me in the village of Kritsá, near the



FIG. 6.—BRONZE AXE WITH ENGRAVED CHARACTER, SELAKONOS ( $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. weight).

site of Goulás, but said to come from Selakonos, in the Eparchy of Girapetra, I observed an engraved symbol much resembling one of the characters on the Knôsos blocks, to be described below (Fig. 7), and it is probable that other signs will eventually be found engraved on bronze implements of Mycenaean date. On a bronze axe from Delphi are engraved two symbols as sketched in Fig. 7, the first of which looks like a rude outline of a duck or some other aquatic bird.



FIG. 7.—SIGNS ON BRONZE AXE FROM DELPHI.

The history and even the ancient name of Goulás are lost in the mist of time, and the earliest traditions of the island point rather to Knôsos, the City of Minôs, as the principal seat of power. But whatever may have been the relative parts played by the two cities in prehistoric times, it is at any rate certain that the same primitive system of writing was common to them both.

From the site of Knôsos I procured a three-sided steatite seal (Fig. 30) of the same kind as those from the Eteocretan region, presenting both pictographic and linear symbols, and also a heart-shaped jewel (Fig. 8) of amethyst with four similar characters beneath a characteristically Mycenaean engraving of a flying eagle. But at Knôsos the appearance of these linear symbols is by no means confined to seals and jewels. Already, in 1880, certain mysterious



signs had been observed by Mr. W. J. Stillman<sup>12</sup> on the gypsum blocks that form the facing of the walls of a prehistoric building on this site, which Mr. Stillman himself was inclined to identify with the legendary Labyrinth. A native gentleman of Candia, Mr. Minôs Calochaerinos, had



FIG. 8.—ENGRAVED AMETHYST FROM KNÖSS.

in 1878 made a partial excavation on this site and laid open some small chambers in which were a quantity of fragments of Mycenaean painted vases<sup>13</sup> and a number of large *pitthoi* containing traces of grain, from which the place is now known to the peasants as τὰ Πιτάτια. The fragments, at present preserved in the house of their discoverer, where he kindly allowed me to examine them, are in much the same style as those found by Professor Petrie in the Palace of Akhenaten ('Khuenaten') at Tell-el-Amarna, and in the neighbouring rubbish heaps,—a parallel which gives 1400 B.C. as the approximate date for the building. Dr. Schliemann,<sup>14</sup> Professor Dörpfeld and Dr. Fabricius,<sup>15</sup> who all had occasion to examine the small portion visible above ground, were struck by the great resemblance presented by the details of the structure to those of the Palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns. Professor Halbherr recalls the *Andreion* in which the citizens of Crete used to meet together for their public meals or *syssitia*.<sup>16</sup>

Whether Labyrinth, Palace, or Andreion, it is evident that the prehistoric building, as yet so imperfectly known to us, belongs to the great age of Mycenae, and that its complete excavation may bring with it new revelations as to the art and culture of the Aegean peoples in the middle of the second millennium before our era. The symbols on the casing blocks of the walls, first noticed by Mr. W. J. Stillman, do not appear to have attracted the attention they seem to deserve, and have been set aside as mere 'masons' marks.'<sup>17</sup> I

<sup>12</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee, Arch. Inst. of America*, 1880—1881, pp. 47—49. Mr. Stillman's drawings have been reproduced in Perrot et Chipiez, *Grèce Primitives*, pp. 460, 462.

<sup>13</sup> Some of these were published by Haussoullier, *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 1880, pp. 124—127 and *Revue Archéologique* n.s. xl. (1889), p. 359 *seqq.*, cf. too Fabricius, *Athen. Mittheilungen*, 1886, p. 139 *seqq.* and Taf. III.

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<sup>14</sup> *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1886, pp. 379—380.

<sup>15</sup> *Altcrthümer auf Kreta, IV. Funde der Mykenischen Epoche in Knossos* (*Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1886, p. 135 *seqq.*).

<sup>16</sup> *Researches in Crete*, in the *Antiquary*, vol. xxviii. p. 111 (Sept. 1893).

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Fabricius in his account of the remains (*Athen. Mitth. loc. cit.*) does not even mention them. M. Perrot indeed (*La Grèce Primitives*, p. 461), in spite of his strong ex-

paid two visits to these remains with the special object of examining these signs, the second in company with Mr. Minós Calochaerinos and Professor Hallberr. Those that I was able to observe are reproduced (Fig. 9*a—g*) from my own drawings, supplemented in the the case of Fig. 9*h—k*, now no longer visible, by Mr. Stillman's copy. The signs occurring in pairs are placed together. The conclusion at which I arrived was that, though there need not necessarily be any objection to describing the signs as 'masons' marks,' the marks themselves, like many others of the kind, those for

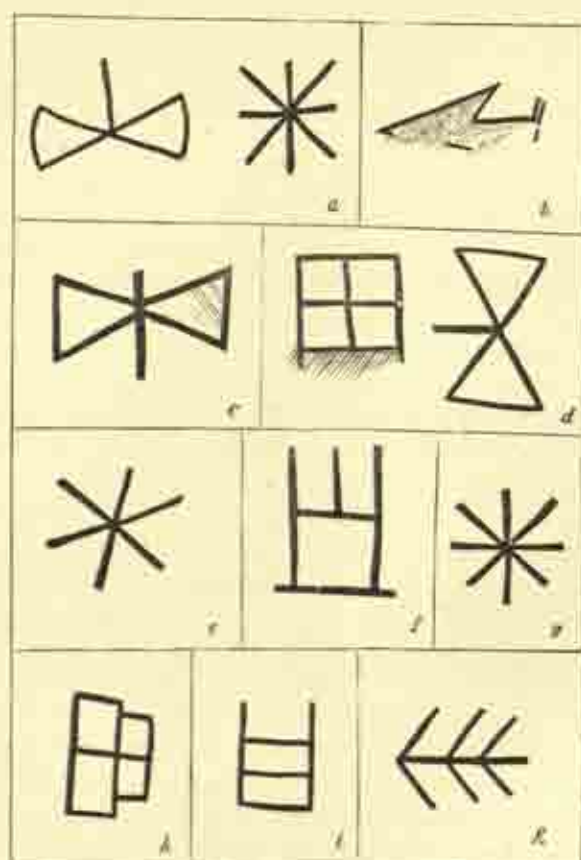


FIG. 9.—SIGNS ON BLOCKS OF MYCENAEAN BUILDING, KNOSSES.

instance on the Phoenician walls of Eryx, are taken from a regular script and fit on in fact to the same system as the characters on the pottery and seals. In several cases indeed they occur not singly, as we should expect in ordinary masons' marks, but in groups of two. Here was the double

impression of opinion as to the non-existence of any traces of a system of writing in Mycenaean times, admits that two of the signs present a

perceptible analogy to Cypriote characters. (See above, p. 274, note 7.)



axe-head reduced to a linear symbol, the rayed stars of the hieroglyphs, simplified to asterisks, and a window-like sign (Fig. 9. *d*, 1) that occurred on the Goulas cup. One feature however was of special interest, the occurrence namely on one of the blocks of a symbol (Fig. 9. *f*), which may be described as a square with three prongs, identical with one that appears on one of the two vase-handles, referred to above as presenting graphic characters, found in Mycenae itself. Here we have an important link between the early Cretan script and that of the Peloponnese.

It is to be observed that this sign occurs on the stone, as in my sketch, upside down, and were it not from its appearance on the Mycenaean amphora, we should not have known its right position. In the same way the double-axe symbol occurs on the blocks in three different positions. The natural inference from this is that the signs were engraved on the blocks previous to their insertion in the walls of the building.

The incised marks on the slabs of the Knösian building do not any longer stand alone. Professor Halbherr writes to me from Candia, that he has observed, 'fixed into a terrace-wall on the site of Phaestos,' a curious block on which has been engraved, together with two doubtful signs, a kind of broad arrow (Fig. 10) recalling one of the most frequent symbols both on the

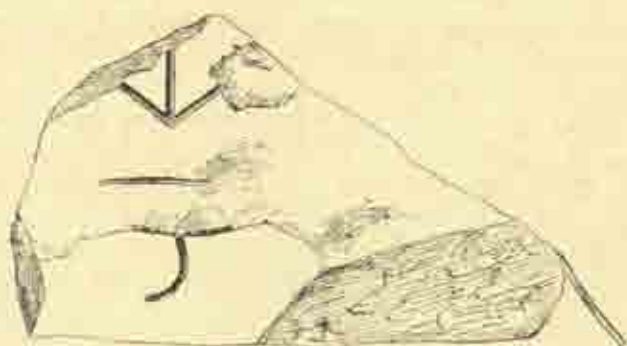


FIG. 10.—BLOCK AT PHAESTOS WITH ENGRAVED SIGNS.

hieroglyphic and linear series of the seals.<sup>176</sup> He observes of this sign that not only from its regularity, but from the depth of the groove, it was in his judgment executed with a chisel. This stone lies in the neighbourhood of spot where a very remarkable early deposit was discovered, containing engraved stones and other objects, to which it will be necessary to return when we come to consider the question of the date of the early seal-stones.<sup>177</sup>

The objects obtained from this deposit are now placed together in the very interesting little Museum which has been formed by the Cretan Syllogos or Literary Society at Candia (Heraklion), mainly owing to the enterprise

<sup>176</sup> This block is fixed into the supporting wall of a field belonging to Manolis Apostolakis to the right of the road leading from

Mires to Dilaki and opposite the Akropolis of Phaestos. Its height is 0.54m., length 0.76.

<sup>177</sup> See below, p. 325.

and research of its President, Dr. Joseph Hazzidakis, whose services to Cretan archaeology deserve the widest recognition. Amongst these are two stones exhibiting ungraved signs. One of these, a kind of irregular whorl (Fig. 11*a* and *b*), convex above and flat below, presents on its lower side



FIG. 11*a*.—ENGRAVED WHORL FROM  
PHAEOS (2 DIAMS.).



FIG. 11*b*.

characters so remarkably alphabetic that they might well be taken to belong to much later times—Byzantine, for instance.

But the evidence against this view must be regarded as decisive. The H and A are both found among the early marks observed by Professor Petrie on the Kahun pottery; read another way the  $\Xi$  is a Cypriote *re*. On the upper side of this whorl (Fig. 11*a*) is seen a rude engraving of a horned animal—probably a bull or ox—which is quite in the style of the animal representations of a series of very early Cretan intaglios.<sup>18</sup> This figure is followed by a peculiar symbol and, what is extremely remarkable, on the lower side of the stone the same symbol recurs in immediate juxtaposition to what appears to be the bull's or ox's head reduced to a linear form.<sup>19</sup> The engraving of the upper and lower side of the stone seems to be by the same hand. The material itself, a greenish steatite, and the irregular form both occur moreover in the case of another inscribed stone from Siphnos to be described below, bearing letters showing a very marked affinity with Cypriote. Again, every other object from the deposit in which this inscribed whorl was found seems to be of very early fabric. The *prima facie* view of the characters on this curious stone might easily lead to the conclusion that it was of much later date. But the early, irregular form and material, the rude animal, the curious association of signs unknown to the later Greek alphabet, and the place of finding point to an antiquity corresponding with that of the other relics from the same sepulchral stratum.

From the same deposit was obtained a button-like pendant of black

<sup>18</sup> I may specially cite a rudely triangular steatite, with a horned animal in a very primitive style, found with other early pendants in

a grave of pre-Mycenaean date at Milato. Compare too the animal on Fig. 18*a*.

<sup>19</sup> See below, p. 364-366.



steatite engraved with linear signs (Fig. 12) and a sketch of another object of the same class has been kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Halbherr. The object in question (Fig. 13) is of a green stone somewhat more regularly formed than the other and shows on its face a K-like character,



FIG. 12 (2 diams.).

though it is uncertain which way up the sign should be set. It was found by Dr. Halbherr in a necropolis of the last Mycenaean period in Messara consisting of oven tombs, but the pendant itself may possibly belong to a still older stratum.

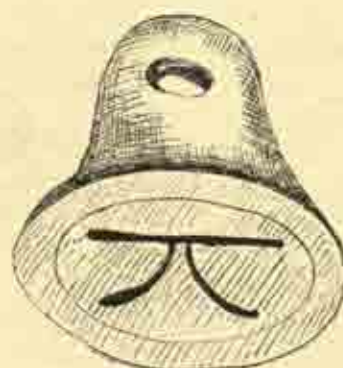


FIG. 13.—ENGRAVED 'BUTTON-SEAL,' MESSARA (2 diams.).

My attention has been further called by Dr. Hazzidakis to a perforated terracotta object, apparently also a kind of pendant (Fig. 14), with an incised symbol consisting of a horizontal line with two cross-strokes, like the Cypriote *pa* turned on its side, from the cave of the Idaean Zeus. On a perforated disk from the site of Knossos (Fig. 15) there occurred a sign like a Cypriote *po*. From one of a series of early Cist-graves at Arvi (Arbi), on the South-East coast of the island, containing stone vessels and other relics of pre-Mycenaean date I obtained a green steatite pendant (Fig. 16) with two linear symbols, one on each side, curiously resembling an *Alef* and *Gimel*. Fig. 17, from Central Crete, a perforated triangular steatite of irregular form, also shows on two of its faces curious linear signs. Fig. 18*a* and *b* is a dark brown steatite ornament from the Messara district, having on both sides of



FIG. 14.—TERRACOTTA PENDANT FROM CAVE OF IDAEAN ZEUS.



FIG. 15.—ENGRAVED DISK-HEAD, KNOSOS (2 diams.).

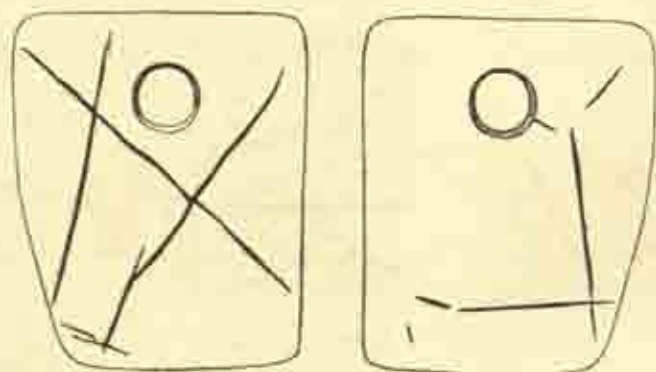


FIG. 16.—STEATITE PENDANT, ARVI (2 diams.).

FIG. 17a.—PERFORATED STEATITE,  
CENTRAL CRETE (2 diams.).

17b.





FIG. 18a.

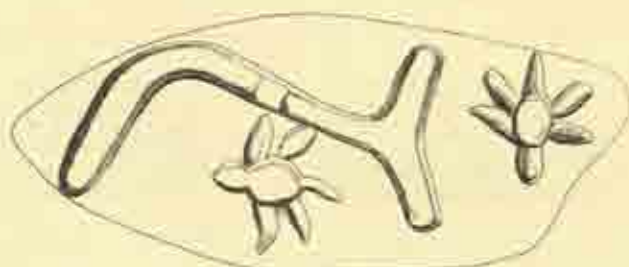


FIG. 18b.—STRATINE RELIEF, MESSARÀ (2 diams.)



FIG. 19.—SIFNOS.

it figures in relief. On one side are what appear to be two primitive representations of animals, the style of one of which recalls the ox on the Praesos disk, while on the other face are two tortoises and an uncertain symbol grouped together like some of the pictographs on the triangular seals to be described below.

To these Cretan examples I may add a pale green perforated steatite (Fig. 19) from Siphnos, in material somewhat resembling the Phaestos disk, one side of which is engraved with characters of curiously Cypriote aspect.

## § II.—THE FACETTED STONES WITH PICTOGRAPHIC AND LINEAR SYMBOLS.

As forming a group by themselves it has been found convenient to reserve the detailed examination of the facетted stones presenting pictographic symbols for a separate section, and at the same time to place with them the prism-shaped seals of the same type with more linear characters.

Another form of bead-seal and two examples of lentoid gems with pictographic groups are also added.

The facетted stones themselves are of three principal types, all of them perforated along their major axis.

I.—Three-sided or prism-shaped (Fig. 20 *a* and *b*). This type is divided into two varieties—one elongated (*a*) the other more globular (*b*).



FIG. 20a.—(2 diams.).



FIG. 20b.—(2 diams.).

II.—Four-sided equilateral.

III.—Four-sided with two larger faces.

IV.—With one engraved side, the upper part being ornamented with a convoluted relief (Fig. 21).



FIG. 21.—(2 diams.).



This form may perhaps be regarded as a later development of an earlier type of Cretan bead, the upper part of which is carved into the shape of two *Nerita* shells lying end to end with a common whorl, a specimen of which was found in the Phaestos deposit above referred to.

The other stones, which are of ordinary Mycenaean forms including the lentoid type, are grouped with the above as Class V. The figures are taken from casts, so that, assuming that the originals were seals, this gives the right direction of the symbols. In some cases however it is not easy to decide which way up the impression should be shown, and the order in which the sides are arranged is for the most part arbitrary. When one side presents a single type of an evidently ideographic character it has been given the first place, and at times a boustrophædon arrangement seems to be traceable. In Fig. 23 for instance, the first side seems to run from right to left, the second from left to right, and the third again from right to left. The drawings were executed by Mr. F. Anderson with the guidance of magnified photographs from casts, and the stones are in all cases enlarged to two diameters. Effects due to the technique of the early gem-engraver's art, such as the constant tendency to develop globular excrescences, must be mentally deducted from the pictographs. Unless otherwise indicated, the stones and their impressions were obtained in Crete by the writer.

*Class I.*

## THREE-SIDED OR PRISM-SHAPED.



21a.

21b.

21c.

FIG. 21.

*A.* (Fig. 21).—Brown steatite. Crete. Uncertain locality.



22a.



22b.



22c.

FIG. 22.

*B.* (Fig. 22).—Green jasper. Province of Siteia. Crete.





23a.



23b.



23c.

FIG. 23.

C. (Fig. 23).—White cornelian. Eastern Crete



24a.



24b.



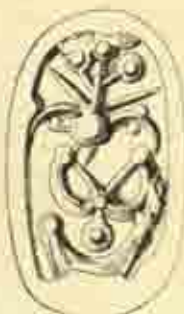
24c.

FIG. 24.

D. (Fig. 24).—White cornelian. Eastern Crete.



25a.



25b.



25c.

FIG. 25.

E. (Fig. 25).—Crete. (Berlin Museum.)



*F.* (Fig. 26).—Red cornelian. Crete. Province of Siteia.

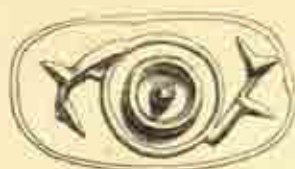


*G.* (Fig. 27).—Brown steatite. Crete. Uncertain locality.  
Sides *b* and *c* contain what appear to be purely decorative designs.



*H.* (Fig. 28).—Steatite. Crete. Uncertain locality.





29a.



29b.



29c.

FIG. 29.

*I.* (Fig. 29).—White steatite. Praesos.

30a.  
FIG. 30a.

FIG. 30b.



FIG. 30c.

FIG. 30.

*J.* (Fig. 30).—Grey steatite. Knôsos. (From a sketch.)



31c.



31b.



31a.

FIG. 31.

*K*. (Fig. 31).—This stone belongs to the more globular type, Class I. *b*, Crete. (Berlin Museum.)

*Class II.*

FOUR-SIDED EQUILATERAL STONES.



32c.



32b.



32a.

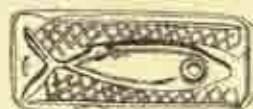


32d.

FIG. 32.

*A*. (Fig. 32).—Red cornelian. Sparta (Ashmolean Museum; Mr. Greville Chester).





33e.



33f.



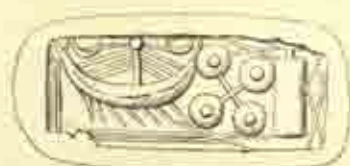
33g.



33d.

FIG. 33.

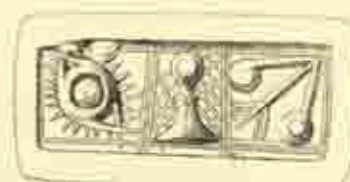
B. (Fig. 33).—Crete. Province of Siteia. (Polytechnion, Athens.)



34a.



34b.



34c.



34d.

FIG. 34.

C. (Fig. 34).—Crete. (Berlin Museum.)





35a.



35b.



35c.



35d.

FIG. 35.

*D.* (Fig. 35).—Green jasper. Crete. Palaekastro, near site of Itanos.



36a.



36b.



36c.



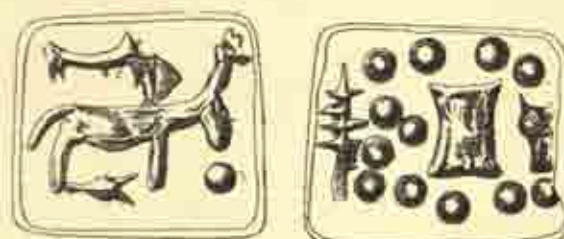
36d.

FIG. 36.

*E.* (Fig. 36).—Steatite. Province of Siteia. (Polytechnion, Athens.)  
Sides *a* and *c* contain decorative designs.

*Class III.*

## FOUR-SIDED STONES WITH TWO LARGER FACES.



37a.

FIG. 37.

37b.

*A.* (Fig. 37).—Green steatite. Central Crete. This stone properly belongs to an earlier class.

*Class IV*

## STONES WITH A SINGLE FACE: THE UPPER PART CONVOLUTED.



FIG. 38.

*A.* (Fig. 38).—White cornelian. Eastern Crete.



*Class V.*

## STONES OF ORDINARY MYCENAEAN TYPE.



FIG. 39.

*A.* (Fig. 39).—From impression taken by Professor Sayce at Athens. This form of gem was in use for the bezels of rings in Mycenaean times.



FIG. 40.

*B.* (Fig. 40).—Brown steatite. Knôsos. This and the following are ordinary types of perforated lentoid bead but of very early fabric.



FIG. 41.

*C.* (Fig. 41).—Black steatite. Messarâ district.

## § III.—EVIDENCES OF A PICTOGRAPHIC SCRIPT.

It is impossible to believe that the signs on these stones were simply idle figures carved at random. Had there not been an object in grouping several signs together it would have been far simpler for the designer to have chosen single figures or continuous ornament to fill the space at his disposal. As it is, single figures or continuous ornament are occasionally introduced on the vacant sides of stones where it was not necessary to cover the whole stone with symbolic characters; and in the same way small ornamental forms are found in some cases filling, for decorative purposes, the spaces between the symbols. In Fig. 22 one side is purely decorative; in Figs. 27 and 36, two sides, and such features as the small chevrons in the vacant spaces of Fig. 31c, or the network behind the designs on Figs. 33a and 34c and d, are obviously supplementary ornaments. But these extraneous features only bring out more clearly the fact that the signs themselves are introduced with a definite meaning, and are in fact a form of script. A method and intention in the choice and arrangement of the symbols is moreover perceptible, quite incompatible with the view that they are mere meaningless ornaments.

The signs themselves are chosen from a conventional field. Limited as is the number of stones that we have to draw from, it will be found that certain symbols are continually recurring as certain letters or syllables or words would recur in any form of writing. Thus the human eye appears four times and on as many different stones, the 'broad arrow' seven times, and another uncertain instrument (No. 16 of the list given in the succeeding section) as much as eleven times. The choice of symbols is evidently restricted by some practical consideration, and while some objects are of frequent occurrence, others equally obvious are conspicuous by their absence. But an engraver filling the space on the seals for merely decorative purposes would not thus have been trammelled in his selection.

Two other characteristics of hieroglyphic script are also to be noted. The first is the frequent use of abbreviated symbols, such as the head for the whole animal, the flower or spray for the plant. The second is the appearance of gesture-language in graphic form—an invaluable resource of early pictography for the expression of ideas and emotions. Amongst such may be noted the human figure with arms held down (Fig. 36b), the crossed arms with open palms and thumbs turned back (Fig. 31b), and, closely allied to this, the bent single arm with open palm (Fig. 35d). Such features, again, as the wolf's head with protruding tongue—also found on Hittite monuments—or the dove plucking its wing, have probably a significance beyond the mere indication of the animal or bird.

The symbols occur almost exclusively in groups of from two to seven; the most frequent however are of two or of three, which seems to show that the characters thus appearing had a syllabic value. Certain fixed prin-



ciples, moreover, are traceable in the arrangements of the symbols in the several groups. Some signs are almost exclusively found at the beginning or the end of a line. The human eye appears thus three times out of four; the instrument No. 16 of the list below occupies the extremity of the group in seven, or perhaps eight, cases where it occurs. The same two symbols moreover are seen on different stones in the same collocation. Thus the horns and four-rayed star occur in close proximity on the stone (Fig. 23*b*) from Crete and (Fig. 32*b*) from Sparta. The instrument (No. 16) above referred to occurs five times on as many different stones in collocation with the 'broad arrow.' The arrow-head, again, is twice placed beside the  $\psi$ -like sign No. 54 (Figs. 23*b* and 35*a*). In the three cases where the bent leg makes its appearance (Figs. 22*b*, 25*a*, 34*b*), it is in immediate contiguity with a symbol that seems to stand for a door or gate. Such collocations in the small number of instances at our disposal are alone sufficient to exclude the supposition that the signs on these stones were engraved haphazard for decorative purposes.

It further appears, when we come to file the several columns, as on the Babylonian principle they would follow one another in the impression of a seal, that in several cases a boustrophædon arrangement has been adopted which recalls that of early Greek writing. This is specially noticeable in Figs. 22, 23, 33, as well as in Fig. 34, where by the analogy of other Mycenaean gems from Crete representing ships the vessel must be taken as going in the direction in which the oars slope. It seems usual to begin from right to left.

That these seals were designed to convey information regarding their owners in a primitive form of writing is clearly brought out by another phenomenon with which we have to deal. On Fig. 36*d* the place of the pictographic symbols is taken by linear characters which no one will deny represent actual letters, and which fit on in fact to an Aegean or Mycenaean syllabary the existence of which can be demonstrated from independent sources. This phenomenon must certainly be taken to throw a retrospective light on the hieroglyphic forms that replace the letters on the bulk of these stones. It will be further shown in the course of this inquiry that a certain proportion of these pictographic signs reduced to linear forms actually live on in this Aegean syllabary.

In a succeeding section<sup>106</sup> attention will be called to a still earlier class of Cretan seal-stones presenting for the most part the same typical triangular form as those of Class I. already described. These more primitive stones, which cannot in fact be separated by any definite line of demarcation from the later series, throw a valuable light on the original elements out of which the more formalized pictographic system finally grew. In some cases the same symbols are actually seen in a more primitive stage of development. But on this earlier class the more purely pictorial and ideographic elements

<sup>106</sup> See p. 324 *supra*. The stones, Figs. 21, 37, 39, 40, might perhaps with greater propriety have been grouped with this earlier series.

are naturally preponderant and the personal relation in which the seals stand to their owners is clearly revealed. They seem indeed to be descriptive of his individual character as an owner of flocks and herds, a merchant, a huntsman or a warrior.

These more naive delineations, of a ruder stage of culture, supply a welcome clue to the interpretation of such ideographic elements as survive in the more conventional forms with which we are at present dealing. Here too we may often see a reference to the avocation or profession of the owner of the seal and may venture to conclude that the more purely symbolic characters have a personal application. Thus for example Fig. 34, exhibiting at the beginning of one column a ship with two crescent moons above it, may be reasonably supposed to have been the signet of one who undertook long voyages. Fig. 24, with the pig and door, would have belonged to some one who owned herds of swine: in which case the two figures of the axe and kid on the other face may contain the elements of the owner's own name. The fish at the head of Fig. 33 may indicate a fisherman. The seal-stone represented in Fig. 23, with the adze and other implements—including one in which I have ventured to recognize the template of a decorative artist,—probably belonged to a member of a masons' guild. The harp on Fig. 31 suggests a musician. It is possible that the individual element of ownership, which on the earlier class is brought out by the complete human figure, may be elsewhere indicated by the human eye alone, which is of frequent occurrence in these stones.

#### § IV.—CLASSIFICATION AND COMPARISON OF THE SYMBOLS.

In the following list I have included all the above signs that have any claim to be regarded as of hieroglyphic value, excluding the small obviously ornamental devices that are occasionally found filling in the space between the symbols, but including one or two like the S-shaped figures that may after all belong to the same decorative or supplemental category. It will be seen from the arrangement adopted that the symbols, where it is possible to recognize their meaning, fall into regular classes like the Hittite or the Egyptian.

#### THE HUMAN BODY AND ITS PARTS.




Fig. 36b. Ideograph of a man standing alone, with his arms held downwards, perhaps denoting ownership. It is followed by linear characters on another facet of the stone. Human figures in this position are frequent on Cypriote cylinders.

A similar figure also occurs on a cone from Ramleh, near Jaffa, in the Ashmolean Collection.





Figs. 29a, 32d, 34b and c, 35b and c, and 38. The eye appears twice in conjunction with No. 16. As an

indication of meaning we may compare Egyptian  *an*; also determinative of 'sight,' 'watching,' &c. On the Hittite monuments the eye does not seem to be separately portrayed. On the inscriptions of Hamath and Jerabis (Wright, *Emp. of the Hittites*, Pl. I. H. 1, line 1, and Pl. VIII. A., line 1) the upper part of a figure of a man is represented, with his finger apparently pointing to his eye.

In the delineation of this symbol on the Cretan seal-stones, four distinct stages are perceptible: (1) the whole eye with the lashes all round; (2) the whole eye with the lashes fully drawn on two diagonal sides of the eye only, elsewhere only faintly indicated; (3) what appears to be an abbreviated form of the latter type; (4) the pupil and iris only, indicated by concentric circles. In one case (Fig. 35) this latter type occurs on the same stone as the complete eye in a place where it would have been impossible to insert the full symbol.

It is, however, difficult to distinguish this latter simplified form, consisting of concentric circles with or without a central dot, from what appears to be a solar symbol. (See below, No. 62.)




Fig. 31b. Another ideograph taken from gesture-language. The sign may have indicated 'ten' or any multiple of ten; thus any great number. So far as the crossing of the arms goes, the symbol may be compared with the two confronted figures that occur twice on a Jerabis monument (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. IX.).



Fig. 35d. Also a gesture-sign. The Egyptian open hand indicates a palm measure. The forepart of the arm with open hand is seen on one of the Jerabis inscriptions (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. VIII. B. 1. 2). Compare, too, the hand and forearm sculptured on a rock at Itanos above an archaic Greek inscription (Comparetti, *Leggi di Gortyna*, &c., p. 442, No. 206).



Figs. 22b, 25a, 34b. The bent leg  in Egyptian = *pat*, *ret*, *men*, &c., as a determinative, is applied to actions of the leg, as 'marching' and 'approaching,' and to agrarian measurements, as *arura*, 'an acre.' Among Hittite symbols only the lower part of the leg is found, apparently


booted. Cp.  *Kolitolu Yaila*. So far as style is concerned, the greatest resemblance is presented by a bent human leg seen in the field of a gem from the lower city of Mycenae (Tomb 10, *Ép. 'Apx.* 1888, Pl. X. 9).



Fig. 32d. Possibly = a rump.

#### ARMS, IMPLEMENTS, AND INSTRUMENTS.





Fig. 32b and cf. 41. Resembles an arm holding a curved instrument. As such it may be compared with the Egyptian determinative  = a hand holding a club (*nexet*), applied to  forcible action. The forepart of the arm holding weapons or implements is common among Hittite symbols.



Fig. 24b. The single axe occurs on early seal-stones in the Ashmolean Collection, from Smyrna and N. Syria. It is perhaps represented by a symbol on the Hittite monument at Bulgar Maden (Ramsay and Hogarth, *Pre-hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, Pl. II. line 2, near middle). On an inscription from Jerabis (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. II. C. line 1, and A. l. 4) the axe seems to occur in combination with another object. In Egypt the single axe is a sign of divinity. The present type of axe, however, is altogether non-Egyptian.



Fig. 37b. Perhaps an early form of double axe-head.



Figs. 23b, 39. The double axe is a form altogether foreign to Egypt. As a Hittite hieroglyph it has been recently detected on an inscription, and it is seen repeated in pairs on a Cypriote cylinder (Ceanola, *Salamina*, Fig. 118, p. 128). It occurs as a symbol in the field of a Mycenaean gold ring (Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Fig. 530, p. 354), where it has been connected with the cult of Zeus Labrandeus. It also forms the principal type of some Mycenaean gems found in Crete—one from near Girapetra, the other from Gouliá. Bronze axes of the above form are common in the votive deposits of the Cretan caves like that of the Idaean Zeus and of Psychro on Mount Lasethe (see above, Fig. 6).





Fig. 33d. The dagger symbol appears in two forms among Egyptian hieroglyphs,  $\text{𓏏}$  *hakusu* and  $\text{𓏏}$  *χaa*. When it occurs among Hittite signs it  $\text{𓏏}$  is grasped  $\text{𓏏}$  by a hand (Hamath, Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. III. H. iv. line 1, and Jerabis, *op. cit.* Pl. XII.

Fig. 1, 1. 2). The roundness of the pommel of the hilt on the Cretan sign is probably simply due to the early gem-engraver's technique, which relies greatly on the drill.

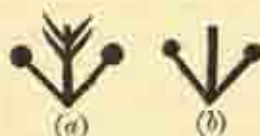
12



Fig. 21b. Arrow-head. The form *b* occurs on a triangular stone of a somewhat earlier class (see below, p. 344, Fig. 68), but is here inserted for comparison. Compare, too, the sign on the

Mycenae vase-handle (Fig. 1).

13



Figs. 34c, 23b, 24c, 30b, 32a, 33b, 35a. The 'arrow' with a short shaft is frequent on these stones, one variety (13a) showing the feather-shaft. Similar figures are occasionally seen in the field of Mycenaean gems found in the

island, where they represent arrows of the chase about to strike wild goats or other animals. The Hittite hieroglyphic series presents some close parallels.



Jerabis (*op. cit.* Pl. VIII. D. 1. 4, and Pl. X. 1. 4).



Gurun and Bulgar Maden (R. and H. Pl. II. and Pl. IV. Fig. 2).

14



Figs. 23b, 35c. This symbol must be taken in connexion with the next, in which a palmette with curving base is inserted into its arch. Reasons will be given below (p. 319)

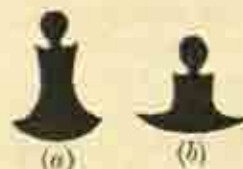
for identifying this with the 'template' used in constructing a design formed of palmettes and returning spirals, which on other evidence seems to have been employed in Crete in Mycenaean days. It may therefore be a badge of a decorative artist.

15



Fig. 23a.

16



Figs. 21b, 22a, 23a, 23c, 25c, 32a, 33b, 34c, 35a, 35b, 38. This symbol, which is the most frequent of all, occurring no less than eleven times in the present series, may represent an instrument—like an arbelon—for cutting leather. Or it may possibly be compared with a tool such

as the Egyptians used for hollowing out vessels, and which seems to be represented by the Egyptian character  $\text{Uḥ}$   $\text{𓏏}$ . (See De Rougé, *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, p. 75.) Compare also *Shen*  $\text{𓏏}$  = a chisel.  $\text{𓏏}$  The projecting shoulders recall a form of bronze celt.

17



Figs. 34a and 23b. Apparently another instrument of the same class as the above.


18



Fig. 32d. This form may be compared with the Egyptian



= a mallet, determinative of 'to fabricate' or 'build.'

The Hittite  from Gurun (R. and H. Pl. IV. 2,

line 2) affords a close parallel to this and the above.

19



Figs. 31b, 31c. This highly interesting symbol represents a primitive form of musical instrument which, though it at first sight rather recalls a lyre from its horn-shaped sides, is essentially a harp, its opposite sides being connected by three strings and not by a solid cross-piece.

Regarded as a harp, however, it presents an entirely new type, apparently standing in the same relation to the Asiatic horn-bow as the simple forms of African and other harps do to the wooden bow. It was, however, played with a *plectrum* which, as in the case of primitive lyres among savages at the present day, is here seen attached to the framework of the instrument. Although this symbol must be classified as a harp, and not as a lyre, we may well ask ourselves whether an instrument of this form, derived from the two-horned Asiatic bow, may not have influenced—contaminated, as mythologists would say—the form of the Greek lyre, the horn-shaped sides of which are not essential to that form of instrument.

20



(a)



(b)


Figs. 23b, 35b, 35d. Perhaps a *plectrum* as above.

21



Fig. 25a. A club or sceptre. Compare the Egyptian




= club,  = mace, symbol of 'brilliancy' and 'whiteness.'

22



Fig. 23c. There can be little doubt that this symbol represents an adze or some similar tool with a wooden handle.


The handle shows affinities with the Egyptian a kind of adze or plane, which = *stp*, 'to judge'  or 'approve.' It may also be compared with the Hittite




(Jerabis, Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. IX. lines 7, 8). Long adzes are among the most typical forms of bronze

implements found in Crete. They are found in Mycenaean deposits, and one in my possession from the Cave of Psychro is 11.35 inches in length. It is probable that the end of the wooden handle of the Cretan implement represented above was shaped like the hind leg and hoof of an animal, as in the case of many Egyptian tools.




- 23  Fig. 34d. Saw, shaped like the jaw of an animal, probably formed of wood set with flint flakes. Compare the Egyptian



 = saw. For a somewhat similar saw of wood


set with flint teeth from Kahun, see Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, Pl. VII. Fig. 27.

## HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.




- 24  Figs. 22b, 24a, 25a, 29b. Gate, door, or part of a fence. No. 2 in connexion with a pig.


(a) (b)

- 25  Figs. 30a, 32c, 36d. Perhaps variant of above, but cf. the Egyptian symbol for 'shutter' 

- 26  Fig. 34b. Gate or shutter.

- 27  Fig. 32c. Fence.

- 28  Fig. 39. This vase evidently represents a metal original closely resembling the Oriental *ibrik*, which serves an ewer for pouring and sprinkling water. Vessels of this shape form the principal type of a class of Mycenaean gems specially common in Eastern Crete (see below, p. 370), sometimes fitted with a conical cover like Persian ewers of the same kind. The curving spout recalls that of an Egyptian libation-vase— *Kabk* = 'libation,' 'sweet water'—but a simpler parallel is found in the ordinary water-vessel  *num* = 'water.' It is probable that the Cretan sign also stands for 'water'; indeed, on the lentoid gems referred to, this vase and others closely akin, with high beaked spouts, are seen beside a plant or spray.<sup>196</sup> All this clearly indicates the purpose of watering.

- 29  Figs. 32c, 31c. This form of vessel is of ceramic character, and the seal on which it occurs belongs to an early class. It corresponds with a primitive type of high-beaked vases of very wide distribution, extending from Cyprus and the

<sup>196</sup> In the case of a closely allied form of vase with two handles the spray is seen inserted in the mouth of the vessel. On a gem from

Gouiza a vase of this kind is seen beside a plant, above which is a rayed disc indicating the midday sun.

Troad to the Aegean Islands and the mainland of Greece. They occur at Hissarlik, and in the early cist-graves of Amorgos of pre-Mycenaean date, and I found part of the beaked spout of one of equally early fabric on the site of Praesos. Vases of this form are seen on the most primitive class of Cretan engraved gems, going back to the third millennium B.C. (see p. 332), and continue—taking at times a more metallic form—into the Mycenaean period. On two Vaphio gems (Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, Pl. X. 35-36) a closely allied *prochous* is seen in the hands of the mysterious beast-headed daemons of Mycenaean art, who in one case are engaged in watering nursing palm-trees. Another representation of the same form of vase occurs above two bulls in the field of a gem from Tomb 27 of the lower town of Mycenae (Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, Pl. X. 24).

- 30  Fig. 40. This symbol belongs to the same class as the above.

- 31  Fig. 40. Possibly some kind of vessel.

#### MARINE SUBJECTS.



Figs. 34a, 28a. The first of these vessels is accompanied with two crescents, one on either side of the mast—perhaps a sign of time as applied to the duration of a voyage (see below, No. 65). One ship has seven

oars visible, the other six. In form these vessels show a great resemblance to those which appear as the principal type on a class of Mycenaean lentoid gems, specimens of which are found in Crete, one of which in my possession shows fifteen oars and a double rudder, and perhaps an upper row of oars. The double end of the first example—like an open beak—may recall the swan-headed ships of the confederate invaders of Egypt 'from the middle of the sea' in Ramesses III.'s time as seen on the frescoes of Medinet Habou. In the present case, however, no yards are visible.



Fig. 33a. Apparently a tunny-fish: the hatched-work behind may indicate a net. Fish as hieroglyphic symbols are common to Egypt and Chaldaea. It looks as if tunny-fisheries had existed off the Cretan coast in Mycenaean times. The well-known gem with a fisherman in the British Museum (*Gem Catalogue*, 80, Pl. A) may refer to the same industry; and tunny-fish occur on two more Cretan gems of Mycenaean date in the same collection. A fish of the same type occurs as a symbol on Cypriote cylinders (cf. *Salamina*, Pl. XIV. 48).



34





Fig. 39. Also apparently a fish. The head is more rounded than No. 33, but this may be due to rudeness of design. Fish of the same rude form are seen on Cypriote cylinders (cf. Cesnola, *Salamina*, PL. XIV. 48).

## ANIMALS AND BIRDS.

35



Fig. 33c. Head of he-goat. This symbol presents a remarkable similarity to the Hittite hieroglyph of the same object , the value of which from its occurrence on the bilingual seal of Tarkutimma (Tarkondēmos) in Hittite and cuneiform characters is known to represent the syllables *Tarrik* or *Tarku* (Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* Vol. VII. Pt. II. (1881), p. 297, and *Emp. of Hittites*, p. 182; Theo. Pinches, *ib.*, p. 220, and *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* March 3, 1885; and cf. Halévy, *Rev. Sem.* 1893, p. 55 sqq.). The element 'Tarrik,' again, in the name of this prince, seems to refer to the god *Tark* (cf. Ramsay and Hogarth, *Pre-hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, p. 9 sqq.). The Egyptian goat's-head sign  is of a different character. The neck is given as well as the head, and there is no beard.

36



Fig. 37a. Bull or Ox. The seal on which it occurs is of primitive type.

37



Fig. 24b. A doe or kid.

38



Figs. 23b, 32b. Apparently intended for deer-horns.

39



Fig. 26a. Horned head of an uncertain animal, apparently an ox.

40



Fig. 21a. This appears to be rather a *bucranium* or skull of a bull or ox, than the actual head of the animal. As an ornament of the reliefs of altars the *bucranium* occurs already in Mycenaean art. This appears from a lentoid gem in the British

Museum, on which is seen an animal of the goat kind freshly slaughtered, with a dagger thrust into its shoulder, lying on an altar or sacrificial bench, the front of which is adorned with four *bucrania* much resembling the above. In this case, to complete the parallel with later classical reliefs, fillets attached to the extremities of the horns are seen hanging down between the skulls.

41



Fig. 34d. This symbol must be regarded as uncertain. It is placed here, however, as showing a great resemblance to the Hittite sign which has been interpreted as an elongated form of the ass's head. (Palanga.)



42



Fig. 37b. Perhaps a variant of the above.

43



Fig. 24a. Pig. A similar ideograph occurs on a three-sided stone of the earlier Cretan type presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Mr. J. L. Myres.

44



Figs. 23a, 32b. Wolf's head with the tongue hanging out. This symbol shows a remarkable likeness to the Hittite (Jerabis, *op. cit.* Pl. VIII. D. 1. 3, Pl. IX. 1. 3), where again we find the same protruding tongue.



45



Fig. 31a. Dove pluming its wing.

46



Fig. 40. Perhaps variant form of above.

47



Fig. 39. Bird standing. Birds in a somewhat similar position occur among the Hittite symbols at Jerabis and Bulgar Maden, and are frequent in Egyptian hieroglyphics.

48



Fig. 26a. Apparently a bird's head. Heads of various kinds of birds are common among Egyptian hieroglyphics.




49



Fig. 32c. This symbol apparently consists of two birds heads turned in opposite directions.

50



Figs. 28c, 30a. Perhaps a conventionalized sea-horse. The uppermost symbol on Fig. 18b (No. 76 below) may be a simplification of this. Compare  on a 'Hittite' seal-stone from Smyrna. A very similar form occurs on an early truncated cone from Tartûs.

51



On the steatite relief (Fig. 18b). Apparently a tortoise.

## VEGETABLE FORMS.

52



Fig. 34b.





53



Fig. 25b.

54





Figs. 23b, 33d, 35a, 35c. This may perhaps be regarded as an abbreviated form of one of the above, with possibly a differentiated meaning. The form is common to the Hittite monuments, occurring at Jerabis,  (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. VIII. B. l. 5) in a more floral, and also  (*op. cit.* Pl. XIX. 6) in a geometrical form; while at Bulgar Maden (Ramsay and Hogarth, *Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, Pl. II. l. 3, beginning) it forms a purely linear sign . The same, or a closely allied symbol, is also seen on the lion of  Marash (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. XXVII. 111, l. 1).



55




Fig. 25a.


- 56  Fig. 31c. Perhaps a lily. This form is more pictorial than the others. Compare the Hittite  Hamath (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. IV. ll. 2 and 3).


- 57  Fig. 32d. I have placed this symbol, as completed, amongst floral forms from its apparent analogy to the Hittite  as seen on the monument at Ivriz (Ramsay and Hogarth, *Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, Pl. III). The dot which occurs above both symbols may be reasonably interpreted as representing the head of a stamen or pistil, as those of the lily, No. 56.



- 58  Figs. 37b, 40. Tree symbol. On a Mycenaean lentoid gem, now in the Museum of the Syllogos at Candia, a votary is seen blowing a conch-shell before an altar, behind which is a sacred grove with trees in the same conventional style.  A similar degeneration of the sacred tree occurs on Cypriote cylinders.

- 59  Fig. 28b, repeated. Spray or branch, and the same is seen duplicated on Fig. 29c.


#### HEAVENLY BODIES AND DERIVATIVES.


- 60  Fig. 33c. Day-star, or sun, with eight revolving rays.


- 61  Fig. 27a (the rays more revolving). Day-star, or sun, with twelve rays. Star-like symbols occur on Syrian and Asianic seal-stones.

- 62  Fig. 35b. This symbol, with the tangential offshoots suggesting revolution, seems to fit on to No. 60 and to be of solar import. For the concentric circles as a solar emblem compare the Egyptian  *Sep* = times (*vices*), and the circle with a central dot is also the Chinese symbol for sun. The eye symbol, No. 4, approaches this very closely.









- 63  Fig. 35d. This form suggests a combination of solar and lunar symbols.





- 64  Fig. 32b and cf. 39. Star of four rays. This symbol is frequent on Cypriote cylinders.

- 65  Two small crescent-moons are seen on either side of the mast of the vessel on Fig. 34a. They perhaps indicate duration of time—months—as applied to the length of a voyage.



## GEOGRAPHICAL OR TOPOGRAPHICAL.


- 66  Figs. 35d, 25b. Apparently variants of the same symbol which seems to represent a widely distributed pictograph for mountains and valleys, and so country or land. On the boss of Tariktimme (Tarkondêmos)  = country (Sayce, *Trans. Bibl. Arch.* Vol. VII. Pt. II, (1887), p. 297 *sqq.*; and cf. Halévy, *Rec. Sémitique*, 1893, p. 55 *sqq.*). It is found again in Jerabis (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. IX. J. II. l. 1) and apparently on the monument near Bulgar Maden (R. and H. *Prehellenic Monuments*, &c., Pl. II. l. 2) .

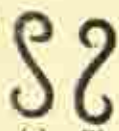

The Egyptian  *mes* = mountain is applied in the same way as a determinative for 'districts' and 'countries.' As  *snut* = granary, it reappears, with one or two heaps of corn in the middle, in the simple sense of a 'plot of ground.' The Accadian symbol, again, signifying a plot of ground, exhibits a form  closely parallel to the above.


And in this connexion a truly remarkable coincidence is observable between the pictographic symbolism of old Chaldaea and that of the Cretans of the Mycenaean period. The linear form of the Accadian *U-tu*  shows a sun above the symbol of the ground with a plant growing out of it. But on specimens of Mycenaean gems observed by me in Eastern Crete, side by side with the vase for watering already referred to, are seen symbolic or conventional representations of the plant growing out of the ground, recalling the Accadian version almost *totidem lineis* on amygdaloid cornelian; Zero (near Praesos)  on amygdaloid cornelian; Goulas. In another case the ewer  divides the two symbols  on an almond-shaped stone of the same character; Girapetra.

## GEOMETRICAL FIGURES.

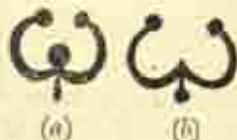

- 67  Figs. 23*b*, 23*c*, 25*a*, 25*c*, 33*d*, 34*b*, 38. This sign may be simply a supplementary figure. On Fig. 38 it is thrice repeated with the sign No. 16, and might, like the similar Egyptian sign , indicate multiplication.

- 68  Figs. 34*a*, 34*d*. This may be an intercalated sign, perhaps of the nature of a break between words.

- 69  Figs. 21*a*, 23*c*. Repeated in two directions on Fig. 23*c*. This, too, is possibly an ornamental insertion, but it may however be compared with the Egyptian , a coil of thread, signifying 'to reel.'


- 70  Fig. 24*c*. This may be the same as No. 69 with an additional ornamental flourish.

## UNCERTAIN SYMBOLS.


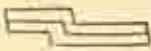
- 71  Figs. 31*b*, 35*c*. The late Hittite sign  occurs at Gurun (R. and H. *op. cit.*, Pl. IV. 2, l. 2), and perhaps in the inscription near Bulgar Maden (*op. cit.*, Pl. II. l. 3).


- 72  Fig. 27*a*.

- 73  Fig. 25*c*.


- 74  Fig. 25*c*. Somewhat fractured below.













- 75  Fig. 34*d*. A certain analogy is presented by the Hittite sign  Hamath (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. I. H. II. 1. 2), Jerabis (*op. cit.* Pl. VIII. B. 1. 5), and on the 'Niobe' (Ed. Gollob. in *op. cit.* Pl. XXII.).

- 76  Fig. 18*b*. On the steatite relief (Fig. 18*b*); possibly a conventionalized form of No. 50.


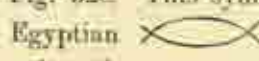

- 77  Fig. 26*a*.

- 78  Fig. 25*a*. Perhaps a variant of No. 69.

- 79  Fig. 33*c*. This symbol presents a certain resemblance to the Hittite forms  Hamath (Wright, *op. cit.* Pl. I. 1. 1, Pl. II. H. III. 1. 1, Pl. IV. H. V. 1. 1);  Jerabis (*op. cit.* Pl. VIII. J. I. A. 1. 3, B. 1. 2);  Bulgar Maden (R. and H. *op. cit.* Pl. II. 1. 3);  Gurun (*op. cit.* Pl. IV. 1).

- 80  Fig. 22*a*. This recalls the Egyptian  = 'skein of thread,' the determinative for 'linen,' 'binding,' &c. Compare, too, the twisted cord  *sen* = 'to turn back,' and  *kes*, the tied up bundle = 'to bury.' On the Hittite silver seal procured at Bor, near Tyana (Ramsay and Hogarth, *Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*, p. 17, Fig. 2), occurs the sign  identical with the Cretan.

- 81   Figs. 35*e*, 35*d*.  
(a) (b)

- 82  Fig. 32*c*. This symbol, if rightly completed, recalls the Egyptian  = *Neit*, which serves especially to write the name of Neith the Goddess of Sais; also  = *ât*, and its abbreviated form, sometimes described as a 'twisted cord.'

It will be seen from the above list that there are some eighty-two symbols classified under the following heads:

The human body and its parts	6
Arms, implements and instruments	17
Parts of houses and household utensils	8
Marine subjects	3
Animals and birds	17
Vegetable forms	8
Heavenly bodies and derivatives	6
Geographical or topographical signs	1
Geometrical figures	4
Uncertain symbols	12

The numerous comparisons made with Egyptian hieroglyphs in the course of the above analysis do not by any means involve the conclusion that we have in the Cretan signs merely their blundered imitation. Where such occur, as in the case of a well-known class of Phœnician and of some Cypriote Greek objects, we are confronted with very different results. Had there been any attempt to copy Egyptian cartouches or inscriptions, we should infallibly have found, as in the above cases, travesties or imperfect renderings of Egyptian forms. But imitative figures of this kind do not make their appearance, and no attempt has been made to copy even the commonest of the Egyptian characters. Such parallelism as does appear is at most the parallelism of an independent system drawn from a common source. Nor are affinities of this kind by any means confined to Egypt.

Among the closer parallels with the signs of other hieroglyphic systems that it has been possible to indicate, about sixteen (or 20 per cent.) approach Egyptian and an equal number Hittite forms: more general resemblances, such as those presented by certain figures of fish, birds, &c., being excluded from this rough calculation. Considering that the choice of comparisons is in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyphs very much larger than that of the Hittite, it will be seen that the proportion of affinities distinctly inclines to the Asiatic side. Certain signs, such as the wolf's head with the tongue hanging out (No. 44), the he-goat's head (No. 35), the arrow (No. 13), the three-balled spray (No. 54), and Nos. 41, 57, 79 and 80, clearly point to a fundamental relationship between the Hittite and Cretan systems. The double axe moreover is characteristically Asiatic, but as certainly not Egyptian. The single axe of the form represented in No. 8 is also non-Egyptian. We are struck too by the absence of the distinctively religious symbols which in Egyptian hieroglyphics are of such constant recurrence. In the Hittite series, on the other hand, as in the Cretan, this hieratic element, though it no doubt exists, does not certainly take up so conspicuous a position.

The somewhat promiscuous way in which the signs are disposed in some of the spaces, notably on Fig. 23*b*, is strikingly suggestive of the Hittite



monuments. When the impressions of the three or four sides of one of the Cretan stones are placed in a row one above the other, as on the analogy of the Babylonian cylinders they would have been in clay impressions, we obtain a columnar arrangement of symbols in relief which curiously recalls the sculptured stones of Hamath or the site of Carchemish. So far more-over as can be gathered from an examination of the Cretan stones, the same boustrophêdon arrangement seems to have been here adopted as on most of the Hittite monuments.<sup>190</sup>

Yet we have not here, any more than in the Egyptian case, to do with the mere servile imitation of foreign symbols. The common elements that are shared with the Hittite characters are in some respects more striking, and there is greater general sympathy in form and arrangement. The coincidences, indeed, are at times of such a kind as to suggest a real affinity. But this relationship is at most of a collateral kind. Some Cretan types present a surprising analogy with the Asianic; on the other hand, many of the most usual of the Hittite symbols are conspicuous by their absence. The parallelism, as it seems to me, can best be explained by supposing that both systems had grown up in a more or less conterminous area out of still more primitive pictographic elements. The Cypriote parallels may be accounted for on the same hypothesis.

In the early picture-writing of a region geographically continuous there may well have been originally many common elements, such as we find among the American Indians at the present day; and when, later, on the banks of the Orontes and the highlands of Cappadocia on the one side, or on the Aegean shores on the other, a more formalized 'hieroglyphic' script began independently to develop itself out of these simpler elements, what more natural than that certain features common to both should survive in each? Later intercommunication may have also contributed to preserve this common element. But the symbolic script with which we have here to deal is essentially *in situ*. As will be demonstrated in the succeeding section the Cretan system of picture-writing is inseparable from the area dominated by the Mycenaean form of culture. Geographically speaking it belongs to Greece.

#### § V.—THE MYCENAEAN AFFINITIES OF THE CRETAN PICTOGRAPHS.

SOME definite evidence as to the chronology of these Cretan seal-stones is afforded by the points of comparison that they offer with Mycenaean forms. Amongst the 'Mycenaean' gems of Crete are found three-sided stones like those represented in Fig. 206.<sup>191</sup> One of these, a cornelian from the site or neighbourhood of Goulàs, exhibits on one of its sides heart-shaped leaves similar to those seen upon some Mycenaean vases. Vessels with this kind of leaf occurred in the fifth and sixth of the

<sup>190</sup> See p. 301.

<sup>191</sup> This is in fact an ordinary Mycenaean gem representing apparently a kind of base,

and is inserted on p. 228 merely as an example of form.

Akropolis graves at Mycenae,<sup>20</sup> and it is a common ornament of the stamped glass plaques of the later Mycenaean interments. Another example of this vegetable form may be seen on a low vase found by Professor Petrie in the 'Maket' tomb at Kahun, the approximate date of which is now fixed at about 1450 B.C. by the new evidence supplied by the foundation deposits of Thothmes III. at Koptos.<sup>21</sup> A very similar type of leaf is also seen on a Mycenaean fragment from Tell-el-Amarna, belonging to the age of Akhenaten (Khuenaten) and the early part of the fourteenth century before our era. In a still more literal form, moreover, it appears executed in a brilliant blue on the fresco decoration of the Palace itself.<sup>22</sup> The leaf on the Goulias gem presents the distinguishing feature of being decorated with hatched lines;<sup>23</sup> and this peculiarity recurs in an example of the same motive upon one of the vases from the first shaft-grave at Mycenae, the ceramic contents of which, fitting on as they do to some of the types of Thera,<sup>24</sup> must be regarded as earlier rather than later than the Tell-el-Amarna fragments. On these grounds I would approximately refer the Goulias gem to the fifteenth century B.C.

A more globular variety of the three-sided stones is also represented among Mycenaean gems. On one obtained by me from Central Crete the same leaf-shaped ornament occurs as that described above. On another from Malia, also a cornelian, engraved on two of its faces, are designs of a wild goat struck by an arrow, and of a flying eagle with two zigzag lines proceeding from it—possibly a Mycenaean 'thunder-bird.' An engraved amethyst, again, of this type was found in the Vaphio tomb; and here again we have an indication of date taking us to the middle of the second millennium B.C. and to the most flourishing period of Mycenaean art.

The peculiar form of stone (Fig. 21) with the spirally fluted back,

<sup>20</sup> Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 187, figs. 161—163.

<sup>21</sup> Mr. Petrie in his *Egyptian Dates of Greek History* (*Hell. Journ.* xi. [1896], p. 273) and *Illahun*, &c., pp. 23, 24 had dated this tomb c. 1100 B.C., though he noted as a somewhat incongruous circumstance that the latest scarabs found belonged to Thothmes III. The new comparisons supplied by foundation deposits of Thothmes III. excavated by him at Koptos, such as the ribbed beads, &c., of the same type there found, have now led him however to revise his opinion, and to carry back the date of the Maket tomb to the same time as these deposits. An examination of the Koptos relics, which I had the advantage of making in Mr. Petrie's company, leaves no doubt in my mind that this conclusion must be regarded as final. On other grounds, especially since the discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna fragments, I had already been led to infer that 1100 B.C. was too late a date for the 'Maket' deposit. The existence of the

Thera class of vases would alone be fatal to Mr. Petrie's former view, that the beginning of natural designs on Mycenaean pottery should be brought down so low as this in date. But Mr. Cecil Torr, who in a letter to the *Classical Review* makes much of the inconsistency between the results obtained at Tell-el-Amarna and Mr. Petrie's former opinion as to the date of the Maket tomb, will hardly be gratified to find that the chronological revision that has to be made is in favour of a greater antiquity.

<sup>22</sup> Specimens of this design presented by Mr. Petrie are now in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>23</sup> Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, Pl. XXIX. and cf. p. 17. In this case however the leaf is more lanceolate.

<sup>24</sup> This is notably the case with the vase which bears on its neck two breasts surrounded with dots. Compare Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* fig. 166, p. 189 and Dumont et Chaplain, *Ceramique de la Grèce préhistorique*.



which, as pointed out above, seems to originate from a twin *Nerita* shell type of an earlier period, also occurs among the Mycenaean gems of Crete. One of these, obtained in Candia, is engraved with a typical design of a sepia; another, found at Goulàs, has a combined spiral and vegetable motive of great interest (Fig. 42). The leaves in this composition evidently belong



FIG. 42.—GEM, GOULÀS (2 diam.).

to the same water-plant as that seen on a painted ossuary in the form of a hut discovered by Professor Halbherr in a Mycenaean tholos tomb at Anoya Messaritika.<sup>24</sup> The same palmette-like form however recurs in a still more literal guise, occupying the arched interior of the symbol No. 14 on the three-sided stone Fig. 23a. And here an interesting combination suggests itself.

The observation has already been made above that the symbol No. 14 (see below, Fig. 43) which occurs on stones (Fig. 23b, 35c) is the same as No. 15 (Fig. 44), minus the leaf and spirals. I had therefore at first looked upon this latter as a kind of decorative excrescence not essential to the symbol itself. But the symbol in its simplified form, with its arched space below and two curved incisions on the top, remained a puzzle. Judging by the analogy of other signs, it was probably some form of instrument or implement, and the suspicion did cross my mind that it might be connected with house-building and possibly the decoration of ceilings.

But the Goulàs gem places this conjecture in quite a new light. The combination of triquetral curves and vegetable ornament that it presents, at once declares the design to be a part subtracted as it were from a more spacious ornamental surface. The divergent spirals, coupled with foliate or

<sup>24</sup> P. Orsi, *Urne Funerarie Cretesi*, Pl. I. Perrot, *La Grèce Préhistorique*, p. 536, quotes with approval a theory of M. Houssey, a zoologist (which he had previously applied to a large cuttle-fish on a Mycenaean vase from Pitani in the Asolide), that the ducks, fish and starlike objects seen between the branches of the plant upon the ossuary were supposed to have been generated by it, and that it is in fact the "barnacle-tree" of folk-lore. For myself however the plant simply represents a water-plant by the side of a stream, the ducks which follow

next behind it are flying over the surface of the water, and the fish alone, in the third line, are actually in the water. In fact it is not difficult to trace in this design a reminiscence of a commonplace of Egyptian painted pavements and frescoes, in which river-plants with ducks flying over them or poising on their branches are seen beside a tank or stream containing fish. Only here the forms of the leaves are different from those of the lotos or papyrus seen on the Egyptian models.

floral forms, are the animating principle of a whole series of large decorative compositions, of which the ceiling of Orchomenos is the most conspicuous example in Mycenaean art, but which are in fact the almost literal copies of Egyptian prototypes.

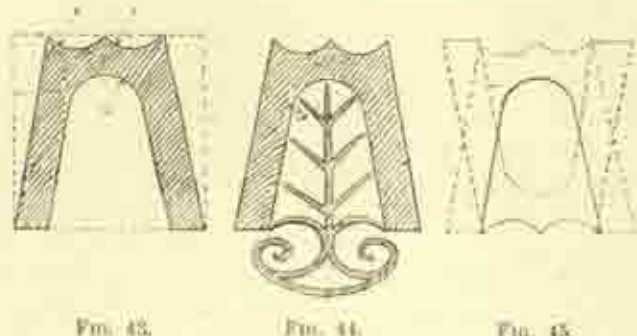


FIG. 43.

FIG. 44.

FIG. 45.

In view of these comparisons it occurred to me that the symbol connected above with the palmette—belonging *ex hypothesi* to a form of Mycenaean ceiling—might have been a simple kind of stencilling plate known as a 'template,' such as is still in use among decorators, and that it was employed for a similar purpose by the artists whose business it was to adorn the palaces of the Mycenaean lords. I accordingly cut out a symmetrical model of the sign (Fig. 43), and made a practical test of its utility in the mechanical procedure necessary for producing such a design. The use of the incurved notches at the top of the figure became at once apparent. The symbol, first applied with the top of the arch uppermost so as to stand on a line ready ruled, gave the upper outline of the leaf, for which the inner margin of the arch supplied the tracing. Now turning the figure upside down, and carefully adjusting its feet to the terminal points of the upper border of the tracing already made, it will be seen (Fig. 45) that the double curves fit into the lower opening of the arch, and give the two incurving lines required for the lower margin of the palmette (Fig. 44).

The form of template suggested by the symbols fulfils the following conditions:—(1) It will be contained in a square, its height being equal to its width. (2) The opening at the base of the arch is equal in width to the space between the exterior horns of the summit. (3) The top of the arch forms a semicircle, the radius of which is equal to that of the curves of the notches at the top.

I.—Now apply the template thus formed to a sloping line *AB* twice on each side of it, as shown in the diagram Fig. 46, so that in all four positions one of its feet rests on the portion *CD* of the said line *AB*.

II.—Apply the template sideways to the sloping line *AB*, as in diagram Fig. 47, and adjust the foot in each case to the lines *EK*, mark the point of the extreme horns *FF'* and rule the two lines *FG*, *H F'*, which are parallels.



Now complete the circular heads of the arches round the points  $F F'$ , which form, in the case given, the centres of the circles thus drawn.

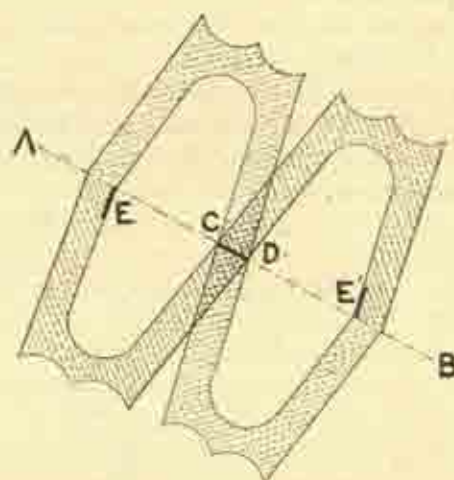


FIG. 46.

III.—Produce the parallels  $F G$ ,  $H F$  and join the points  $F F'$ . Taking  $F F'$  as a side, mark off as often as required the same distance on the produced parallels  $F G$ ,  $H F$ , drawing at each such distance a fresh parallel to the line

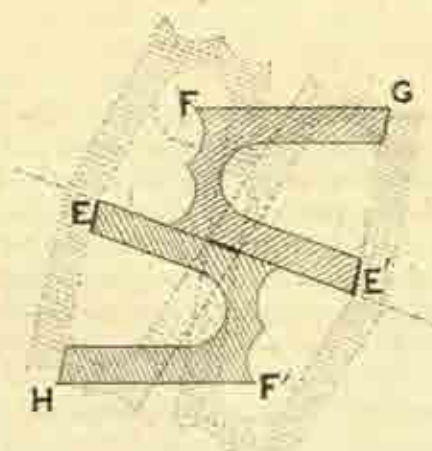


FIG. 47.

$F F'$ , and thus producing a series of rhombi. At each of these points repeat the small circles, and to complete the groundwork of this band of the design it is only necessary to draw the curving lines tangentially to them.

The first section of Fig. 48 shows the simple rhombus, the second the same with tangential lines straight and curving. In the third section on the line *AB*, and upon the base *DE* already obtained in Fig. 46, a palmette is formed by reversing the template as in Fig. 46c, and so on in the other rhombi. The curving stems and cross lines are then filled in as in the Goulàs gem (Fig. 44), the result being that shown in Pl. XII.

*Observation.*—In order to fit the design into a square or rectangular surface, as in Pl. XII., each new band of rhombi must be taken back to a starting point (*L*), which must be at the same distance from a right or left margin as was *F* at the commencement.

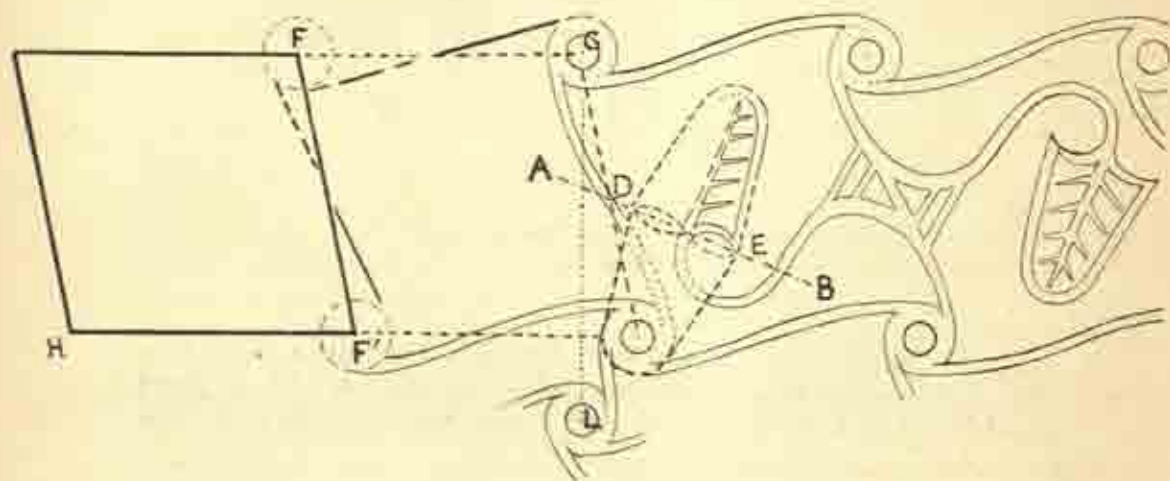


FIG. 48.

The complete design as restored in Plate XII. by the aid of the template symbol may well have decorated the ceiling of a palace hall or princely sepulchral chamber in the great Mycenaean city where the gem was found which suggested this practical application of the pictograph. The typical combination of the volute and vegetable motive which it exhibits affords in turn a secure chronological standpoint. The design before us belongs to the same class as the ceiling of Orchomenos and the fragment of wall-painting from the palace at Tiryns,<sup>23</sup> and was, like them, undoubtedly executed under the immediate influence of the Egyptian style of ceiling decoration that came into vogue under the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the finest examples of which are to be seen in the Theban tombs. The colours on Plate XII. have in fact been supplied from Egyptian analogy.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. V.

<sup>24</sup> The tangential curves of this group of designs are in nearly all cases coloured yellow as if to imitate gold, and this rule also holds good in the case of the wall-painting in the

Palace at Tiryns (Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. V.). The alternation of red and blue fields is also common in Egyptian ceilings of this class. I am indebted to Mr. J. Tylor for some unpublished examples of similar patterns from the



It is probable that at the time when these gems were executed this decorative pattern combining the palmettes and returning curves or spirals was widely prevalent in Crete. The template symbol itself recurs on two seal-stones, in one case with palmette and spirals attached, and on the triangular seal, Fig. 22c, there is a combination of two palmettes and curving lines going in opposite directions, which may be regarded as a simplified version of the fuller motive, as seen in the Goulas gem. The volute form of the latter stone is, as already shown, characteristic of a class of Cretan gems with purely Mycenaean types, and the connexion that has been established between the design that it presents and Cretan pictographic symbols on the one hand, and the Egypto-Mycenaean ceiling decoration on the other, gives us a fresh basis for a chronological equation. The later pictographic class is once more brought into close relation with Mycenaean art, while the Egyptian parallels take us once more to the middle of the second millennium before our era for the approximate date of the seal-stones on which these suggestive forms occur.

In examining the symbols on the Cretan seal-stones various other parallels with Mycenaean forms have already been pointed out. The single figures which occur, such as the young doe or kid in Fig. 24b, the dove pluming its wings on Fig. 31a, fit on both in style and execution to the Mycenaean class. The ship on Fig. 34a and 28a is found again in all its typical lines on lentoid beads of Mycenaean fabric found in Crete. The double axe No. 10, the bent leg No. 5, the bucranium No. 40, all make their appearance as accessories of Mycenaean seals and gems from Peloponnesian tombs. The forms of vases seen in Nos. 28 and 29 are elsewhere held in the hands of Mycenaean daemons, and are the distinguishing types of a whole series of lentoid and amygdaloid gems of Mycenaean character found in Eastern Crete, on the ethnographical importance of which more will be said later on.

It is always possible, as already observed, that some of the smaller objects seen in the field of the typical Mycenaean gems beside the principal design may belong to the same pictographic class as the signs on the angular seal-stones. Such correspondences as those noted above certainly tend to add to this probability. But, bearing in mind the known tendency of the primitive artist to fill up the vacant places of the field with supplementary figures, it does not seem safe to assume that, because small figures identical with the pictographic forms occasionally found their way on to these more decorative objects, they are necessarily to be regarded as having in that position a hieroglyphic value. When however symbols of this character occur in groups, occupying the whole surface of field, the case assumes a different complexion, and it is with this phenomenon that we have to deal in the class of early lentoid gems from Crete represented by Figs. 40 and 41. Of these

ceilings of grottoes near Silsilla, of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. One of these, a series of rhomboidal fields alternately

of red and blue, enclosed by yellow tangentia curves, affords a close parallel to the Cretan design as rendered in Pl. XII.

Fig. 40 exhibits a group of four distinct symbols and part of a fifth, which has unfortunately been broken off. Fig. 41 again contains three signs apparently of the same hieroglyphic character, one of which—the arm holding a curved instrument—resembles the symbol on Fig. 32*b*. These specimens belong apparently to the earlier class of lentoid beads and, like all those of this early class, which in Crete is especially well represented, are cut in soft stone, apparently steatite. One is from Knōsos, the other from the Messari district of Central Crete, and with them may be grouped another similar lentoid bead from the latter region, with a figure which clearly represents an insular copy of the Egyptian *Ankh*.

#### § VI.—THE EARLIER CLASSES OF CRETAN SEAL-STONES.

THE comparisons already accumulated sufficiently warrant us in referring the most characteristic of the hieroglyphic stones to the great days of Mycenaean art. The connexion established is indeed from many points of view so intimate that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there existed within the regions dominated by the Mycenaean culture—in Crete certainly, perhaps in the Peloponnesus—a form of picture-writing of much the same general character as that in use throughout this same period in the 'Hittite' countries of Asia Minor.

But with these Mycenaean comparisons the last word has by no means been said on the origin and evolution of the hieroglyphic forms. There are distinct indications that the beginnings of this picture-writing go back to a far more remote period of Cretan story. Everything tends to show that they are in fact deeply rooted in the soil. The most typical forms of the stones themselves come, as will be seen, of an old indigenous stock. As we go farther back the signs become more pictorial, but they seem still to stand in a personal relation to their owners not to be found on merely decorative gems, and they serve essentially the same purpose as elements of seals.

Of the types described the four-sided equilateral prisms represented by Class II., all of which seem to belong to the Mycenaean period, correspond with an Egyptian form of seal-stone that was in vogue in the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and a good specimen of which in green jasper dating from the reign of Thothmes II. (c. 1516—1503 B.C.) was found by Mr. Petrie in the Maket Tomb at Kahun. But the three-sided form seems to be a characteristically Cretan product and to go back in the island to a much more remote period.

In the course of my journey through Central and Eastern Crete I came across a series of stones which, though of distinctly earlier fabric, showed the same typical triangular form as Class I. of the later hieroglyphic series. Some of these have the same elongated form, others resemble in shape the more globular variety, but they are larger, and unlike the others, always cut in steatite and never out of harder materials such as cornelian or jasper.



One or two of these earlier types (Figs. 21, 36) have been inserted in the series of hieroglyphic seal-stones already given, as presenting symbols of essentially the same class though at times in a more primitive form and associated with more purely ideographic figures. It would not have been difficult, as will be seen from the contents of the present section, to have added others, and in truth no real lines of demarcation can be laid down between the earlier and the later group. These primitive types show a close correspondence in their designs with certain other classes of early engraved stones found in the island. Amongst these may be mentioned flat disks perforated along their axes and engraved on both faces, button-like stones, and others of truncated pyramidal and sub-conical forms, bored horizontally near the apex.

For the dating of this early group most valuable evidence is supplied by the deposit, already referred to, found at Hagios Onuphrios, near the site of Phaestos, and now preserved in the little Museum of the Syllogos or Literary Society of Candia (Heraklio). This deposit, which contains nothing that can safely be brought down to Mycenaean times proper, is of a homogeneous character, and seems to me to be of capital importance in the history of early Aegean art. Although exact details of the excavation are wanting,<sup>20</sup> it is certain that it represents the remains of early sepulture, dating from the same period as the primitive cemeteries of Amorgos and presenting a series of objects in many respects strikingly similar to those from the Amorgan cists.<sup>21</sup> Here are the same rude marble idols and vessels, high-spouted clay vases and rude pots with perforated covers, as well as the first beginnings of painted ware, with red, white, and violet stripes on the plain surface of the clay. Here is the square-ended triangular-bladed dagger of the Amorgan graves, the fluted jewelry, but of gold instead of silver; here are the same steatite pendants and spirally ornamented seals. In a word the Phaestos deposit covers precisely the same period as the earlier elements of the Amorgos cemeteries—a period which may be roughly defined as intermediate between the first prehistoric stratum of Troy and the early remains of Thera. As a matter of fact a two-handled jar with red and white streaks on the blackish-brown ground which must be regarded as one of the latest objects in the Phaestos group approaches in technique some of the earliest ceramic specimens from Thera.

These considerations would alone be sufficient to afford a rough chrono-

<sup>20</sup> Professor Halbherr has obligingly collected for me on the spot the following particulars of the find, that are all that are now obtainable. The hill of H. Onuphrios where the objects were found rises opposite the double Akropolis of Phaestos about a quarter of a mile to the North of the ancient city. The find-spot itself was on the southern slope of the hill just above the Khana on the Dihaki road and near the aqueduct of a mill. The deposit was accidentally discovered in 1887 at a small distance

beneath the surface. The objects lay in a heap of bones and skulls, but no regular tomb was noted. The whole deposit occupied a space of about four square metres.

<sup>21</sup> For the early cist-graves of Amorgos see especially F. Dümmler, *Mittheilungen von den Griechischen Inseln* (Ath. Mitt., 1886, p. 15 *seq.* and 209 *seq.*). The contents of some of the Amorgan tombs, obtained by me in 1893, are now in the Ashmolean Museum.

logical guide. The Thera vases may be justly regarded as the earliest examples of the Mycenaean class, which already by the middle of the second millennium B.C. had attained its apogee. On archaeological grounds therefore it would certainly be unsafe to bring down the earliest of the painted vases found beneath the volcanic strata at Santorin and Therasia later than the eighteenth century before our era. On the other hand, the first prehistoric city of Troy must be carried back to a far more remote period. The recent excavations of Dr. Dörpfeld have now made it abundantly clear that the Sixth City on the site of Hissarlik belongs to the great age of Mycenae, or roughly-speaking 1500 B.C.<sup>27</sup> But between this and the once mis-called 'Homeric' City of the second stratum, an interval, estimated by Dr. Dörpfeld in round numbers at 500 years, must be allowed for the intervening settlements, and beyond this again lies the whole duration of the Second City, the beginnings of which go back at a moderate estimate to 2500 B.C. The earliest and most primitive stratum is thus in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion carried back to the close of the fourth millennium before our era.

But the Phaestos deposit contains direct chronological indications of a kind hitherto unique amidst primitive Aegean finds. Amongst the relics found there occurred in fact a series of Egyptian scarabs belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty and the immediately succeeding period. And happily in this case we have to deal not with cartouches containing names which might possibly have been revived at later periods of Egyptian history, but with a peculiar class of ornament and material that form the distinguishing characteristics of the Egyptian scarabs of Twelfth Dynasty date, and which, though partly maintained during the succeeding Dynasty, give way in later work to other decorative fashions. The amethyst scarabs with a plain face—intended to be covered with a gold plate,—characteristic of this period of Egyptian art, are represented among the Phaestos relics by an example, on which—probably by an indigenous hand,—three circles have subsequently been engraved. A more important specimen however is a steatite scarab engraved below, with a spiral ornament peculiar to this period, to which also in all probability belongs a white steatite bead with a vegetable motive and a scarab with a hieroglyphic inscription. Nor must this occurrence of Twelfth Dynasty scarabs be considered at all exceptional in Crete. From the Messarâ district I acquired another of the same class, with a returning spiral ornament of a typical kind; while another scarab found in the same region, with an S-shaped scroll and a cowry-like back, apparently represents an indigenous imitation of a form that came into vogue during the Hyksos period.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> For the chronology arrived at by Dr. Dörpfeld, see especially *Troja*: 1893, pp. 61 and 86, 87.

<sup>28</sup> This is Professor Petrie's opinion. In his *History of Egypt* (vol. I. p. 205, Fig. 116) are engraved two 'cowrods' of the same character-

istic form with cartouches representing blundered copies of the name of Ra-suteb-ah of the Thirteenth Dynasty, who reigned about 2510 B.C. It is natural to refer these blundered imitations of this cartouche to the succeeding Hyksos Period and with them this 'cowrold'



The Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt is placed by the most recent chronological researches<sup>28a</sup> between the approximate dates 2778 and 2565 B.C. The succeeding Thirteenth Dynasty, which partly preserved the same style comes down on the same reckoning to about 2098 B.C.<sup>28b</sup> With the guide afforded by the presence of these Egyptian relics on the one hand and the approximation to the earliest ceramic types of Thera on the other, we may roughly take the period 2500—1800 B.C. as the time-limits of the Phaestos deposit, which no doubt consisted of successive interments. The generally 'Amorgan' facies of the whole group of objects found quite squares with this result and at the same time prevents us from bringing down the central period of the deposit too near the date of the more developed ceramic style found in Santorin and Therasia. But among the



FIG. 10.

engraved stones found here, together with specimens of other types described above, occurred a typical example of an elongated, three-cornered seal-stone of the earlier class (see below, Fig. 73), having upon it designs of a decorative rather than hieroglyphic character.

Upon a button-like ornament of steatite from the same deposit were engraved three characters of the linear class (Fig. 12); and the remarkable inscribed whorl (Fig. 11), referred to above (p. 284), was found in association with the other relics on the same spot.

form. A parallel to this shell-like type is found in the twin *Nerita* bead of the Phaestos deposit, already referred to on p. 289.

<sup>28a</sup> Petrie *op. cit.* p. 147.

<sup>28b</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 294.

The influence of the decorative motives of Twelfth Dynasty scarabs is perceptible upon other early Cretan seal-stones, both of the three-sided and button-like classes. This will be clearly seen by a comparison of the designs of the three scarabs given in Fig. 49*a, b, c*, with motives taken from the faces of primitive stone 'buttons' and triangular seal-stones of early fabric (Fig. 49*d-h*). It will be seen that the lower part of the ornament on *d* has been 'crossed,' as it were, by the 'broad arrow' symbol which occurs on another facet of the same stone. This and *g* are triangular stones of the same type as that represented in Fig. 19*a*, but of earlier technique than the conventionally pictographic class. The central design on *d* reproduces the principal motive of the scarab above it, and the two signs on *f* are simply incomplete and rude transcriptions of the very characteristic scrolls on *c*.<sup>29</sup> The buttons *e* and *g* were obtained by me from the Messara district, and the other of a closely similar type (*h*), which is unfortunately broken, is from the Phaestos deposit. It is not too much to say that this



FIG. 50 (enlarged 2 diams.)

taking over of the decorative designs of Twelfth Dynasty scarabs on to these early Cretan stones is of capital importance in the history of European art. In the examples already given will be found simple examples of the borrowing at this early period—c. 2500 B.C.—of the returning spiral motive which was afterwards to play such an important part, not in the Aegean countries only, but in the North and West. On the Twelfth Dynasty scarabs this motive, as is well known to Egyptologists, was developed to an extraordinary degree, the whole field being often entirely occupied by divergent spirals to the exclusion of all other elements. These purely spiral types, like the other Twelfth Dynasty motives already noticed, were also copied by the native Cretan engravers. A good instance of this will be seen on another button-like steatite of quatrefoil shape (Fig. 50) from the same Phaestos deposit, exhibiting a series of four divergent spirals.

<sup>29</sup> This parallel was kindly supplied me by Mr. Petrie.



From Crete, where we find these Aegean forms in actual juxtaposition with their Egyptian prototypes, we can trace them to the early cemeteries of Amorgos, presenting the same funeral inventory as that of Phaestos, and here and in other Aegean islands like Melos can see them taking before our eyes more elaborate developments.<sup>255</sup> Reinforced a thousand years later by renewed intimacy of contact between the Aegean peoples and the Egypt of Amenophis III., the same system was to regain a fresh vitality as the principal motive of the Mycenaean goldsmith's work. But though this later influence reacted on Mycenaean art, as can be seen by the Orchomenos ceiling, the root of its spiral decoration is to be found in the earlier 'Aegean' system engrafted long before, in the days of the Twelfth Dynasty. The earliest gold-work as seen in the Akropolis Tombs is the translation into metal of 'Aegean' stone decoration. The spiral design on the Stele of Grave V is little more than a multiplication of that on the Phaestian seal.

In the wake of early commerce the same spiraliform motives were to spread still further afield to the Danubian basin, and thence in turn by the valley of the Elbe to the Amber Coast of the North Sea, there to supply the Scandinavian Bronze Age population with their leading decorative designs. Adopted by the Celtic tribes in the Central European area, they took at a somewhat later date a westerly turn, reached Britain with the invading Belgae, and finally survived in Irish art. The high importance of these Cretan finds is that they at last supply the missing link in this long chain, and demonstrate the historical connexion between the earliest European forms of this spiral motive and the decorative designs of the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian scarabs.<sup>256</sup> And it is worthy of remark that in Egypt itself, so far as it is possible to gather from the data at our disposal, this returning spiral system, which can be traced back to the Fourth Dynasty, is throughout the earlier stages of its evolution restricted to scarabs.<sup>257</sup> The

<sup>255</sup> Compare especially the steatite button-seal from Kiphonisi between Naxos and Amorgos, F. Dümmler (*Arch. Mitth.* 1886. *Beilage* I. 1.): the green marble box from Amorgos (*Op. Cit.* *Beilage* I. Fig. A) and the stone 'pyxis' in the form of a hut from Melos (Perrot et Chipiez, *La Grèce Préhistorique* p. 910, Fig. 461).

<sup>256</sup> In the *Hellenic Journal*, Vol. xiii, p. 221, I had already ventured to point out that the early spiral work of the Mycenaean jewels fitted on to that of the earlier stone ornaments of the Aegean islands and the spiral decoration of these in turn to the simple spiral system that attained its apogee in Egypt under the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. I also showed (pp. 197, 223) that certain late Mycenaean forms influenced those of the Hungarian Bronze Age. But the 'missing link' to complete the Egyptian connexion was not then in my hands. Dr. Nau,

in his recent work, *Die Bronzen in Oberbayern* (Munich 1894, pp. 245, 246), while recognizing that Egypt was the place where this motive first originated, considers that it first reached the Greeks by Phoenician mediation in the fifteenth cent. B.C.—a view which the Cretan and Aegean finds must certainly modify. He considers that it reached Central and Northern Europe through mercantile intercourse due to the amber trade, and apparently favours the view that it came to those regions directly from Egypt. But the early spread of these spiral motives among the Aegean populations affords the most natural explanation of its first appearance in the Danubian regions. It would even seem possible that this Aegean influence on Central and Northern European art may have begun in pre-Mycenaean times.

<sup>257</sup> Professor Petrie's observation.

primitive Aegean imitations are also in the same way confined to stonework, and were only at a later date transferred to metal and other materials. The whole weight of the archaeological evidence is thus dead against the generally received theory that the spiral ornament, as it appears on Mycenaean art, originated in metal-work,<sup>284</sup> though its later application to this and other materials naturally reacted on its subsequent development.

It seems by no means improbable that this early Aegean spiral system, born of this very ancient Egyptian contact was beginning to spread in a Northern direction at a date anterior to the great days of Mycenae. It is at least a noteworthy circumstance that in the Bronze Age deposits of Hungary there have come to light certain clay stamps with a quadruple spiral design which might be taken to be the direct copies of the Cretan steatite seal-stone represented above.<sup>285</sup> Nor are there wanting indications that the Aegean spiral system was leaving its impress on Italian handiwork before the days of Mycenaean contact.

On the present occasion it has been impossible to do more than call attention to the far-reaching importance of this decorative result of the early contact between the Aegean islanders and the Nile Valley in the third millennium before our era. Of that early contact I was able in the course of my Cretan explorations to collect other interesting evidence in the shape of a series of primitive stone vessels of strikingly Egyptian types. In particular, I acquired a stone pot with a cover identical with those found by Professor Petrie in a Twelfth Dynasty deposit at Kahun. It was found beside a skeleton in an early cist-grave at Arvi, on the South-Eastern coast of Crete, in company with other stone vessels, some of a more indigenous character, and a clay suspension vase, very like one from the Phaestos deposit.

The Twelfth Dynasty parallels above instituted are of special value to our present inquiry from the corroboration that they afford to the chrono-

<sup>284</sup> I am informed by Professor Petrie that his researches on this class of scarab lead to this conclusion. An illustrative series of these, including one of *Tat-ka-ra* of the Fourth Dynasty, has been published by Dr. Naue (*Die Bronzenzeit in Oberbayern*, p. 145) from impressions supplied by Mr. Petrie. It would appear, however, that at least as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty this spiral decoration was beginning to spread in Egypt to other objects besides scarabs. There is in the Ashmolean Collection a black-ware vase from Egypt of a style characteristic of Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty deposits (cf. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 25 and Pl. XXVII. figs. 199-202) which has a punctuated returning spiral ornament running round the upper part of its body. Specimens of similar ware, though without the spiral decoration, were found at Khataneh by M. Naville in company with Thirteenth Dynasty scarabs, in graves deep down below Eighteenth

Dynasty accumulations. In Cyprus similar vessels are found in graves anterior, though not long anterior, to the period of Mycenaean influence. Milohüfer, who like others derived the Mycenaean spiral decoration from wire-work designs (*Die Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 16 *seqq.*), saw a corroboration of this theory in the gold jewelry from the 'Treasures' of Hissarlik (Schliemann, *Hissarlik*, p. 455 *seqq.*). But the objects from these 'Treasures' do not by any means belong to the remote period to which they were originally referred by Dr. Schliemann. Their whole *façade* shows that they are of Mycenaean date and belong to the Sixth rather than the Second City.

<sup>285</sup> See especially the Hungarian clay seals represented in the *Compte Rendu du Congrès Préhistorique*, Budapest 1878, Pl. LXX. Fig. 14 and cf. Fig. 13. The S-shaped design so frequent on the Cretan seal-stones is also represented on Fig. 12 of the same series.



logical evidence suggested by the Phaistos deposit. In the one case we have actual association with Egyptian relics belonging to the third millennium before our era; in the other case we have unquestionable imitation of the same. Both lines of evidence enable us to refer to this early period some of the more archaic of the three-sided seal stones and certain types of engraved stone 'buttons.'

But the evidence of the influence of Twelfth Dynasty decorative motives on this group of early Cretan seal-stones, while itself supplying a landmark of extreme antiquity, enables us to carry back to a still earlier date a yet more primitive class of stones still untouched by this Egyptian influence.

Our chief standpoint for this chronological result is supplied by the three-sided stones which of all the forms exhibiting the symbolic figures may be described as the most characteristic.

Setting aside for the moment the most globular variety presenting purely Mycenaean designs, these triangular stones may be divided into the following classes:—

*Class I.*—Elongated triangular stones presenting groups of symbols or ornaments enclosed in an oval groove somewhat resembling an Egyptian 'cartouche.' Seen at their extremities the central perforation of the stone is surrounded by a triangular groove (*see* Fig. 20*b*, p. 288). The seals of this class are generally of harder materials, such as cornelian, jasper or chalcedony. They present the hieroglyphs in their most conventional form. The materials and some of the designs show that they belong to the Mycenaean Period proper. This class has already been dealt with in Section II.

*Class II.*—Elongated triangular stones of the same shape as the other with or without the oval groove or cartouche, but of more primitive execution, and of softer material, such as steatite. Both hieroglyphic and linear symbols already occur on some of these, but there is a greater frequency of single designs on the sides, and of purely decorative motives, in some cases derived from Twelfth Dynasty scarabs.

*Class III.*—Triangular stones of shorter and more compact form (Fig. 51), with or without 'cartouche.' Like Class II. they are of soft materials, such

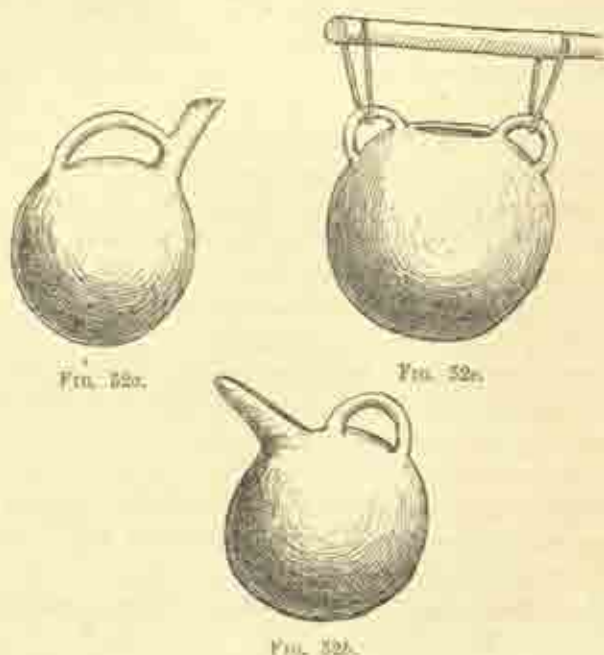


FIG. 51.

as steatite. S-shaped designs occasionally occur on these, which may possibly be due to Egyptian suggestion, but more elaborate attempts to copy Twelfth Dynasty motives are as yet rare. Human figures, birds and animals, or parts of such, vases and other objects occur, occasionally grouped, and representa-

tions of men in various attitudes and employments, but no linear symbols are found. The designs are more pictorial and less conventionalized than in the other groups. This Class seems to overlap Class II., but on the whole is distinctly earlier in style. The subjects represented show a remarkable parallelism with those on certain perforated disk-like stones found in the island. Some of them are very rude and apparently go back beyond the period of Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian influence.

The existence of this most primitive class of triangular seal-stones is of special importance to our subject as showing the indigenous character of the material out of which the later hieroglyphic script was evolved. Many of the subjects, such as the vases, the heads of animals, the birds, branches and



horn-like figures, are essentially the same as those that we find conventionalized and grouped together on the later series. Amongst the ceramic forms we may even see traces of the earlier stages out of which the more advanced types, such as the beaked oenochœ of Mycenaean times, were evolved. These beaked vases take in fact, on some of the stones, the same simple 'askes'-like shapes—betraying their origin from akin vessels—that are characteristic of the earlier strata of Hissarlik and of the most primitive cist-tombs of Amorogos. Others, again, are 'suspension' vases with round bottoms of equally primitive character, and are actually seen hanging from poles. This independent evidence would alone suffice to carry back the early seal-stones of this class to the third millennium before our era. The ceramic forms that they portray, Fig. 52, *a*, *b* and *c* for example, correspond



with the round-bottomed types that precede the earliest class of Aegean painted pottery, such as that of Thera or from the Kamares cave in Crete itself.

It will thus be seen that the most typical forms of seals on which the hieroglyphic characters occur, as well as the prototypes of the hieroglyphics themselves, go back on Cretan soil to a very remote period. The earliest class seems, indeed, to have received its characteristic stamp already before the days of that intimate contact with Twelfth Dynasty Egypt which has left its impress on some of the later decorative designs. The evidence collected by Professor Petrie, at Kahun, tends to show that already by the time of Useratesen II., c. 2681—2660 B.C., Aegean foreigners were settled in Egypt. If, therefore, the beginnings of the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian influences perceptible on the Cretan intaglios date approximately from that epoch, this still earlier class on which this influence is as yet non-apparent may well go back to the early part of the third millennium before our era.

It stands to reason indeed that the indigenous European culture represented by the primitive Cretan population must have reached a comparatively advanced stage before it could have placed itself in the direct contact with the higher Egyptian civilization. Nor was it with Egypt only that the seafaring enterprise of the Cretan islanders was already at this early date opening up communication—whether predatory or commercial, it might be hard to say. A remarkable piece of evidence is supplied by a seal-stone of the earliest class (Fig. 62), which certainly seems to point to a connexion with the Syrian coast. On one side of this stone is the unmistakable figure of a camel in the act of kneeling, the knees of its fore-legs however being bent in the wrong direction, as if drawn by one who had but a distant knowledge of the animal.

An interesting pendant to this evidence of Oriental intrusion is supplied by a triangular stone, in every respect resembling the early Cretan type, brought back by the late Mr. Greville Chester from the North coast of Syria, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The facets are, in this case, surrounded by the oval groove or cartouche which apparently belongs to the more advanced specimens of the primitive series, but both from its compact form and the rude style of the engraving the stone in question must be referred to the same general period as those grouped above under Class III., and can hardly be brought down later than the approximate date 2000 B.C.

Other independent evidence points to the same early intercourse with Northern Syria. Certain seals in the form of a truncated or obtuse-ended cone occur in Crete, some of which seem also to have been derived at the same early date from this Oriental source. In the Phaistos deposit, above referred to, three of these, and apparently a fragment of a fourth, were found, and it is to be noted as a significant feature that one of these and the fragment were made of ivory. This imported material might in itself warrant the suspicion that this class of seal, which in Crete seems to be of exceptional occurrence, was of foreign origin. As a matter of fact, in Northern Syria, where this must be regarded as a typical form, due no

doubt to Babylonian influence, these sub-conical seals are frequently formed of ivory. Seals of this type do not seem to be at home in the intervening Anatolian region, though they are occasionally found there, and their appearance *per saltum* on Cretan soil must be reasonably construed as evidence of an early maritime connexion between the Aegean island and the North Syrian coast. The Hagios Onuphrios find indeed affords a still more irrefragable proof of this contact in a green steatite seal, the upper part of which represents a seated eagle. An exactly similar type from the Haurân is to be seen in the Ashmolean Collection.

Are we therefore to believe that Crete in the third millennium before our era was occupied by a sea-faring race—perhaps Semitic—from the Syrian coast? Such a supposition might explain some of the phenomena with which we have to deal, but in any case it must be allowed that there is a distinctly local character about many of these early Cretan stones. The primitive seal-stones of the triangular form described are, as we have seen, at home in Crete. That their range may have extended to other parts of the Aegean is possible, and an example of a somewhat later type procured at Smyrna by Mr. Greville Chester (Fig. 53) and now in the Ashmolean Collection rather



FIG. 53.

points to some such diffusion, Smyrna being a well-known gathering point of Aegean finds. On the other hand these stones do not seem to be found on the mainland of Asia Minor. Certain three-sided stones of a peculiar 'gabled-shaped' class are indeed widely diffused in Cilicia and Cappadocia, but they are as a rule much larger and seem to have no immediate connexion with the Cretan form.<sup>50</sup> The occurrence of a single example of a seal-stone identical both in shape and technique with the most typical Cretan forms on the North Syrian coast is as yet an isolated phenomenon in that region, whereas in Crete itself this form is clearly indigenous and of wide distribution. We have here therefore in all probability to deal with an object brought to the

<sup>50</sup> In the case of these stones only one side, which is larger than the others, is engraved, the other two being set at an obtuse angle and forming a sloping back like a gable. 'Gabled-shaped' may therefore be a convenient term to

apply to this well-marked East-Anatolian class, which bears no obvious resemblance to the equilateral stones with which we are concerned. It may yet have a common origin.



Syrian coast from Crete by the same maritime agencies that in the contrary direction brought Syrian forms to the Aegean island.

The materials that my recent researches have enabled me to put together point clearly to the conclusion that the early engraved stones of Crete are in the main of an indigenous and non-Asiatic character. At the outset indeed we are confronted by a negative phenomenon which brings this archaeological result into strong relief. The influence, namely, of Babylonian cylinders is altogether non-apparent. At Melos and Amorgos in deposits of the same age as the early Cretan seal-stones cylinders of native work are found in which the Chaldaean form is at times associated with a decoration which appears to be derived from the Egyptian spiral motives already referred to. On the mainland of Asia Minor again early indigenous imitations of Babylonian cylinders are also widely diffused. In Cyprus they are predominant, and they are very characteristic of the finds along the coast of Syria. It is evident then that a people settling in Crete from that side would have imported this type of seal, and we should expect to be confronted with the same prevalence of the cylindrical type as in Cyprus. But, as has been already observed, this characteristically Asiatic type is at any rate so rare in Crete as to be hitherto unknown among the insular finds. This noteworthy fact seems to exclude the supposition that Crete was occupied by colonists from the Syrian coast at any time during the long period when Syria itself was dominated by Babylonian culture.

We must therefore suppose that if such an occupation took place it was at any rate at an extremely remote period. The parallelism between certain Syrian types and those of Crete is certain. There is moreover a great deal besides in the figures and style of engraving of many of the Cretan stones which strongly recalls other primitive stones found on the easternmost Mediterranean coasts. The early Cretan relics may indeed be said to belong to the same East Mediterranean province of early glyptic design as many similar objects from Syria and Palestine. But, after duly recognizing these undoubted affinities which can to a great extent be explained by the assimilating influences of early commerce, it must nevertheless be allowed that the most characteristic of the early types of Cretan seal-stones are true native products. They are in fact *in situ* geographically. If in the one direction they seem to find parallels *per saltum* on the coasts of Syria and Canaan, in another they fit on to the early engraved stones of Cilicia and the more western part of Anatolia, and they are equally linked on the other side with primitive types of the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland.

Some early forms of seal-stones found in Crete have a much wider diffusion, extending not only to the neighbouring tracts of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands, but still further afield to the West. The button-like stones for example have a very extensive range in Greece and the Levant, they are found in Cyrène and even appear as imported foreign forms in the Nile valley. These stone buttons may eventually prove to have quite an exceptional interest in the history of Aegean art, as the direct progenitors of the lentoid beads so much affected by the Mycenaean engravers. The most

primitive types of the Mycenaean lentoid gema exhibit somewhat conical backs, which may be regarded as a modification of the perforated hump of the typical buttons. The 'buttons' themselves in their original form go back to a much earlier period than the Mycenaean proper, for, as has been shown above, it is upon their decorations that the influence of the Twelfth Dynasty scarab motives is peculiarly apparent.<sup>41</sup>

But these button-like ornaments themselves, with their protuberant perforated backs, what are they but the reproduction in soft stone of prototypes of pinched-up clay? A clay seal of an incurving cylindrical form, but, unlike the Asiatic cylinders, having incised devices at top and bottom and side perforations, was found in the early deposit of Hagios Onuphrios near Phaestos already referred to. And the almost exact reproductions of some of the stone buttons in clay actually occur in the Italian *terramare* and in the Ligurian cave deposits of the neolithic and eneolithic periods (see Fig. 54 *a-c*). The clay 'stamp' from the *terramara* of Montale in the Modenese,

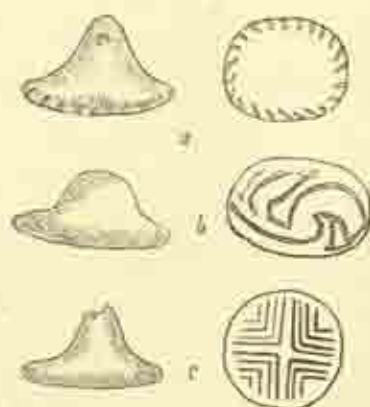


FIG. 54.—CLAY STAMPS FROM EARLY ITALIAN DEPOSITS (reduced to about  $\frac{1}{2}$  linear).

*a.* Pollara Cave, Finale, Liguria (in the Morelli Collection at Genoa).

*b.* Caverna del Sanguinetto, Finale, Liguria. (Cf. A. Issel, *Note preistoriche sulla collezione del Sig. G. B. Rossi*, Tav. II. E, 6).

*c.* Terramara of Montale (in the Parma Museum).

represented in Fig. 54*c*, the top of which, now broken, was probably once perforated, is not only analogous in form, but bears a simple geometrical design almost identical with that on an early steatite 'button-seal' from Knôsos. On the other hand the rudely curving design on *b*, from the Sanguinetto Cave in Liguria, strangely recalls the S-shaped designs so usual on the earliest class of triangular seals from Crete (see below Figs. 62, 65).

These terracotta objects, which have sometimes been described as *pinta-*

<sup>41</sup> See above, p. 327, Figs. 49*e*, *g*, *h*.



*derms*<sup>22</sup> from the name given to the clay stamps wherewith the ancient Mexicans painted their bodies, are also found in the early deposits of Hungary<sup>23</sup> and the Lower Danube and reappear in the earliest strata of Hissarlik.

It is not necessary to suppose that these clay stamps on button-seals of Italy and the lands to the North of Greece are of equally early date with some of the Cretan 'buttons.' But they may fairly be taken to show that the clay prototypes of the Aegean seals are European in their affinities. In the West the more primitive clay stamps might well live on to a much later time, while in the Eastern Mediterranean basin the example of Egypt and Chaldaea would naturally promote the substitution of stones—at first of soft and easily engraved materials such as steatite—for the same purpose.

The earlier and simpler series of seal-stones which in Crete precedes the more conventionalized class described in the preceding sections throws a welcome light on the fundamental signification of these later pictographs. The general continuity of ideas is undeniable. The earlier stones to a large extent are of the same triangular type as the later, perforated along their axis and often indeed exhibiting on their several faces somewhat earlier versions of the same designs that reappear among the 'hieroglyphs' of the later class, though in this case single figures; or at most groups of two or three, generally occupy a whole face of the stone.

In a large number of instances taken from stones of this earlier type, gathered by me from various parts of Crete, one side is occupied by a human figure which is evidently intended to represent the owner of the seal. An analogous figure appears on Fig. 36 of the already illustrated series and its frequent recurrence clearly shows that these pictographic stones bore a personal relation to their possessor. Several examples of the more primitive class seem in fact to indicate the quality and pursuits of their owner. On the three-sided stone, Fig. 55, for instance, obtained by me from the site of



FIG. 55.—GREY STEATITE (PRAESOS).

Praesos, the owner was evidently a master of flocks and herds. On one side he appears between a goat and an early form of vessel with handle and spout,

<sup>22</sup> A. Luss, *Scavi recenti nella Grotta della Arca Candide in Liguria*, and see Dr. R. Vermeil, *Les pinacles de granit Canario*, Ann.

p. la Soc. Española de Hist. Nat. xii. 1882.

<sup>23</sup> See above p. 336, n. 23f. Here a direct Aegean influence seems traceable.

bearing on his shoulders a pole from which are suspended what appear to be four skin-buckets, no doubt intended to contain milk. On the second side he is seen seated on a stool holding in each hand a two-handled vase, and on the third appears a goat—a further allusion to his flocks. In Fig. 56 we see



FIG. 56.—YELLOW STEATITE (BOUGHT AT CANDIA).

on one side a warrior holding a spear, but there appears to have been a more peaceful side to his avocations. On another face is seen a pole with pails of the same kind as those held on to the shoulders of the figure already referred to, and on the third side a goat again makes its appearance. In Fig. 57, again,

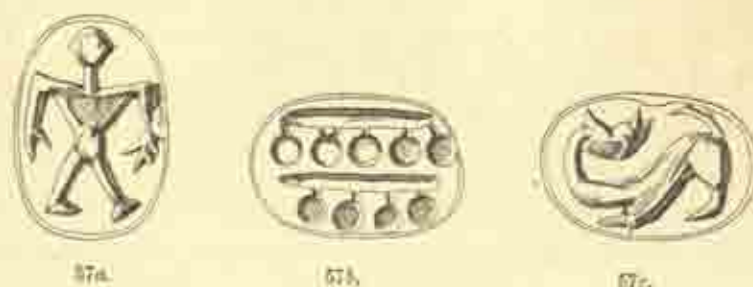


FIG. 57.—BLACK STEATITE (CENTRAL CRETE).

are engraved two poles with vessels of the same kind associated on the other faces with a man and an animal of uncertain species looking backwards, and in Fig. 58 a man is seen in two positions, standing and squatting, accompanied by round-bottomed vessels of primitive Aegean type—notably a kind of *askos* such as is found in the early cemeteries of Amorgos. (See Fig. 52b.)

In Fig. 59a the pole with suspended vessels is brought into immediate connexion with a figure having the limbs and body of a man but apparently either lion-headed or coiffed in a lion's scalp. In this case we seem to have the primitive predecessor of the lion-headed human figures of Mycenaean



art; <sup>24</sup> the parallelism indeed is of a double nature, for the lion-headed being on this primitive seal-stone is evidently intended to hold the pole with the vessels. Had space allowed he would doubtless have been represented bearing it on his shoulders as in Fig. 55.

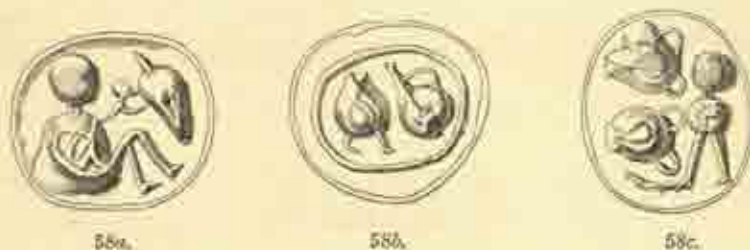


FIG. 58.—BEGOWN STYLITIS (CRETE—UNCERTAIN LOCALITY).

But this carrier's function is precisely what is so often found in the case of the mysterious daemons on the later gems, and in the well-known fresco from Mycenae. The association with vessels also reminds us



FIG. 59.—CRETE (BERLIN MUSEUM).

of a familiar attribute of the lion-headed and other kindred beings of Mycenaean times, and in the spouted vases that appear on this same group of early seal-stones we may certainly see the prototypes of those carried by these later daemons.<sup>25</sup> It looks as if in the case of the present stone the place of honour were occupied by some semi-divine protector or mythical ancestor of the actual owner of the seal; and we may trace perhaps a reference to an originally totemic lion of a tribe or family.

On the succeeding face what appears to be the same lion-headed figure is seen standing immediately behind a man in front of whom are two polyp-

<sup>24</sup> See on these especially A. B. Cook, *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age*, J.H.S. Vol. xiv. (1894), p. 31 *seq.*

like objects. On the remaining side (59c) there are three fishes. In Fig. 60 a parallel example will be seen of a figure, in this case apparently purely human, raising his hand in the gesture of protection over the head of a man who stands in front of him. The figure in front has his arms lowered in the usual attitude of the personage who seems to represent the owner of the seal. Here too we have the accompaniments of the pole slung with vessels, and the goat.



FIG. 60.—DARK STEATITE (CENTRAL CRETE).

Fig. 61 shows on one side a rude two-headed figure in which we must again recognize the prototype of a class of designs which played an important part in the Mycenaean gems of Crete.<sup>35</sup> On the other sides of this stone are some uncertain figures; one seems intended to represent a tall-spouted ewer and a polyp-like object resembling those on Fig. 59 again makes its appearance.



FIG. 61.—BLACK STEATITE (CRETE—UNCERTAIN LOCALITY).

In Fig. 62, already referred to, the owner stands behind a curved design with cross lines, which from Egyptian analogy may perhaps be taken to stand for a walled enclosure. We have here, it may be, a chief in his stronghold, and on another side of the same stone appears a camel, which must certainly be taken to indicate relations of some sort,—not improbably commercial

<sup>35</sup> Cf. for instance the lentoid intaglio found in Crete (Müchhofer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 78, Fig. 59; Cook op. cit. p. 120, Fig. 15), in which

a pair of human legs and a trunk bifurcate into the upper parts of a bull and goat.



relations,—with the Syrian coast. The third side here with the S-shaped design, is perhaps merely supplementary or ornamental, as again in Fig. 63.



FIG. 62.—GREYISH YELLOW STEATITE (CRETE).

where the owner is associated on another side with the head of a long-horned ram, a not infrequent feature on these early seals.



FIG. 63.—YELLOW STEATITE (CRETE).

On Fig. 64 the ram's head is seen again associated with a bird and scorpion, the latter a favourite symbol on early Asianic and Syrian seal-stones.



FIG. 64.—YELLOW STEATITE (CRETE).

It seems probable that the long-necked stout-legged bird engraved on this stone is intended for an ostrich, in which case we have another interesting indication of Southern commerce. The intimate contact already at this

early date existing with Egypt makes it not improbable that the trade-route by which ostriches' eggs—and no doubt their plumes as well—found their way to Mycenae had its origin in the Aegean enterprise of the third millennium B.C.

In Fig. 65, an S-shaped design, similar to that noticed above, is associated on the remaining sides of the stone with two pairs of pictorial symbols, in one case two ibexes' heads, in the other apparently a cock and an uncertain object. This is the earliest evidence of the cock,—the original home of which is traditionally sought in Persia,—on European soil.



FIG. 65.—BROWN STEATITE (CENTRAL CRETE).

A commercial purpose is occasionally indicated by a number of incised dots or pellets which occur beside the figures on these primitive stones, and which in all cases seem to belong to a duodecimal system. In Fig. 37 of the pictographic seals already represented, which might so far as style is concerned have been included in this earlier group, there are seen on one face

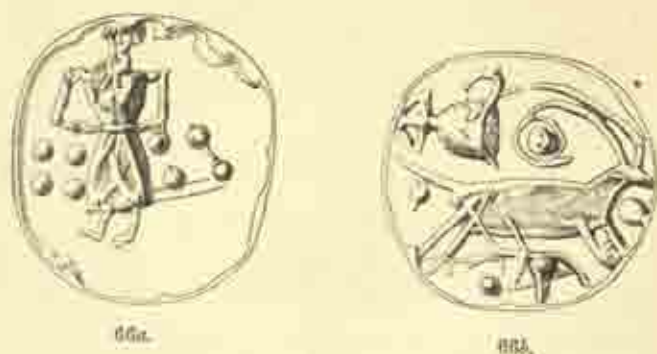


FIG. 66.—BROWN STEATITE DISK-HEAD (KAMADES, CRETE).

twelve pellets and on two of the narrower sides of the stone two groups of three. On a remarkable engraved disk, Fig. 66, obtained by me at Kamades on the Southern slope of Ida, also of early date, a standing figure clad in a long tunic appears with four dots on either side of him. On the other side in the spaces



between the various figures are three dots. On an ivory cone, again, from the Phaistos deposit four similar pellets appear, two on each side of a rude figure of an eagle.

This early duodecimal system is found again on an interesting series of engraved stones, one a seal of curiously Cilician or 'Hittite' type found at Palaeokastro near Baia, opposite the island of Elaphonisi on the Laconian coast, containing a graduated series of similar groups of pellets, first twelve arranged in three rows of four, two seals with six on each, and other small perforated cubes which seem to have stood for units.

The stone Fig. 66 is of great interest as affording one of the earliest examples of a group of pictorial symbols. Round the goat which forms the principal type on one side are three smaller figures—one apparently representing the upper part of an archer in the act of shooting, another a human eye, and below the goat an uncertain object.

In certain cases the figures on these early engraved stones seem to have a reference to some episode in personal or family history. On the green steatite disk Fig. 67, the other face of which is occupied by two goats, a branch, and other objects, we see what, owing to the naiveness of the art, may either be interpreted as a comic or a tragic scene. A figure in a long tunic, behind which is a high-spouted vase, is represented attacking and apparently overthrowing a naked figure seated on a stool.



FIG. 67.—GREEN STEATITE DISK-BEAD (CRETE).

Various designs in the primitive series recur in a more conventionalized form in the later class of Cretan seal-stones. On Fig. 68, found near Siteia, are already seen two symbols like the 'broad arrow' of the later hieroglyphic series, and the goat and the skin buckets slung on the pole again make their appearance.

On Fig. 69, what seems to be a ruder version of the same symbol is seen in front of an animal or perhaps a centaur. Then follow on the remaining sides three spearmen and perhaps a dog.

The Twelfth Dynasty influence, as already remarked, is very perceptible



FIG. 68.—STEATITE (FOUND NEAR SITRIA, CRETE).



FIG. 69.—(CRETE, BERLIN MUSEUM).

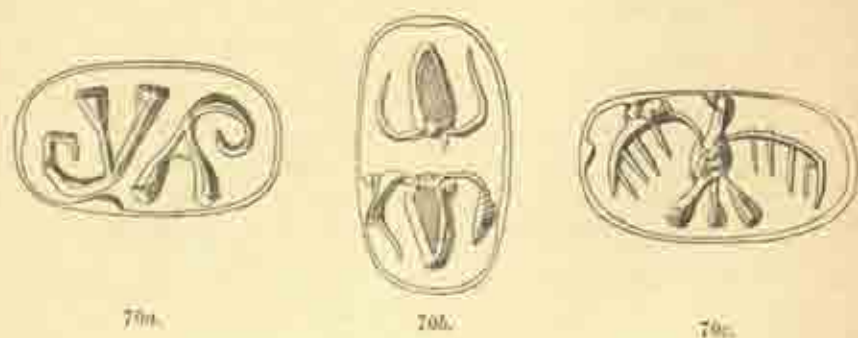


FIG. 70.—GREEN STEATITE (CENTRAL CRETE).



FIG. 71.—YELLOW STEATITE (CRETE).



on some of these early seal-stones. The origin of the designs on Figs 70*a* and 71*a* from Egyptian scarab motives has already been illustrated by the sketch on p. 327.

Fig. 72*a* is a design of decorative character, also probably derived from a Twelfth Dynasty original, the well-known type, namely, of a scarab with its face divided into two halves, each containing a divergent spiral pattern. This design is followed on the remaining sides of the stone by a rude animal and the head of a bull or ox between two 'swastika'-like figures and with a branch above.



FIG. 72.—HEALK STIRATITE (BOURRY IN CANDIA).

Fig. 73*a* may also be traced to the same Egyptian source. Fig. 73*b* seems to represent a butterfly—another anticipation of Mycenaean art.



FIG. 73.—STIRATITE (CRETE, PHAESTOS DEPOSIT).

The analogies supplied by these earlier classes of Cretan seal-stones are of fundamental importance to the present inquiry. Some of these more primitive types are the immediate forerunners of the later 'hieroglyphic' group, and indeed in their forms and symbolism are hardly distinguishable from them. What is true of the one must to a large extent be true of the other, and, as already pointed out,<sup>30</sup> the personal relation in which these earlier stones clearly stand to their possessor warrants us in believing that the same holds good of the later class.

<sup>30</sup> See pp. 301, 302.

## § VII. THE LINEAR SIGNS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PICTOGRAPHIC SERIES.

It is time to turn from the pictographic series of symbols to the linear and quasi-alphabetic forms with which they stand in such a close relation. Evidence has already been brought forward which shows that to a certain extent both forms of writing overlapped. As already noticed, linear forms appear on three-sided seal-stones in every respect resembling those which exhibit the pictographic signs, although on the earliest of these pictographic seal-stones they do not as yet make their appearance. They occur however on button-shaped stones belonging to that period of Cretan history which is marked by the decorative influence of Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian models, and a stone of this character was found, as already mentioned, in the Phaestos deposit. That the quasi-alphabetic symbols were employed by the Mycenaean population in the island is further borne out by a variety of data. They occur, as we have seen, on the walls of the prehistoric building at Knōsos, which seems to belong to the same age as the Palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae or the buildings of the Sixth City of Troy. They are found again on cups and vases belonging to the same early period, on a Mycenaean amethyst gem from Knōsos and again on vase-handles found at Mycenae itself. It is evident therefore that some inscriptions in these linear characters are as early chronologically as many of the hieroglyphic series, although, typologically considered, the pictographic group is certainly the earlier.

The elements at our disposal for the reconstruction of this linear system may be recapitulated as follows:—

- 1.—Inscribed seal-stones.
- 2.—Inscribed steatite pendants and whorls from early Cretan deposits.
- 3.—The graffiti on vases from Goulās and Prodromos Botzaro and on the perforated clay pendant from the cave of Idaean Zeus.
- 4.—Inscribed Mycenaean gem representing a flying eagle, from Knōsos.
- 5.—The inscribed blocks of the prehistoric building at Knōsos and another from Phaestos.
- 6.—The vase-handles from Mycenae and other graffiti on vases from Mycenaean tombs at Nauplia, Menidi, &c.
- 7.—The steatite ornament from Siphnos.

From these various sources it is possible to put together thirty-two different characters (see Table I.) which may be confidently referred to Mycenaean or still earlier times. But an inspection of the linear signs thus collected at once reveals striking points of resemblance with those of the Cypriote and Asiatic syllabaries on the one hand, and on the other with the graffiti signs observed by Professor Petrie on 'Aegean' pottery from Egyptian deposits at Kahun and Gurob. To these latter I am able to add a



group of linear characters (Fig. 74) on a foot-shaped seal of black steatite obtained by Mr. Greville Chester in Lower Egypt, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The signs on this stone seem to belong to the same system as the Cretan.



FIG. 74.—BLACK STEATITE SEAL (LOWER EGYPT).

The following table of comparisons (I.) shows the Cretan and other Aegean linear forms and the kindred signs of the Cypriote and Egyptian series.

The following are the sources from which the signs indicated in the first and fourth columns of the accompanying Table (I.) are derived.

- 1.—Seal-stone, Knōsos.
  - 2.—Cretan vases, Goulās and Prodromos Botzaro.
  - 3.—(a) Seal-stone, Province of Siteia. (b) Perforated steatite, Siphnos.
- A common pictographic symbol is placed in brackets.
- 4.—Vase, Goulās. Clay pendant, Cave of Idaean Zeus. Amphora-handle, Tholos tomb, Menidi.
  - 5.—Seal-stone, Praesos.
  - 6.—(a) Steatite whorl, Phaestos; (b) Seal-stone, Praesos.
  - 7.—Seal-stones, Knōsos and Province of Siteia.
  - 8.—Seal-stone, Praesos.
  - 9.—Vase, Goulās.
  - 10.—Seal-stone, Province of Siteia.
  - 11.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos.
  - 12.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos.
  - 13.—Perforated steatite, Siphnos. Handle of stone-vase, from ruined house, Akropolis, Mycenae.
  - 14.—Vase, Goulās.
  - 15.—Steatite pendant, early cist-grave, Arbi.
  - 16.—Steatite whorl, Phaestos.
  - 17.—(a) Perforated disk, Knōsos. (b) Early sepulchral deposit, Phaestos.
  - 18.—Seal-stone, Knōsos.
  - 19.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos.
  - 20.—Amethyst intaglio, Mycenaean style, representing eagle: Knōsos.
  - 21.—Whorl, Phaestos.

22.—(a) Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos. (b) Ditto, and also vase, Goulās.

23.—Perforated steatite, Messarā Amphora-handle, *Thalamos* tomb, Mycenae.

24.—Mycenaean amethyst (cf. No. 20), Knōsos. Amphora-handle, *Thalamos* tomb, Mycenae.

25.—Mycenaean amethyst (cf. No. 20), Knōsos.

26.—(a) Amphora-handle, *Thalamos* tomb, Mycenae (cf. No. 23, 24).  
(b) Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos.

27.—Handle of stone-vase, from ruined house, Akropolis, Mycenae.

28.—Cretan seal-stone.

29.—Handle of stone-vase, Mycenae (cf. Nos. 13, 27): partly overlapping a P-like sign.

30.—Perforated steatite, Siphnos (cf. Nos. 3, 13).

31.—Block of Mycenaean building, Knōsos.

32.—Perforated steatite, Siphnos (cf. Nos. 3, 13, 30).

To these may be added the K-like sign on the button-seal (Fig. 13) discovered by Professor Halbherr.


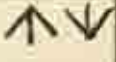



















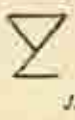















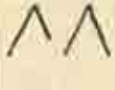


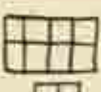















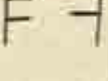
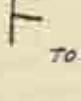
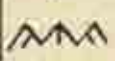
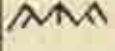










The comparisons instituted in the above table abundantly show that between the Cretan and Mycenaean script, to which the general name 'Aegean' may be conveniently given, and the signs noted by Professor Petrie on the potsherds of Kahun and Gurob there are striking points of agreement. Out of thirty-two Aegean characters no less than twenty are practically identical with those found in Egypt. The parallelism with Cypriote forms is also remarkable, some fifteen of the present series agreeing with letters of the Cypriote syllabary.

That in the case of the Kahun and Gurob signs the proportion should be somewhat larger is only what might have been expected from the relative antiquity of the Egyptian group. As however the evidence on the strength of which Professor Petrie maintains the great age of the foreign signs found on these Egyptian sites has been lately disputed, a few words on the subject will not be out of place.

That here and there some later elements had found their way into the rubbish-heaps of Kahun may be freely admitted without prejudice to the general question of their great antiquity. There seem to me to be good reasons for believing that a few specimens of painted Aegean pottery found belong to a later period than the Twelfth Dynasty. Amongst these fragments are two which are unquestionably of Naukratite fabric. But even of this comparatively small painted class the greater part are of at least Mycenaean date. The most characteristic specimens show in fact points of affinity with a peculiar ceramic class found in Southern Crete and which seems for some time to have held its own there against the more generally diffused Mycenaean types of pottery. Specimens of the class referred to, which in their dark ground colour with applied white and red retain the traditions of some of the earliest Thera ware, have been found in a votive cave near Kamarea



TABLE I.

CRETAN AND AEGEAN LINEAR CHARACTERS	AEGEAN SIGNS FOUND IN EGYPT	CYPRIOTE CHARACTERS	CRETAN AND AEGEAN LINEAR CHARACTERS	AEGEAN SIGNS FOUND IN EGYPT	CYPRIOTE CHARACTERS
1 			17 		
2 			18 		
3 			19 		
4 			20 		
5 			21 		
6 			22 		
7 			23 		
8 			24 		
9 			25 		
10 			26 		
11 			27 		
12 			28 		
13 			29 		
14 			30 		
15 			31 		
16 			32 		

on the southern steep of Mount Ida, immediately above a Mycenaean nekropolis, two of the bee-hive tombs of which I had occasion to visit and in which Professor Halbherr has now excavated an intact Mycenaean tomb. The above cave was excavated by Dr. Hazzidaki, the President of the Syllogos or Literary Society at Candia, and the objects found are now exhibited in the little Museum of that Society.<sup>36</sup> My own observations of these have led me to the conclusion that the ceramic class here represented, though of archaic aspect, really overlaps the more purely Mycenaean pottery in the island. Aspry on one specimen resembles a design on a Mycenaean pot from the prehistoric Palace at Knôses; a fish on another recalls similar forms on the painted hut-urns from Cretan tholos-tombs, and a barbaric head and arm finds a close parallel in a painted fragment from tomb 25 of the lower town of Mycenae. Nos. 1, 6, 7, and 14 and No. 13 of Professor Petrie's Plate of Aegean pottery show, so far as their shape is concerned, a greater affinity with this Cretan class than with any hitherto known ceramic group, and the analogy certainly tends to establish the Mycenaean date of some of the Kahun sherds. That the Kamares pots go back to what I have elsewhere termed the 'Period of Amorgos' is rendered impossible by the fact that the vessels found in tombs of that period both in Amorgos and in Crete itself are of quite a different character. It may be confidently stated that during this Aegean period, which roughly corresponds with that of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, no such finish of ceramic fabric either in form, glaze or colour as either the vases of Kamares or the fragments from Kahun had yet been achieved. If then these vessels were imported into Egypt at that early date they could not have come from the Aegean islands and still less from the mainland of Greece or from Italy.

But while this, presumably the latest class of pottery found in the Kahun rubbish-heaps, belongs for the most part to Mycenaean date, there seems no good reason for doubting Mr. Petrie's conclusion that the ruder pottery from the same deposit exhibiting the incised characters of non-Egyptian forms may go back in part at least to the days of the Twelfth Dynasty. Isolated appearances will not mislead the archaeologist as to the general character of the deposits with which he is dealing, and all their associations point to the time of the Twelfth Dynasty as the chief period of their formation.<sup>37</sup> At Gurob again certain of the signs occurred under circumstances which seem to involve the same early date, while others were found on sherds which from their character and the position in which they lay belonged as clearly

<sup>36</sup> A paper on the Kamares pottery was read by Mr. J. L. Myers in the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1923. It is to be hoped that this important study may shortly see the light in a fuller form. I believe that my own conclusions as to the date of the pottery agree with those of Mr. Myers.

<sup>37</sup> The special circumstances under which the signs numbered 141, 21, 125, 129 in Mr. Petrie's list were found, seem altogether to ex-

clude a later date than that of the Twelfth Dynasty. Yet these signs belong to the same class as the others, and occur on pottery of the same rude fabric which occurs, together with some of the marks, in foundation deposits of Usertesen II., and which, in Mr. Petrie's opinion (*Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 43), 'cannot be mistaken for that of any subsequent age.'



to the days of the Eighteenth Dynasty and to the most flourishing period of Mycenaean culture. So far as the early date of many of these signs is concerned, their extraordinary correspondence with those on the Cretan stones must be regarded as a striking corroboration of Mr. Petrie's views.

Another close parallel to these linear characters and at the same time another proof of their early date has been supplied by the discovery of similar marks on potsherds discovered by Mr. Bliss in the earliest strata

TELL EL HESY	ÆGEAN SIGNS

FIG. 75.—SIGNS ON POTSDERDS AT TELL-EL-HESY COMPARED WITH ÆGEAN FORMS.

(Cities I. and Sub. 1) at Tell-el-Hesi, which on a variety of evidence are referred by him to a date anterior to 1500 B.C.<sup>37</sup> The examples given above (Fig. 75) will show that there is something more than a general resemblance

<sup>37</sup> See F. J. Bliss, *A Manual of Many Cities, or Tell-el-Hesi Excavated*, pp. 21, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 33, and 42. These marks on potsherds

are described as found exclusively, with the exception of No. 21, in the earliest strata. No. 21 is the last on the list below.

between these marks and the Aegean signs. By including those of Kahun and Gurob the number of parallels may be appreciably increased.<sup>28</sup>

The correspondence of forms in the case of several of the characters found at Kahun and Gurob with those of the Aegean series is in several cases of such a nature as to exclude the supposition of a merely fortuitous resemblance. Few, I imagine, will believe that such a sign as No. 22 was about the same time evolved independently at Gurob, Knôsos and Mycenae.

The same holds good of several of the Cypriote letters. But the Cypriote comparisons are specially valuable since the possibility cannot be excluded that they supply a clue to the actual phonetic value of some of the Aegean characters.

On Table II. I have put together various examples of the Aegean characters which occur in groups of two or more. They are from the following sources:—

1. Vase, Prodromos Botzaro (p. 279).
2. Cup, Goullas (p. 278).
3. Amethyst, Knôsos (p. 281).
4. Seal, Knôsos (p. 293). Signs on two sides, but unfortunately much worn.
5. Seal from Siteia Province (p. 297). On another side ideograph of a man.
6. Block of Mycenaean building, Knôsos (p. 282).
7. Do.
8. Seal, Praesos (p. 293). Signs on two sides, two sprays as pictograph No. 59 on the third.
9. Amphora-handle, Mycenae (p. 273).
10. Handle of stone vessel, Mycenae (p. 273).
11. Button-seal, Phaestos (p. 285).
12. Perforated steatite, Siphnos (p. 287).

To these must be added the Phaestos whorl, Fig. 11b.

The parallels supplied by the Cypriote syllabary suggest the following attempt to transliterate some of these groups:—

1. // · le · lo.
2. // · pa · lo.
3. Ke · se · jo · ko.
4. E · lo.

It remains however uncertain whether the characters should be read from

<sup>28</sup> Where so much still remains to be discovered, it is worth while contemplating at least the possibility that these early signs had also a Western and European extension. In the case of the purely pictographic class, the parallel supplied by the *Maraviglie* in the Maritime Alps has already been cited, to which may now be added another similar group of sculptured signs more recently discovered by

Padre Amerano near Finisמרina in Liguria. In connexion with the linear forms I cannot help referring to certain signs on early pottery from the lake-dwellings of Paladru, near Vuiron in the lake, some of which are remarkably suggestive of Aegean parallels. For the pottery see Chantre, *Paléolithes du Lac de Paladru*, Album, Pl. X. Figs 1-5 and 7.



left to right or from right to left, neither is it clear where the inscription on the Siphnos stone which presents the largest number of parallels with the Cypriote should begin. Beginning with the sign which as the drawing stands is the topmost on the right, continuing with the lowest and then proceeding

TABLE II. GROUPS OF LINEAR SYMBOLS.	
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	

boustrophædon, the inscription as transliterated by Cypriote letters might read:—

*Si mo' // 'no' se' to.*

The indications however are too slight to base upon them any too definite conclusions. So far as they go it must be admitted that the phonetic equivalents suggested by the Cypriote parallels seem to belong to a

language other than Greek. That we have to deal with a syllabary seems to be clear from the small number of characters contained in the several groups. The close correspondence of this whole series of signs with the Cypriote has already been sufficiently demonstrated. But the very fact that the Cypriote syllabary seems to have been derived from this earlier Aegean and 'Mycenaean' script, or perhaps some parallel Asiatic branch, reacts against the Hellenic character of the original. For the Cypriote characters were never originally framed for Greek use. The Greek of the Cypriote inscriptions always seems to be clothed in a foreign dress ill-fitting at the best.

There is indeed the strongest presumption for believing that in Crete at least the race amongst whom the earlier Aegean characters were originally rife was of non-Hellenic stock. It was clearly recognized by the Greeks themselves that the original inhabitants of Crete were 'barbarian' or un-Greek. Herodotus, who brings the Lykiuns as well as the Kaunians of Karia from Crete, expressly says that the whole of Crete was once occupied by 'barbarians.'<sup>28</sup> But the most authentic evidence of this non-Hellenic origin is the name of Eteokrētes or 'true Cretans' applied by the Dorian colonists of the island to the representatives of the indigenous stock, who long continued to live on in the fastnesses of Ida and Dikta. It would even appear that the language of these Cretan aborigines maintained itself in the extreme East of the island to the borders of the historic period. The evidence of this is supplied by an inscription recently found among the ruins of Praesos<sup>29</sup> and now preserved in the Museum of the Syllogos at Candia. This inscription, though written in archaic Greek characters, is composed in a non-Greek language, in this respect recalling the two Lemnian inscriptions, from which however it differs in epigraphy and apparently in language. The following facsimile is from a photograph kindly made for me by Professor Halbherr.

The Praesian stone contains letter-forms in some respects diverging from those of the archaic Greek inscriptions of the island, and in the types of *iota* and *pi* that are there presented as well as in the early use of  $\Xi$  shows a greater approach to Phoenician models. In the concluding letters which form the word *Anait* there seems indeed to be a direct reference to the Semitic Anait or Anaitis, 'the Persian Artemis,' whose image appears on one of the shields found in the cave of the Idaean Zeus.<sup>30</sup> That at the period when the Praesian inscription was written the indigenous element in the island may have been still largely under Phoenician influence is probable enough, but the inscription itself does not seem to be Semitic.

We may fairly conclude that the language here found represents that of the Eteocretans of whom, as we know, Praesos was a principal stronghold, and it is reasonable to suppose that this was the original language of the

<sup>28</sup> I. 173 τῆς γὰρ Κρήτης εἶχον τὰ πάλαιον πάντα ἄρβαραν.

<sup>29</sup> Comparetti, *Le leggi di Gortyna e le altre iscrizioni antiche Cretesi*, 1893 (*Mon. Ant.*

vol. iii.), p. 451 *app.*

<sup>30</sup> F. Halbherr e P. Orsi, *Antichità dell'Isola di Zeus Idaea*, p. 196 *app.*, and *Atlas* Pl. II.; and cf. Comparetti, *loc. cit.* p. 462.



early script with which we are now dealing. But the materials for comparison are as yet too imperfect on either side to admit of satisfactory results.



In Roman letters the inscription seems to read as follows<sup>40</sup> :—

7 / N K A L M I T K /  
 O S | B A R X E | A H , O  
 A R K / A P S E T | M E G Δ  
 A R K R K O K L E S | G E P  
 / A S E P G N A N A I T

The original is written boustrophædon, the first, third, and fifth lines running from right to left. The AI in the last line are in ligature.

It is possible that in the earlier period during which the indigenous Cretan script, both pictographic and linear, seems to have taken its origin the sole or preponderating element is the island may have been the 'Eteo-cretan.' It is certain however that at the time when the Homeric poems were composed Crete contained representatives of several other races. The polyglot character of the island is indeed clearly brought out by the *locus classicus* in the *Odyssey*.<sup>41</sup> The Greek element both Dorian and Achaian is already at home there and seems indeed to have been already of old standing in at least the central district of the island.

But if, at any rate towards the close of the Mycenaean period, there was already a Greek population in Crete, it becomes probable that the mysterious

<sup>40</sup> I have followed Comperetti's suggestions *loc. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> xix. 1. 172 *sqq.*

characters with which we are dealing may also have been used by men of Greek speech. And from the fact that in Cyprus a similar script, in its origin apparently non-Hellenic, was in use amongst the Greek-speaking inhabitants it becomes in itself not unlikely that the same phenomenon may have occurred in Crete and the Peloponnese where a similar script was in use in much earlier times. The Greeks of Cyprus spoke a dialect approaching to Arcadian—may they not have taken over with their language a form of writing once in use in the more Western area from which they may be supposed to have migrated?

In view of these possibilities it is worth while examining the grounds of the presumption that the Greek settlement in Crete goes back to Mycenaean times. In the lines of the *Odyssey* referred to, which belong to one of the earliest passages preserved to us, Crete is spoken of as the home of several races speaking a variety of tongues, Achaeans and Dorians, Pelasgians, Eteokrêtes and Kydonians:—

Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι μέση ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,  
καλὴ καὶ πλείρα περιρρυτός· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι  
πολλοὶ, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις.  
Ἄλλῃ δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσαι μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοὶ  
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγάλητορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες  
Δωριεὲς τε τριχάικες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.

Here the indigenous Cretan elements are represented by the Eteokrêtes and Kydonians; on the other hand it is evident that the Dorian settlement in Crete at the time when this passage of the *Odyssey* was composed was of at least sufficiently old standing for the Greek colonists to have assimilated the story of Minos—set in a Dorian frame. In the next verses the poet refers to Knôsos, 'the great city,'

ἐνθα τε Μίνως  
ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου ὀριστῆς,

where, as has been shown by Hœck,<sup>41</sup> there is a distinct reference to the specially Dorian<sup>42</sup> time division of nine years or ninety-nine months,—the double Olympiad,—at the end of which 'long year' Minos according to the tradition used to return to the cave of Zeus to receive fresh instruction and repeat what he had learned before.<sup>43</sup> But Minos himself is not Dorian, and the mythical genealogist is content with making the son of the Dorian leader Tentamos, who came from Thessaly to Crete, adopt the children of the

<sup>41</sup> *Kreta*, I. p. 246 sqq. From the later usage with reference to the election of the Spartan Ephors Hœck infers that the Dorian kings required a fresh religious sanction for their sovereignty every nine years, so that they could be said to reign 'nine years.' He concludes: 'Dieses ist unstreitig der tiefere Sinn welcher dem homerischen Μίνως ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς unterliegt. Mag nun unmittelbar das Wort

ἐννέωρος später in allgemeinerer Bedeutung angewandt sein, mag selbst schon Homer sich dieses Ausdrucks nicht mit jener bestimmten Rücksicht bedient haben: so lag doch der tiefste Grund der Bedeutsamkeit dieser Neuzahl in jener alten Jahresbestimmung.'

<sup>42</sup> Dodwell, *de Cycl.* p. 316 sqq.

<sup>43</sup> Plato, vi. p. 138. Cf. Schol. ad *Od.* xix. 178.



Cretan Zeus—Minōs, Rhadamanthys and Sarpodōn.<sup>42</sup> According to this version we have a Dorian settlement in Crete from the Thessalian Doris, the later Hestiasotis, under a leader with a Pelasgian name, going back to prae-Minōan times. It is to be observed that this Thessalian connexion fits in with the account of the Odyssey which couples 'divine' Pelasgians and Achaeans with the Dorians in Crete, and with the fact that a son of Minōs bears the name Deukalion. According to the native Eteokretan tradition of the Praesians, preserved by Herodotus,<sup>43</sup> the Greek settlement in Crete had begun before the Trojan war, as a consequence of the depopulation of Crete caused by the disastrous Western expedition that followed the death of Minōs. The Chronicle of Eusebios goes so far as to fix the year 1415 B.C. as the date when the Dorian, Achaean and Pelasgian settlers who had set forth from the country about the Thessalian Olympus landed in Crete.

It will be seen however that though both the native Eteokretan tradition as preserved by the Praesians and the Greek records of the Thessalian expedition assign a great antiquity to the first Dorian settlements in Crete, they are in some respects at variance. The Praesian version speaks vaguely of a first settlement of Greeks and other foreigners in Crete at the time when a large part of it was left uninhabited owing to the wholesale Western exodus that followed the death of Minōs. It then refers to a second depopulation of the island, consequent on the expedition against Troy, followed by a second colonization, which might fit in with the Dorian occupation of the Peloponnese. The Greek account on the other hand plants Dorians Achaeans and Pelasgians in Crete two generations before Minōs, who becomes the adopted son of King Asterios the son of the Dorian leader.

<sup>42</sup> Diod. iv. 60. In other MSS. of Dioleōs the name of the Dorian leader (son of Dūros) appears as *Tektamon*. Andrian, in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δάριος*, gives the same version of the Dorian invasion from Thessaly in prae-Minōan times, where the name appears, probably erroneously, as *Tektaphos*. Testamen, as Hoeck notes (*Kreta*, ii. 1, 24, note 6), recurs in Pelasgian genealogies; cf. Homer, *Il.* ii. 343.

<sup>43</sup> Her. vii. 171 *ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἱερμαθίζουσιν οἱ Λέγωνες Πρασιῶν, ἐκκλιθεὶς δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων, πρὶν δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μινῶν τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκά*. . . It is reasonable to bring *ἱερμαθίζουσιν* into connexion with the failure of the great Cretan expedition to avenge the death of Minōs and the Cretan settlement of Iapygia described in the preceding chapter. The direct reference by Herodotus to Praesian, i.e. Eteokretan, tradition in c. 171 gives a special importance to his statement in c. 170 that the Praesians and inhabitants of Polichna, that is the old Kydonians, alone among the Cretans did not take part in the Sicilian expedition. It seems on the one hand to show a recognition of the fact

that the Praesians and old Kydonians were of the same stock, on the other hand it does not necessarily mean that Minōan Crete was then in other hands. It is, rather, a patriotic way of accounting for the disappearance of the Eteokretan population from the later Dorian area by the fact that their Western expedition had left the land tenantless, for any one who chose to occupy it. The argument, in fact, runs as follows. The greater part of Crete is occupied by foreigners. These foreigners came in when the original native occupants had gone elsewhere on a Western expedition whence they never returned. But we Praesians, as well as the Polichnites near Kydonia, represent the old inhabitants of the land. Therefore neither we nor they took part in the Western expedition. The survival of the indigenous element in the Kydonian district in the extreme West of Crete supplies a presumption that the Doric colonization of the island did not come by way of Peloponnese. All traditions point to Central—'Minōan'—Crete as the region where Hellenism first took root.

But both traditions are at one in regarding the Dorian occupation of Crete as the result of peaceful settlement rather than of a war of extermination. The account of the 'adoption' of Minos by the son of the Dorian chief, after the settlers had seen a second generation grow up on Cretan soil, certainly points to a gradual and bloodless amalgamation of the Hellenic and indigenous elements.

It has been necessary to recall these traditions of the great antiquity of the first Dorian settlement in Crete, since the prevailing tendency is to regard that settlement as a secondary result of the Dorian occupation of the Peloponnese. That the conquest of the Peloponnese may have brought with it a new flow of Dorian migration to Crete is likely enough. The earlier settlements may well leave room for the later attributed to Pollis and Delphos of Amyklæ, or for that of Althamenès from Megara or Argos. The native tradition as represented by the Præsiens distinctly points to a fresh Hellenic settlement in the period that succeeded the Trojan war. But to regard the traditions of the early Dorian settlement from Thessaly as given by Andrôn and Strabo as simply fabricated from an erroneous interpretation of the Homeric passage seems quite unwarrantable. The Homeric collocation of Dorians Achæans and Pelasgians points itself to Thessaly; the name of Deukalion, applied already in the *Iliad* to a son of Minos, points in the same direction, and a mere comparison of many of the local names of Crete with Thessalian forms is sufficient to prove an early connexion with that region.<sup>44</sup>

Both tradition, then, and nomenclature favour the view that Greeks and 'Pelasgians' from Thessaly may have settled in Crete at a date far anterior to that of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesos, and it follows that among those who used the curious Cretan script of Mycenaean and earlier times there may well have been men of Hellenic speech.

The archaeological evidence points the same way. Although on the present occasion it is impossible to go into the evidence in detail I may say that my own researches into the prehistoric antiquities of Crete have brought home to me the impression of their great homogeneity. From Kissamos and Kydonia in the extreme West to Praesos and Itanos in the extreme East the same characteristic forms are perpetually recurring. The same type of Mycenaean culture, with certain *nuances* of its own, is common to the whole island. The same rude terracotta images occur throughout, and, as far as our evidence reaches, the funereal rite of enclosing the bones of the dead in painted hut-urns enclosed in *tholoi*, at times excavated out of the rock, was as widely diffused. Diversity of race may have eventually led to some local differentiation. It looks as if the later class of seal-stones with pictographic

<sup>44</sup> E.g. *Lariss*, the ancient name for Gortyn according to Steph. *Byz.* (s.v.); *Gortyn* itself comparing with *Gyrêa* in Perchaëia (Bechtel, cited by Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* II, 239, note); *Phaistos*, *Phalanna* (cf. also *Phalassura*), and *Beid* are also found both in Crete and Thessaly. *Tritis*, an old name for Knossos, may possibly

be compared with Trikkæ. There was also a Cretan *Magneia*, according to some accounts founded by Magnes from Thessaly (Parthen. *Æt.* s. 5). These parallels extend to Macedonia; compare for instance *Olois* and *Olynthos*, *Hierapyton* and *Pydna* and the river-names *Axos* and *Axios*.



symbols were the special product of the surviving representatives of the aboriginal race in the East of the island, while on the Southern slopes of Ida,—to judge by the relics found in Kamares grotto,—pottery of archaic fabric continued to be produced in early Mycenaean times. Regarding them as a whole however, a great family likeness is perceptible in Cretan remains of this early period; and, together with the general homogeneity, a remarkable continuity is observable. From about 900 B.C. onwards, to judge from the bronzes of the cave of Zeus, there was a strong Assyrianizing influence, due no doubt to Phoenician contact; but the archaeological break which at Mycenae itself and in the Greek mainland generally is perceptible in the centuries immediately preceding the days of the mis-called 'Archaic' Greek art or, as we should now call it, the Greek art of the 'Early Renaissance,' is in Crete conspicuous by its absence. We have here what may be called late Mycenaean crossed by Oriental influences but still essentially continuous, a phenomenon which repeats itself in an almost identical aspect at Argos and in the Argive relics found at Kameiros. The break caused on the Greek mainland by the intrusion of a geometrical style of art fitting on to that of the Danubian valley and the Hallstatt culture of Central Europe is reasonably connected with a tide of invasion from the North, of which the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese represents the southernmost wave. But the Dorian invaders who are supposed to have been hurried on to Crete by the same migrating impulse—where have they left their mark on Cretan antiquities? Certain geometrical elements came in no doubt, fibulae are found identical with those of the Dipylon or the Boeotian cemeteries, but the evolution of Cretan art is still in the main continuous. That there was at this period a fresh Dorian colonization of parts of Crete is probable: but the new comers were merged in the body of Dorian inhabitants already long settled in the island, and received from them the artistic traditions that they had themselves handed down from Mycenaean times. And in architecture at least, let it be remembered, it was the Dorian element that was to represent the true Mycenaean tradition.

Another piece of archaeological evidence completely disposes of any difficulty that might be felt as to a colonization of Crete from such a comparatively distant quarter as Thessaly in Mycenaean times. Mycenaean culture was early planted in the Thessalian coastlands, as appears from the tombs of that period discovered on the headland opposite Volo, the ancient Iolkos.<sup>45</sup> But, among the vases found in these Thessalian tombs, is a peculiar class of one-handed pots displaying water-plants with arrowlike or cordiform leaves and waved lines below, apparently indicative of water. A vase of the same form but with a different ornamentation was found in Akropolis Grave No. III. at Mycenae,<sup>46</sup> but in the Maket tomb at Kahun, now shown by Mr. Petrie to belong to Thothmes III.'s time,<sup>47</sup> there was deposited a

<sup>45</sup> See Wolters, *Mykenische Funde aus dem nördlichen Griechenland*, *Alten. Mitt.* xiv. (1889) p. 262 *seq.*

<sup>46</sup> A leaf ornament of the same character

occurs on a vase from Grave I. and another from Grave VI., as well as on a glass paste ornament from Grave III.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 318.

pot not only of the same shape as the Thessalian examples but with an identical design. Iolkos and the Nile Valley were thus either in direct commercial connexion, or at any rate supplied from the same source, as early as the fifteenth century B.C., and it cannot be doubted that Crete, lying between the two, formed an important link in the chain. The vegetable motive described is indeed a characteristic feature on Cretan gems of the Mycenaean period<sup>48</sup> and will doubtless be eventually found to have played an important part in Cretan ceramics. The archaeological evidence makes it well-nigh certain that there was a direct intercourse between Crete and the famous Thessalian port at the period when, according to tradition, the first Dorian colonists along with Achaeans and Pelasgians found their way to the island from that very quarter.

There are therefore good grounds for supposing that the Greek colonization in Crete goes back well into the period during which the primitive forms of script with which we are dealing were in general use in the island. As a matter of fact the later epigraphic monuments of more than one of the Dorian cities of Crete actually exhibit what appear to be survivals of some of the characters belonging to the pre-Phoenician script with which we are now dealing. Professor Halbherr has made to me the valuable suggestion that some of the characters brought to light by the present investigation had influenced the forms of certain letters that occur in the most archaic Greek inscriptions found in the island, while in other cases they seem actually to have survived as marks of division. Thus at *Lyttes* there is seen a form of  $\bigcirc$  consisting of two concentric circles, with or without a central dot,<sup>49</sup> identical with the symbol No. 27 of the pictographic series or 28 of the linear. At *Eleutherna*<sup>50</sup> and *Oaxos*<sup>51</sup> there is found a form of *Vau*  $\wedge$  which suggests a differentiation from the Phoenician *Vau* under the influence of the linear character No. 20  $\Sigma$ . On the other hand the double axe symbol  $\boxtimes$  occurs both at *Gortyna*<sup>52</sup> and *Lyttes*<sup>53</sup> as a mark of division.<sup>54</sup>

But in considering the possibility that this early script may have been made use of by men of Greek speech we cannot restrict our survey to Crete alone. The indications that we possess, at any rate in the case of the linear characters, point to a much wider diffusion, Mycenaean in its most comprehensive sense. The early script that we find in Crete extends, as we have seen, to the Peloponnese, but quite apart from this phenomenon there is abundant evidence to show that the Mycenaean culture in the two areas, at least in its earlier stages, was singularly uniform in aspect. On this occasion it is impossible to enter into details, but it may be sufficient to say that the engraved Mycenaean gems found in Crete show a remarkable correspondence with those from Mycenae itself, the Vaphio tomb and other Peloponne-

<sup>48</sup> See above, p. 322.

<sup>49</sup> Comperetti, *Leggi di Gortyna*, *av.*, p. 201.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 418, *Inscr.* 194, l. 6.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 402, *Inscr.* 187, l. 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 117, col. ix. l. 43. In the note it is spoken of as 'un segno insignificante.' It

is used to separate two very different clauses.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 434, *Inscr.* No. 203, l. 7. In this case the sign is written horizontally instead of vertically.

<sup>54</sup> At Corinth the same sign is used for  $\Xi$ , in Pamphylia for  $\Xi$ .



sian sites. The art of the Vaphio gold vases finds itself an absolute counterpart on a fragment of a stone vessel presenting similar reliefs obtained by me on the site of Knōsos. The cult-scenes on the gold rings find their nearest pendant on a Cretan example. A bronze figure of the same early type as that found at Tiryns, and another from Mycenae, has lately been discovered in a cave near Sybrita. In short, whichever way we look, we see Mycenaean art in Crete as it now begins to emerge before us displaying the same typical form that it bears in Peloponnesos. And few will be found to doubt that, whatever may have been the nationality of the dominant race in whose hands both in Crete and Peloponnesos this art first took its characteristic shape, in Peloponnesos at any rate it was taken over by Greek-speaking tribes. The close relation with Crete into which the royal house of Mycenae is brought in the *Iliad* and in Greek tradition generally<sup>55</sup> becomes in this connexion of special interest. Atreus himself or his son Pleisthenēs marries Aeropē the granddaughter of Minōs, who in turn becomes the mother of Agamemnōn and Menelaos. Idomeneus, the uncle of these, is the guest of the Argive princes—notably of Menelaos—and connected with them in the affairs of peace as well as war.<sup>56</sup> According to local sagas Agamemnōn himself founded the Cretan Mykēnae<sup>57</sup> and other cities of the island. There are besides this a considerable number of local names common to Crete and the Peloponnese,<sup>58</sup> but some at least of these may be due to the later wave of Dorian migration from Laconia and the Argolid.

The early connexion between Crete and other parts of the Greek mainland, notably with Attica and Boeotia, is borne out by the same evidence of tradition and nomenclature. In the case of Boeotia indeed it is tempting to see in the peculiar form of the  $\Xi$  a trace of the influence of the linear or pictographic symbol resembling a four-barred gate.

Incomplete then as our evidence still is, it tends to show that the use of early script with which we are dealing may have been shared both on the mainland and in Crete itself by men of Greek speech. The data at our disposal seem to warrant the conclusion that the diffusion of this early system of writing was in fact contemporaneous with that of the Mycenaean form of culture. The pictographic class of seal-stones seems to have been principally at home in Crete, though the example from Sparta in the Ashmolean Museum should not be left out of sight. But the linear script had evidently a very wide range. In Crete itself the linear characters occur on a greater variety of materials than the more pictorial forms. In the Peloponnese they are found not only at Mycenae itself but at Nauplia, they reappear at Menidi and at Siphnos, and in Egypt they are found on the early potsherds of Kahun and Gurob. In Cyprus we find a closely allied system, which had also diffused itself along the coastlands of Asia Minor, surviving into classical times. It further appears that very similar signs had invaded the coast of

<sup>55</sup> See especially Hoeck, *Kreta*, II. p. 397.

<sup>56</sup> *Il.* iv. 255 *agg.*, and cf. *Il.* iii. 230 *agg.*

<sup>57</sup> Vell. Patere. i:1.

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<sup>58</sup> E.g. *Amykla*, *Therapnae*, *Pharac*, *Boiae*, *Tegon*, *Arbutea*, *Lamp* (or *Lappa*). Cf. Rusolt, *Gr. Geschichte*, 2nd ed. p. 329 *agg.*

Canaan. There can be no doubt that many of the marks referred to above as found on the potsherds of Tell el Hesi, which has been identified with the ancient Lachish, belong to the same system as the linear characters of the Aegean and Egyptian deposits. May we suppose that both in this case and at Kahun and Gurob these marks were originally derived from a Cretan or Aegean source? The appearance in the later strata at Tell el Hesi of Aegean painted pottery, including a fragment representing a bird which resembles one from the sixth Akropolis tomb at Mycenae, certainly points to an influence from this side.

The evidence as a whole reveals a very direct relation between the linear forms and the Mycenaean form of culture in its most typical shape. On the Gouliás cup, the Knōsos amethyst, the prehistoric walls of the same site, the vase-handles of Mycenae itself, it appears on objects of the characteristically Mycenaean class. In short there seems every reason to believe that this quasi-alphabetic group of signs represents the typical form of Mycenaean script.

The pictographic series on the other hand may be regarded as more local in distribution and as the special property of the indigenous Cretan stock, who appear to have continued to use this less developed form of picture-writing at a time when their neighbours had generally adopted what may be a more simplified form of script. To this pictographic or hieroglyphic group I would provisionally give the name of 'Eteocretan.' That it lived on in Crete into Mycenaean times is proved by a variety of evidence and that it belonged to a people largely under Mycenaean influence is also clear enough. But it does not seem to have been so widely current amongst the Aegean peoples of the Mycenaean age as the linear system.

In comparing the two groups the first question that naturally suggests itself is: How far does the pictographic or 'Eteocretan' series represent the parent stock out of which the linear or 'Mycenaean' system proper may be supposed to have been evolved?

That there is a connexion between the two systems is certain. Not only do both groups of characters occur on seal-stones of the same typical form, but in some cases the linear forms are seen accompanied by signs belonging to the hieroglyphic class. On the four-sided stone Fig. 36, two facets of which are occupied by purely ornamental designs, we find the two remaining sides occupied respectively by a figure of a man, which may be taken to have an ideographic signification, and a group of three linear signs. On the triangular seal-stone Fig. 29 we see another group of three linear characters preceded by a sign which represents a simplification of the eye-symbol that recurs on several stones of the purely hieroglyphic series, and on the remaining side two other pictographic characters. On Fig. 30 two sides are filled with linear characters, while the third exhibits what is possibly a rude version of the hippocamp symbol. Moreover on the stone vase-handle from Mycenae we see the quasi-alphabetic forms accompanied by a more pictorial representation which closely resembles an early form of the 'broad arrow' symbol as seen on some of the Cretan stones. It is a noteworthy fact



that a similar mixed usage of pictographs and alphabetic forms occurs on early Sabæan inscriptions. Thus on two Sabæan gravestones a pair of eyes appear above the inscription.<sup>59</sup> In another case a bull's head, a pictographic rendering of the personal name Taur, appears at the beginning of the inscription.<sup>60</sup> In Greek archaeology this combined usage of letters and symbol is curiously illustrated by the signatures of magistrates and officials, which are often reduplicated in the same way.<sup>61</sup>

This mixed usage is a clear proof of the overlapping of the two classes of script with which we are now dealing. Abundant evidence indeed has been already accumulated that at any rate in the Eastern part of Crete the pictographic signs continued to be used by a people in other respects under the full influence of Mycenaean culture.

Again several of the signs that take their place in the pictographic series are themselves practically linear. Among these may be mentioned the concentric circles (No. 2*d*, *e*), the loop (No. 80), the S and X-shaped forms, the gate or shutter and some forms of the 'broad arrow.'

This tendency to linearization perceptible in the hieroglyphic series might by itself suggest the possibility that we had here the prototypes of quasi-alphabetic forms. I had even, as already observed, set to work to simplify and reduce to linear shape the pictographic symbols that occurred on the first seal-stones that came under my notice before I was yet acquainted with the linear class. More limited as was then my material the results thus experimentally arrived at led me to the conclusion that the Cretan hieroglyphs might eventually prove to supply the origin of a system of script closely approaching the syllabaries used in Cyprus and parts of Anatolia at a later date.

It was therefore the more satisfactory to find this *a priori* supposition confirmed by the subsequent discovery in Crete itself of an independent linear system of writing containing in several cases forms corresponding to the simplified versions of the hieroglyphs that I had already worked out.

Of course it is not to be expected that all or even a large proportion of types represented in any given pictographic or hieroglyphic system should recur in a series of alphabetic or syllabic characters derived from it. The pictographic method of writing necessarily involves the use of a very large number of signs, while on the other hand an alphabet or syllabary can only be arrived at by a rigorous system of limitation and selection. Out of the seventy odd 'hieroglyphic' signs from the Cretan stones—a number which will no doubt be largely increased by future discoveries—it would not be reasonable to expect more than a limited set of correspondences with the linear forms, especially when it is borne in mind that of this linear system too we have as yet probably little more than a fragment before us.

The correspondences that do occur between the two systems are nevertheless of so striking a kind as to warrant us in believing that there is a real

<sup>59</sup> Glaser, *Mittheilungen über einige aus meiner Sammlung stammende Sabäische Inschriften*, &c., pp. 304 and 326.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 325.

<sup>61</sup> See above, p. 273.

relationship. In instituting the comparisons below the pictographic signs referred to have been taken from the somewhat advanced types represented on the Mycenaean seal-stones of Eastern Crete. But inasmuch as the linear forms overlap this conventionalized pictorial class and go back themselves, as already shown, to a very early date, it would not be literally true to say that they are derived from pictographs in the stage represented by these 'Eteocretan' seals. The actual prototypes of the linear forms would probably have been pictographs of a ruder 'graffito' and almost linear type themselves, such as we find on some of the most archaic Cretan stones and on the whorls of the earliest settlements at Hissarlik. But, these allowances being made, the later pictorial series of which alone we have a fairly copious record seems in certain cases to supply a probable clue to the origin of the linear signs.

In instituting the comparisons between the pictographic and linear signs as sketched in the annexed diagram (Table III.) it has been found useful to introduce a certain number of Cypriote forms as supplementing the Aegean types at present known to us. But, in addition to this, the parallels presented by the linearized pictographs to Semitic letter-forms are in several cases so striking that I have not hesitated to include these in the table of comparisons. There have been also added certain Greek letters either of uncertain origin, like the  $\Psi$ , or presenting forms like the Boeotian four-barred E or the Cretan O with a concentric circle,<sup>62</sup> which apparently go back to prototypes earlier than any existing Semitic models. In the case of Zayin I have even had recourse to the Sabaean form as very probably in this case representing the completer shape of the letter. These Semitic comparisons recall certain parallels presented by some of the linear Aegean signs included in Table I. Nos. 10, 24, and 25 of the series there represented much resemble forms of *Gimel* and *Lamed*, while No. 14 suggests a reduplicated *Yod*.

The annexed table of comparisons both in its general bearing on the origin of Aegean and possibly Cypriote letters from pictographic originals and in the special parallels that it supplies to Semitic forms must certainly be taken to throw a suggestive light on the vexed question of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet. If it once can be shown that in Crete and the Aegean coastlands a primitive system of picture-writing gave birth to a linear syllabary akin to that of Cyprus, the possibility that the Phoenician forms may after all have had a non-Egyptian origin becomes distinctly greater. If in this Aegean region an ox's head or a fence or tree assumed linear forms practically identical with those that bear the names of the same or similar objects in the Phoenician series, what good reason is there for supposing that the same phenomenon may not have repeated itself in other parts of the same East Mediterranean basin?




Some of the parallels with Semitic names and forms, as will be seen from the following examples, are altogether startling.


On the remarkable perforated disk (Fig. II) from the Phaestos deposit a rude and elongated figure of a horned animal—apparently a bull or ox—

<sup>62</sup> See p. 360.



PICTOGRAPHS	EGEAN LINEAR	CYPRIOTE AND SEMITIC	PICTOGRAPHS	EGEAN LINEAR	CYPR AND SEMITIC
1 		 CYPR. KH  FORM OF GR CHI	8 	 WITH SIDE SPRAYS	 ARCHAIC CX. INSCR CRETE  SEM. AIN = EYE
2 		 CYP. LE AND SABAAN FORM OF ZAYIN = WEAPONS	9 		 CYPR. RO
3 		 SEM. CHETH = FENCE  BIBOTAN E	10 		 CYPR. PE
4 		 SEM. HE = WINDOW(?)	11 		 CYPR. PO
5 			12 A 		
6 		 CYPR. SE	 OX AND OXES HEAD FOLLOWED BY THE SAME SYMBOL ON OPPO- SITE SIDES OF THE PNESTOS WHORL		
7  TREES ON MUCIARAH SEM.	 TREE SYMBOL	 SEM. SANEKH = POST (WOOD)	12 b 	 SEM. ALEF = OX	
TABLE III PICTOGRAPHS AND LINEAR SYMBOLS COMPARED. CYPR = CYPRIOTE ARCH. CX = ARCHAIC GREEK SEM = SEMITIC			13 	 VASE HANDLE MYCENAE	 CYPR. MY

appears in conjunction with a linear symbol . On the other side of the same stone the head of the same animal like an  upside down is followed by the same symbol . The A is thus brought into direct connexion with the bull or ox. On a seal-stone again (Fig. 26a) we find a pictorial representation of an ox's head accompanied by other symbols, while on the pendant from Arbi (Fig. 16) occurs what seems to be a linear form of the same, standing by itself. It cannot be doubted that the A symbol of the Cretan series is derived from an ox's head. If we turn to Phoenicia we find the same symbol with a record of its pictographic original in its name *Alef*=an ox. According to De Rouge's theory however, which still holds the field, we are asked to believe that in Phoenicia the symbol, notwithstanding its name, was derived from the hieratic representation of an eagle.

In Crete we see the double axe linearized into a symbol , like a closed X or two crossed Z's. From the occurrence of this symbol as equivalent to Z on the Sabaean inscriptions there seem to be good reasons for believing that the original Semitic form of *Zayin* was of this shape, and *Zayin* is generally translated 'weapons,' which would find its natural explanation in the pictograph of the double axe. But the received derivation is from the hieratic sketch of a flying duck. The Cretan pictograph for a tree is reduced to the same form as the Phoenician *Samkh*=a post, the origin of which is by De Rouge's theory traced to the hieratic degradation of an Egyptian chair-back. The two Cretan pictographs which may stand for a gate, fence, or shutter and the accompanying linear forms are practically identical with the Semitic *Cheth*= 'a fence' and *He*,<sup>42</sup> supposed to mean a window.<sup>44</sup> Here again form and name correspond in both cases, but we are asked to believe that the Phoenician forms are descended respectively from a sieve and a meander. The eye is one of the commonest of the Cretan pictographs, and the Phoenician *Ain*, signifying 'an eye,' for which even De Rouge's ingenuity failed to discover an Egyptian prototype, is the natural linearization of a similar form.

The Cypriote system, as we have seen, seems to fit on to the Cretan and 'Aegean.' But if we examine the Cypriote syllabary we are struck in the same way with the close parallelism of many of the forms with those of the Phoenician alphabet. These resemblances have been accounted for by a supposed process of assimilation due to the preponderating influence of the Semitic forms. But now that it is becoming clear that the Cypriote syllabary represents a branch of a very much older system, which appears in Crete, the Peloponnese and elsewhere long before we have any record of Phoenician writing, the ground is cut away from any such theory.

The matter seems at first sight to be complicated by the fact that the Cypriote characters that bear the greatest resemblance to Phoenician forms have in all cases a different phonetic value. The sign which answers to *He* in the Semitic series reappears in Cypriote as equivalent to *ri*. In the same way *Tau* becomes *lo*, *Gimel*, *ko*, and *Yod*, *ni*.

<sup>42</sup> The Boeotian E with four bars, introduced in the Plate, rather points to an older form of

*He* resembling the pictograph No. 4.

<sup>44</sup> See Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, p. 171.



But these phonetic divergences can be accounted for by a very simple supposition—which may indeed be now regarded as something more than a mere theoretic possibility. Supposing that throughout a considerable part of the East Mediterranean basin a pictographic system of communication had grown up analogous in its earliest stage to the picture-writing in use among the North American Indians, such pictorial signs would have had, as they still have amongst savage races at the present day, a currency beyond the limit of individual languages. The signs would in fact have been ideographic and independent of language. But as the system became more conventionalized and developed and finally gave birth to a kind of linear shorthand of the original picture-writing, the figures which had stood for individual objects and ideas would in due course acquire a shortened phonetic value representing syllables and letters. And, as a necessary consequence of this process, these signs, though they may have been derived from what was originally a widely current pictorial stock, would now take the phonetic values imposed by the language spoken by individual tribes. The old picture of an ox or an ox's head would have been generally intelligible. But reduced to the linear stage the ox's head might be an A in one country and a B in another.

It looks as if some process of this kind had actually occurred on the coasts and islands of the Aegean and the further Mediterranean shores. The Cretan pictographs give us a good warrant for believing—what even without such evidence common sense would lead us to expect—that a primitive system of picture-writing had existed in the Aegean lands at a very remote period. The antiquity of these figures is indeed in some cases curiously brought out by the fact already pointed out that they actually exhibit the actions of a primitive gesture-language. Furthermore we see certain ideographic forms no doubt once widely intelligible on the coasts and islands of the Eastern Mediterranean reduced to linear signs which find close parallels in Cyprus and Phoenicia. Finally, some of the names of the Phoenician letters lead us back to the same pictographic originals which in Crete we find actually existing.

To the Phoenicians belongs the credit of having finally perfected this system and reduced it to a purely alphabetic shape. Their acquaintance with the various forms of Egyptian writing no doubt assisted them in this final development. Thus it happened that it was from a Semitic source and under a Semitic guise that the Greeks received their alphabet in later days. But the evidence now accumulated from Cretan soil seems at least to warrant the suspicion that the earlier elements out of which the Phoenician system was finally evolved were largely shared by the primitive inhabitants of Hellas itself. So far indeed as the evidence at our disposal goes, the original centre of this system of writing should be sought nearer Crete than Southern Syria. The natural script of the Semites was the cuneiform, derived from their ancient contact with Chaldaea, and which, as we know from the Tell-el-Amarna tablets and other sources, was still the dominant script of Syria and Palestine at a time when 'Minoan' Crete and Mycenaean

Greece had, as we have seen already, evolved independent systems of writing both pictographic and linear.

In view of these facts it is at least worth while to weigh the possibility that the rudiments of the Phœnician writing may after all have come in part at least from the Aegean side. The more the relics of Mycenaean culture are revealed to us the more we see how far ahead of their neighbours on the Canaanite coasts the Aegean population then was in arts and civilization. The spread of their commerce led them to seek plantations in the Nile Valley and the Mediterranean outlets of the Arabian and Red Sea trade. The position was the reverse of that which meets our eye at a later date. It was not Sidon that was then planting mercantile settlements on the coasts and islands of Greece. Those were the days when Philistine Askalon weighed heavily on Sidon herself;<sup>65</sup> when the Viking swarms from the Aegean isles and the neighbouring coastlands were a thorn in the side of the Egypt of Thothmes III.<sup>66</sup> and his successors. But the relics of Aegean civilization now brought to light at Tell-el-Amarna and the Fayoum, like those found at Lachish, show that there was another besides the purely piratical side to the expeditions of these maritime races. Barbaric invasion and migration followed as usual the routes of more peaceful commerce, and, as in the case of the Northmen, the Viking period of the Aegean peoples was succeeded, at least as early as the twelfth century B.C., by a period of fixed settlement of which the name of Palestine, the land of the Philistines, is the abiding historic landmark.

In considering the possible influence of the early Aegean script on the Semitic races, the colonization of the Southern coasts of Canaan by the Philistines and their kin is of primary importance. The commercial instinct of the invaders is well brought out by the occupation of Gaza, lying on the trunk-line of commerce between Syria and the Nile Valley and forming at the same time the Mediterranean goal of the South Arabian trade-route.<sup>67</sup> The Southern district in which lay Gaza seems to have been the special possession of the Cherethites,<sup>68</sup> who at times give their name to the whole Philistine confederation—a name which in the Septuagint version of Ezekiel<sup>69</sup> and Zephaniah<sup>70</sup> is translated by *Kpētes*. Gaza itself bore the title of Minōa<sup>71</sup> and according to Stephanns was the legendary foundation of Minōs and his brothers. Its chief god Marnas was identified with Zeus Krētagenēs.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Justin xviii. 3.

<sup>66</sup> On a stèle at Karnak Thothmes III. is made to show his majesty to the Danūns of the Isles 'as a lion that sleeps upon the carcases.' This implies that the Danūns were already molesting the coasts of Egypt. The Meket tomb (see above, p. 318) and other archaeological sources give evidence of more peaceful contact between Egypt and the Aegean peoples in the early reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>67</sup> On the importance of Gaza in the ancient geography of Palestine see especially G. A.

Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 181 *sqq.* As 'the natural outpost across the desert from Egypt' it played the same part that Damascus did with reference to Assyria.

<sup>68</sup> I. Sam. xxx. 14.

<sup>69</sup> C. xlv. 10.

<sup>70</sup> C. ii. 5.

<sup>71</sup> Steph. *Ept.* s.v. *Minōa*.

<sup>72</sup> Steph. *Ept.* s.v. *Tā(=)*: cf. Hoeck, *Kreta*, II. 369. The name *Marnas* was erroneously brought into connexion with the Cretan *Martia* = *Maiden*, which appears in Britomartis.



The central district of Philistia seems to have been occupied by the tribe from whose name that of the Philistines was itself in all probability derived, the Pulasati<sup>72</sup> 'from the middle of the sea' who played such a prominent part in the invasions of Egypt under Ramses III. and Merenptah, and whose name when brought into connexion with that of the Cretans curiously recalls the *δῖοι Πελασγοί*,<sup>73</sup> so early settled in the island side by side with *Ἐρεόκρητες*, Achaians—probably the Akayvas of the same Egyptian monuments—and Dorians. Another member of this group of Aegean and West Anatolian peoples whose maritime enterprise was now a terror to Egypt and its borderlands was the Takkara,—*ex hypothesi* Teuceri, the eponymus of whose race whether he appears at Salamis or Troy is doubly connected with Crete.

These people are brought into close connexion with the Pulasati and Danōnas (presumably Danai) in the expeditions against Egypt, and from an interesting notice in the Golenischeff Papyrus<sup>74</sup> it appears that Dore or Dor on the coast of Canaan was already by about 1100 B.C. known as a city of the Takkaras. In Greek legend this city was founded by Dōros the son of Poseidōn<sup>75</sup> and its inhabitants were known as *Δωριεῖς*.<sup>76</sup> The names are certainly suggestive, and in days when Ionians and probably Achaians were already mentioned in Egyptian records a trace of a Dorian element on these shores hardly need surprise us. That among the various elements from the Aegean coastlands who took part in the Philistine Confederation men of Greek stock may already have found a place as early as the twelfth or eleventh century B.C. can no longer at least be regarded as an improbable hypothesis. It is perhaps not without some actual warrant in fact, that in the Septuagint version of Isaiah<sup>77</sup> the Philistines themselves are translated by *Ἑλλήνες*.

Hebrew tradition is unanimous in bringing the Philistines from the 'Isle of Kaphtor.' 'Island' here may simply mean distant coasts such as those of the Aegean in general, but the alternative form of Cherethim applied to the same people certainly indicates that, in so far as it stands for an island, Kaphtor should be applied to Crete rather than Cyprus. This consideration lends an additional interest to the suggestion that Kaphtor may be connected with Keftō, whence came the people who of all those represented on Egyptian monuments most clearly show Mycenaean characteristics. Their costume, their peaked shoes and leggings, the dressing of the hair, the characteristic vessels they are represented as bearing to Thothmes III., show the closest

<sup>72</sup> See W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, 1893, p. 389.

<sup>73</sup> De Rougé Clébas, who transliterates 'Pulasati' as 'Pelestas,' had already identified them with the Pelasgians in his *Antiquité historique*. So too Renan (*Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, I, p. 53): 'Une hypothèse très vraisemblable, adoptée par les meilleurs exégètes et ethnographes, fait venir les Philistins de Crète. Le nom seul de Pliasti... rappelle celui des Pélasges.' This view also commends itself to Maspéro (*Hist. Anc. des peuples d'Orient*, p. 312). W. Max Müller

(*op. cit.* p. 368), while admitting the possibility that the Pulasati are Philistines, rejects the view that they are Pelasgians. But he accepts the identification of the Shardin, Turshas, Akayvas, and Juvanas, with Sardinians, Tyrseni, Achaians, and Ionians.

<sup>74</sup> W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 388.

<sup>75</sup> Steph. *Bys.* s.v. *Δῶρος*.

<sup>76</sup> Steph. *Bys.* l.c. *Παροναίος δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς καρπίδος ἀδελῆς κτίσει Δωριεῖς ἀδελφοὺς καλεῖ.*

<sup>77</sup> C. ix. 12.

parallels with Mycenaean forms. This parallelism, as shown by the Peloponnesian remains such as the wall-paintings of Mycenae, the shape and ornament of the gold cups and vases and notably the figures on the Vaphio cups, has already been pointed out.<sup>79</sup> The identification of the Kefti with the Phoenicians has been further shown to rest on a confusion of Ptolemaic times.<sup>80</sup> The ruddy hue of the Kefti chiefs in the Theban paintings,—which seems to be the Egyptian way of rendering the rosy European cheeks,<sup>81</sup>—as well as their dress and facial type are clearly non-Semitic.

Isolated resemblances such as those presented by the bronze figure from Latakia, the Syrian Laodicea, now in the Louvre,<sup>82</sup> or by the details of some Hittite or early Cilician reliefs cannot weigh against the much greater conformity with Mycenaean types, and, to the Peloponnesian examples already cited, my own researches now enable me to add a striking array of Cretan parallels. Here it may be sufficient to say that throughout Eastern and Central Crete the commonest types of Mycenaean gems show as their principal designs a series of vessels evidently representing originals in the precious metals, some with beaked spouts, some with S-shaped double handles and slender bases which reproduce several of the most characteristic types of the vessels offered by the Kefti chiefs to Thothmes III. on the Theban tombs. The men of the Vaphio cups, who present such a striking resemblance to the Kefti tributaries as seen in the walls of the Bekhmara tomb, recur with the same flowing locks on a fragment of a stone vessel from Knōsos. It is true that if on the one hand the Keftō folk are brought into connexion with the people 'of the islands of the sea,'<sup>83</sup> on the other hand they are found in the company of Hittites and of men of Kadesh and Tunep (Daphnē) and the Upper Rutenu of Inner Palestine. But if, as there is good reason for believing, the carrying trade of the East Mediterranean was at this time largely in Mycenaean hands, these associations and perhaps the tribute of silver and copper—it may be from Cilicia and Cyprus—that the Kefti bore in addition to their artistic vases would be accounted for without difficulty.

<sup>79</sup> This comparison, first instituted by Puchstein, has been further brought out by Steindorff, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1892, p. 12 *seq.*

<sup>80</sup> In the Canopus Decree 'Kefti' is translated *Phœnicie*, which led Ebers and other Egyptologists to accept the identification of the Kefti with Phoenicians. W. Max Müller however (*Asia und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 337) has shown how valueless the Ptolemaic tradition was in such matters. From the place in which the name appears—after Naharin and Heta—in early Egyptian lists, he himself concludes that it represents Cilicia. Steindorff, who also (*op. cit.* p. 15) rejects the identification with Phoenicia, is led to seek the Kefti in the Gulf of Issos or Cyprus. But, as noticed above, the archaeological evidence does not favour either Cilicia or Cyprus. Cyprus, as we know, was

touched by Mycenaean culture in comparatively late times, but it was never, certainly, a centre of its propagation. The early Mycenaean spiral work, such as is seen on the Kefti vases, is foreign to Cypriot remains. On the Cilician mainland Mycenaean traces altogether fail us. The numerous engraved stones found there, amongst which I may mention some recently brought back by Mr. D. G. Hogarth from Ain-Tab, are of Hittite and non-Mycenaean character.

<sup>81</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 351.

<sup>82</sup> Longperier, *Musée Napoléon*, 21; Perrot et Chipiez, *Phénicie*, &c., 429, 430.

<sup>83</sup> In the Bekhmara inscription.

<sup>84</sup> Tomb of Men-Kheper-ramench, *Mission archéologique française au Caire*, 5, 11, and cf. W. Max Müller, *op. cit.* p. 347, and Steindorff, *loc. cit.*



The matter will appear even simpler if we may accept the view that the name of Keftô is to be identified with that of the Caphtor<sup>88</sup> whose inhabitants included both the Aegean islands and the coast of Canaan in their field of activity. The later confusion of their land with Phoenicia in the Canopus decree is in this connexion not without its significance.

In considering the question of possible Philistine influence on the origin of the Semitic script it must always be borne in mind that the actual colonization of Palestine is only a comparatively late episode in a connexion which goes back to far earlier times. The parallels supplied by the more primitive class of Cretan seal-stones abundantly show that there was a lively intercourse between the Aegean island and the Easternmost Mediterranean coast as early as the third millennium before our era. Aegean enterprise, according to Mr. Petrie's researches, penetrated at an equally early date into Egypt, and of this again we have now the counter-proof in the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian relics found in Cretan interments. Whether or not a 'proto-Semitic' element may have existed in Crete itself and other parts of the Aegean world from very early times is a question beyond our present scope. Should this prove to have been the case it might simplify some problems that are at present enigmatic. There certainly seems to be a deeplying community of early tradition between Crete and the Semitic world older than can be accounted for by Phoenician agencies of post-Mycenaean times. A river-name like Iardanos, Minôs the Cretan Moses, Diktynna in some respects so closely akin to Derkê and Atargatis, the evidence supplied by Mycenaean relics of the early cult of Astarte, are only a few of a series of suggestive indications. There are Thraco-Phrygian elements no doubt which must be set off against these, but the possibility that the later colonization of Canaan by the Philistines and their allies was in part at least a return wave of Europeanized Semites cannot be altogether ignored.

Conjecture apart, however, the evidence accumulated by the present inquiry may be fairly taken to establish certain fixed points in the early archaeology of Crete and the Aegean lands. Proofs have been given of the existence of a pictographic system of writing which in Eastern Crete at any rate survived into Mycenaean times, but the earlier stages of which, on the evidence of Cretan seal-stones, may be traced far back into the third millennium before our era. The pictographic system of Crete, which on the evidence of one stone at least extended to the Peloponnese, is itself of independent growth and, though perhaps modified by Egyptian influences, is not a mere copy of Egyptian forms. In the Aegean world it occupies the same position as is occupied by the 'Hittite' hieroglyphs in Asia Minor or Northern Syria, and it must in all probability be regarded as a sister system with distinct points of affinity and perhaps shading off into the

<sup>88</sup> Eber's suggestion that Caphtor = 'Keftô-vere' or Great Keftô (which he assumed on the strength of the Canopus decree to be Phoenicia) is rejected by W. Max Müller (*op. cit.* p. 390), who however expresses the opinion that the

name Keftô has nevertheless a real connexion with Caphtor: 'Ist der Name Keftô (the orthography approved by him, p. 337) aussprechen so ist allerdings der Anklang mehr als zufällig.'

other by intermediate phases. The pictorial forms are intimately connected with a system of linear signs which also goes back to a high antiquity, but which in certain cases at least may be referred with some confidence to a pictographic origin. These linear signs are of wide Aegean range, they fit on to the syllabaries of Anatolia and Cyprus and show besides many striking points of affinity with Semitic letters. They are found in Egypt at an early date in the wake of Aegean influences and seem to have been the common property of the Mycenaean civilization.

The evidence of the Cretan seal-stones to which these remarkable results are mainly due does not end here. In many other ways they throw a new and welcome light on the early culture of the Hellenic world. The implements and instruments of Crete in Mycenaean times are here before us. The elements are present for the reconstruction in one case at least of a great decorative design. The pursuits of the possessors of the seals are clearly indicated, the ships that they sailed in, the primitive lyres to which they sang, the domestic animals that they tended, the game that they hunted, the duodecimal numeration that they employed. On the earlier seals we are able to trace the beginnings of this Aegean culture to an age much more remote than the great days of Mycenae. We see before us the prototypes of more than one of the characteristic forms of Mycenaean times. Here are its familiar vases in an earlier stage of development, its decorative beads approaching more and more the primitive clay button, its butterflies and polyps and even its mysterious lion-headed beings. Above all we find abundant proofs of a close contact with the Egypt of the Twelfth Dynasty, and of the taking over of the spiral system that characterizes the scarab decoration of that period. We can thus, as already pointed out, trace to its transported germ the origin of that spiral system which were afterwards to play such an important part not in Mycenaean art alone but in that of a vast European zone. On the other side we find at this same early period, which may be roughly characterized as the middle of the third millennium before our era, accumulated proof of a close connexion with the Easternmost Mediterranean shores. The camel, perhaps the ostrich, was already familiar to the Cretan merchants and the ivory seals of Canaan were hung from their wrists. Already at that remote period Crete was performing her allotted part as the stepping-stone of Continents.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.



THREE KARIAN SITES: TELMISSOS, KARYANDA,  
TARAMPTOS.

THE inscription published below was discovered in June, 1893, built into a house in the small village of Pelen, which lies in the interior of the peninsula of Myndos, in the upper valley of a stream flowing southwards past Episkopi into the Gulf of Kos (Adm. Charts 1546, 1604); but which is not marked in any map hitherto. The stone is a block of the local grey limestone, and was much encrusted with whitewash; after a little cleaning, however, the reading became sufficiently clear. The inscription came from the ruins of a large church which stands about two miles east of Pelen, on the ridge between the valley of Pelen and that of Ghiöl to the east of it, at the point where the mountain road traverses the hills from Farélish towards Budrum. The church is built upon the ruins of a Karian or Hellenic building, of large roughly squared stones, with the broad draft down the angles which is characteristic of the pre-Mausolean masonry of this neighbourhood. The site is much overgrown with thick shrubs, but enough can be made out to confirm the evidence of the inscription that this is the site of the temple of Apollo Telmisseus. We did not, however, find any other traces of inscriptions.

There are no remains of a city in the immediate neighbourhood, but on the summit of the cliff of Kara-Dagh, under the west end of which the temple is situated, and at a height above the sea of about 1800 feet, are the remains of a small Karian town (A in the picture), defended on the north by the cliff, which is unassailable for two or three miles, and on the other sides by a semicircle of wall. The space within the fortifications is occupied by a few large buildings of solid masonry, the largest being that on the summit. This is the 'fortress or ruin' marked in the Admiralty Chart No. 1546, and on Kiepert's map. On another summit (B) about three-quarters of a mile further south a forest-fire has recently revealed another Karian fastness of somewhat greater extent, containing within its nearly circular wall a large number of smaller houses. These are in good preservation, and several of them retain their door lintels in position. They are of slighter masonry than those of (A), but in both cases the material is the rough slabby limestone of the immediate neighbourhood. The outer wall of (A) has every appearance of having been intentionally razed; that of (B) has been thrown outwards in some places, but in others is almost perfect.

On a third and rather higher ridge about half a mile to the east of (B),

commanding a fine view east and west, but itself invisible from the Ghiöl valley by reason of the great cliff, is a very large and fine example of a tomb (c) peculiar, so far as we know, to this district. It appears to be an adaptation of the circular tumulus to sepulchral necessities of which we are at present ignorant, as all the examples hitherto examined have been completely rifled. Its peculiarity is that the central chamber is circular and very large, and that the inner and outer surfaces of the ring wall are so far from being concentric that, whereas at one point the masonry is only three or four feet thick, it increases in thickness towards the opposite side so much as to contain within itself several small rooms—in this case three—which open out of the central chamber. The outer door of the latter is not, as might be expected, in the thinnest part of the wall, but at one side, and in the same line with it is, in this instance, a long trench, excavated in the floor of the chamber, and covered with massive transverse slabs.

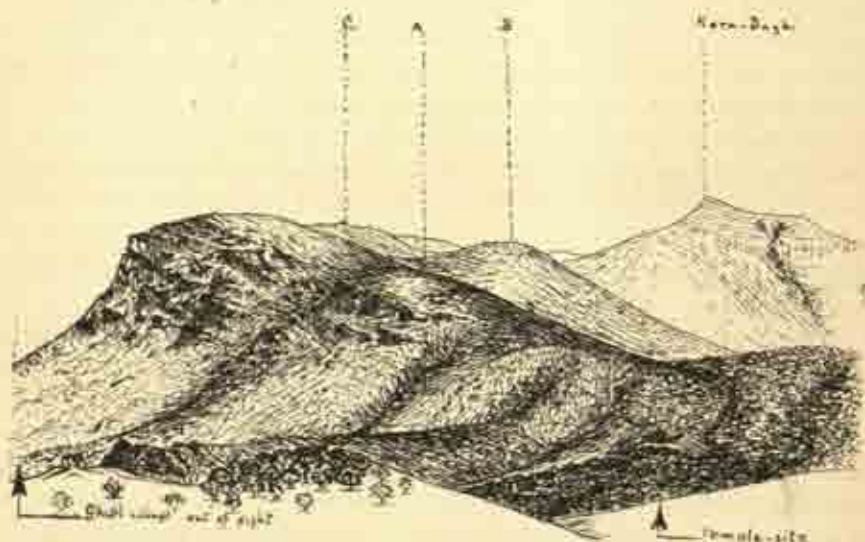


FIG. 1.—TRIMISSON FROM THE NORTH-WEST. The Temple site is on the saddle between the two valley-heads of Ghiöl and Pelen. The two towns A and B, and the Tomb C, are indicated: a third town is reported on an upland behind Kara-Dagh. Pelen village is half an hour to the right.

(From a sketch by J. L. M.)

The inner wall slopes inwards-and-upwards, as if designed to be carried up into a false dome, like that of the 'beehive' tombs of Mykenae; but the existing remains are not sufficient to show that this was certainly the case, especially considering the great diameter of these monuments (average about 50 feet), and the fact that, unlike the Mykenaeen tombs, they are built wholly above ground. Perhaps the slope of the inner wall is a survival from the plan of the simple tumulus, long after the roofed form had become obsolete. This very remarkable type of tomb is not common. The four examples known to us hitherto will be described together hereafter in greater



detail. They are generally associated with circular tumuli of simple construction and smaller dimensions, and containing only one chamber, which is rectangular.

At Telmissos, however, no simple tumuli or other sepulchral monuments have yet been seen. The chambered tomb (c) evidently belongs to one or other of the hill-cities (A) and (B). (A) must originally have been a place of considerable strength, as the precipice on the north and east is impregnable, and the wall was of great thickness. The natural and artificial defences of (B) were much weaker, the rocks on the south and north being easily scalable, but surmounted by no masonry. We may conjecture that (A) was the ancient Karian or Lelegian town of Telmissos, the original residence of the priestly *γέρος*, and perhaps the site of the original temple. The meaner and more crowded houses in (B) and its inferior strength make it probable that here dependents of the *γέρος* resided. The great tomb on (c) may well be the ancestral burial-place of the *γέρος*.

The site of the temple on a thickly-wooded ridge almost underneath the precipice of (A) is quite in accord with our information that the responses here given were derived from augury. And the steep cliffs of the Kara-Dagh are the haunt of innumerable vultures and other birds. Where there has been an oracle the first thing we look for is a spring. Here there is no spring; that which feeds the stream running past the village of Ghiöl rises a considerable distance below, but we get some very good water to drink from a Turkish encampment at the foot of (B), close to the road and a little south of the cistern (cf. the *παρθένος ὑδρευομένη* in the passage from Arrian cited below, p. 379).

The site of the Karian Telmissos was conjecturally placed by Leake at Ghiöl, and he turns out to be very nearly right, for the modern village of Ghiöl is close below. This village is at some distance from the sea and the marsh from which it derives its name. Sir Charles Newton fixed Karyanda at Ghiöl, by which he means of course not this modern village, but the shore in the neighbourhood of the marsh. In this we believe him to be unquestionably right. Karyanda was placed in the Admiralty Chart No. 1546, and in Kiepert's last map, at Giu Sergiu (Guvernagik : Kiuvargini), the deep bay with ruins and traces of a road, south-east of Tarandos Island; but for no adequate reason. There are now at least the two strongest reasons for not placing it there. This identification involved the assumption that the ancient name of the island now called Tarandos was Karyanda. There is no other island off Giu Sergiu, and Skylax says *Καρίαῖνδα νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν*. Now the ancient name of Tarandos was certainly Taramptos, for which there is no alternative site. It is mentioned in *Inscr. B.M.* No. 896 l. 18, where, curiously enough, the editor is silent on the subject. The sole alternative site for Karyanda is, as Newton shows, at Ghiöl.

We have this positive confirmation to add. A small bronze coin, now in Mr. Paton's possession, was lately found at Ghiöl near the seashore, at a spot which was accurately pointed out to us. It proves to be a fourth century coin of autonomous Karyanda—

Æ, 11 mm. diam.

Female head of fine style with stephane, to r.

Rev. Half Bull. KAPT.

Compare Imhoof, *Mon. Gr.* p. 307 ; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 522.

The remains near the shore (marked in Admiralty Chart and in Kiepert) are all of Roman or Byzantine date, and would not in themselves speak for the



FIG. 2.—NORTH WALL OF KARYANDA, LOOKING EAST (*from a photograph*).

existence of a Hellenic town here; such remains being found in plenty in almost every bay along the coast, though nowhere so well preserved as here. But at the inland point marked 'Tombs' in the Admiralty Chart, and indicated also by Kiepert, on a ridge with a precipitous face southwards and eastwards towards Ghiöl village, and with a fairly steep slope northwards towards Rumbakiöi (Newton's Roumelikiöi), is a well-preserved Karian fortified town of considerable extent, with a partly demolished wall, and many



FIG. 3.—WEST TOWER OF KARYANDA, LOOKING EAST; citadel to the right; cave tombs in the cliff below (*from a photograph*).

terraces and house foundations inside. The wall has a fine projecting tower of polygonal work to cover the one easy approach from the west along the ridge, and on the highest point within is a citadel of finer, perhaps Hellenic, roughly isodamous masonry with the characteristic drafts down the angles. There are some rock tombs, completely rifled and used as goat-pens, in the cliff below the south wall, accessible by a narrow slope from the west; others,



similarly misused, in the western slope near Farólah village; others, again, now used as a farmhouse, about half a mile below the fortress to the north, and nearer the seashore; and near the last-named an isolated sarcophagus cut out of a knoll of rock.

Karyanda was probably one of the towns incorporated by Mausoles with Halikarnassos, together with Telmissos and the nameless fortresses of Gbiuk Chalar and Alizetin, which we hope to describe in detail later. The known coins are all of earlier date than his, and no evidences have appeared of its independent existence afterwards.

W. R. PATON.

J. L. MYRES.

# INSCRIPTION ON A LIMESTONE BLOCK.

- Ε. Ο. . ΝΤΟ . ΚΟΙΝ . ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΕΩΝ ΕΠΕΙ ΔΗ ΤΟΣΙΔΕΟΣ ΤΟΣΙΔΕΟΥ  
ΥΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΝΗΡ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕ  
ΝΟΣ ΤΑΤ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΓΓΟΛΛΩΝ ΑΤΕΛ  
ΜΙΣΣΗ ΦΙΛΟΣ ΤΟΡΓΩΣ ΔΕ ΤΑΤ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ  
5 ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙΩΣ ΕΠΕΤΕΛΗ  
ΣΕΝΤΑΣ ΘΥΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΗΣΕΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΕΛΜΙΣ  
ΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΑΝΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ ΕΚΟΥ . ΙΩ .  
ΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΝ ΔΑΤΑΝ ΑΣΜΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΙ . . ΛΟΓΟ  
ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΕ Τ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ  
10 ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣ ΤΟΡΓΙΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟ  
ΚΑΘΟΤΙ Τ ΠΡΟ ΔΕ ΔΗΛΩΤΑΙ ΟΥΘΕΝ ΑΤΕΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΤΑΡΑΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΕΩΝ ΓΛΗΘΟΣ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΒΑΛΟΜΕΝΩΝ  
ΤΙΝΩΝ ΔΙΑΜΦΙΣΒΗΤΕΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΧΩΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΛΗΘΕΙΣ ΤΩ  
ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΑΝΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΔΙΚΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΗΣΕΛΥΤΟΥ  
15 . ΠΟΥ ΔΗΣΑΤΟ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΞΗΣΩΣ ΤΕ  
 . ΓΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΑΣΤΩΙ ΑΓΓΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΣΥΜΒΕΒΗΚΕΝ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΙΣ ΘΑΙΤ ΠΑΛΙΝ  
 . ΕΠΙΒΑΛΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΑΙ ΤΑ ΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΑ ΤΙΜΙΑ  
 . ΩΙΚΟΙΝ ΩΙΚΑΙΑ ΦΕΛΕΣ ΘΑΙΤΗΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΚΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ  
 . . ΟΝΩΝ ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΕΥΣΙΝ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΥΠΕΜΕΙΝΕΝ ΕΚΟΥΣΙΩΣ  
20 . . ΔΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΗΣΕΛΥΤΟΥ Τ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΤΟΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ ΕΙΣ  
 . . ΕΞ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΥΠΑΡΞΑΣΑΝ ΤΕΛΜΙΣΣΕΥΣΙΝ ΚΑ . ΑΤ ΠΡΟ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ  
 . . . . . ΤΕΡΗ ΦΑΝΙΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΑΤ ΤΕ ΧΘΕΙΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ  
 . . . . . ΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΑΕΚ ΚΛΗΤΑΕΚ ΔΙΚΙΑΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΠΑΣΙΟΝΙ  
 . . . . . ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ Τ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΝ  
 . . . . . ΟΓΚΕΙΑΝ ΕΝΔΕΙ ΕΥ

Letters Α Γ Ξ Ο Μ Ε Υ Ω. Slight apices. Date about 200 B.C.; not earlier. Line 1: iota adscriptum possibly omitted in ΚΟΙΝΩ. Line 21: for προτιμῶν see *LLM*, 925 (Branchidae). In line 12 there is a space after ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ indicating a stop, but Mr. Paton cannot find any trace of ΔΕ after ἐπιβαλομένων.

The inscription, so far as it remains, may be restored as follows:—

- Ε[δ]ο[ξε]ν τῶ[ι] κοιν[ῳ] Τελμισσέων· Ἐπειδὴ Προΐδεος Προΐδعون  
 ὑπάρχων ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐσεβὴς μὲν διακείμε-  
 νος τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην τοῦ γένους Ἀπόλλωνα Τελ-  
 μισσὴ φιλοστοργῶς δὲ τὰ πρὸς πάντας Τελμισσοὺς καὶ  
 5 γενόμενος στεφανηφόρος εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐπετέλ(ε)-  
 σεν τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἐκαλλιέρησεν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ Τελμισ-  
 σέων καὶ τῆς πόλεως, μετὰ τε ταῦτα ἀνεδέξατο ἑκου[σ]ίω[ς]  
 τὴν αὐτὴν πάλιν λειτουργίαν δαπάναι μὲν οὐδενί [ἐν] λόγ(ῳ)  
 ποιούμενος τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ  
 10 κοινὸν φιλοστοργίας τὴν μεγίστην πρόνοιαν ποιούμενο[ς]  
 καθότι προδεδίλωται οὐθένα τε καιρὸν παραλείπων τῆς  
 πρὸς τὸ Τελμισσέων πλήθος εὐνοίας· ἐπιβαλομένων (δὲ)  
 τινῶν διαμφισβητεῖν, τῶν ἱερῶν χωρίων παρασληθεὶς ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀνεδέξατο τὴν ἐκδικίαν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 15 σ[υ]νυῆς ἀποκατέστησε τῷ θεῷ τὴν χώραν ἐξῆς, ὥστε  
 θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι συμβέβηκεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι,—πάλιν  
 δ[ὲ] ἐπιβαλομένων τινῶν καταλῦσαι τὰ διδόμενα τίμια  
 τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἀφελῆσθαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐκ παλαιῶν  
 χρόνων Τελμισσοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν ὑπέμεινεν ἑκουσίως  
 20 ἐκ[δ]ικός καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προεδρείας ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς  
 τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρχσαν Τελμισσοῦσιν κα[τ]ὰ προτιμὴν ἀτέλειαν  
 οὐθ' ὅ[τι] περιφημίαν οὔτε ἀπέχθειαν οὔτε εἰς δικαστήρια τὰ ἐνταῦθα  
 ἀποδειλιῶν οὔτε τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκκλητὰ ἐκδικίας ἀλλὰ ἐν πᾶσι ὁν[ο]μήσι-  
 μος γενόμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς πάν[τας]  
 25 τοὺς πολίτας φιλοστοργίαν καὶ ἡν[ο]ργείαν ἐν δὲ . . .

Telmessos is described by Polemo (*apud* Suidam s.v.) as a town in Caria at a distance of sixty stadia from Halicarnassos [which answers very nearly to the distance between Bodrum and the site above Ghiöl (*J. L. M.*)]. It has been frequently confused with its namesake, an important city in the west of Lycia. But we may take it for granted now that it was the little Carian town that was so famous in ancient times for its augury. Cicero is quite explicit on the point (*De Divin.* i. 41): Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina; and again in ch. 42: Tum Caria tota, praecipueque Telmesses, quos ante dixi, quod agros uberrimos maximeque fertiles incolunt, in quibus multa propter fecunditatem fingi gignique possunt, in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes fuerunt.<sup>1</sup> To the Carian

<sup>1</sup> Later writers attribute also to the Telmessians the *ἀντιπρόσθετος* (*J. L. M.*): Tatian s.v.

1, Clem. Alex. *Stroma*, i. p. 361, Greg. Naz. Or. iii. p. 100, Tert. *De An.* 46.



town therefore did Croesus apply (Herod. i. 78): ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. νῦν δὲ ἐπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τοὺς ἐξηγητάς Τελμισσίων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθούσι πρὸς Τελμισσίων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας κ.τ.λ. Compare *id.* 84 where the response of the Telmissians to king Meles of Sardis implies an almost fabulous antiquity for the shrine. And similarly we must understand the reference in Arrian (*Anab.* i. 25): καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ φαῦλον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῆς χελιδόνος ἀνεκοίνωσεν Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ Τελμισσεῖ, μάντει κ.τ.λ. But the fullest reference is found in the story of Gordius in Arrian (*Anab.* ii. 3): Γόρδιον εἶναι τῶν πάλαι Φρυγῶν ὄνδρα πένητα καὶ ὀλίγην εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν δύο· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυρίαν, τῷ δὲ ἡμαξεύειν τὸν Γόρδιον. καὶ ποτε ἀρούρητος αὐτοῦ ἐπιπτήναι ἐπὶ τὸ ζυγὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἔστε ἐπὶ βουλντὸν καθήμενον· τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει εἶναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεῖου παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντεις· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφούς· τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δοδῶσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναῖξι καὶ παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. προσάγοντα δὲ κόρη τινὶ τῶν Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὡδρενομένη καὶ πρὸς ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ ταῦ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε· τὴν δὲ, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικῆς γένους, θύειν κελεύσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ κ.τ.λ. Several expressions in this extract will be referred to later.

There is no reason to suppose that the Carian Telmissos was anything but an unimportant town, interesting only for its claim to augury: Telmessum religiosissimam urbem (Pliny, *N.H.* xxx. 1). It formed a *κοινόν* (lines 1, 6, 10, 14, 18), made up doubtless of a group of *κῶμαι*, some of which have now apparently been identified. In the extract from Arrian we read of *κῶμη τις τῶν Τελμισσίων*. But there was no civic life, no *πόλις*, and the group of *κῶμαι* found their centre in the temple of Apollo Telmisseus. It is probable that only those who belonged to the ancient *γένος* founded by the prophetic god had the franchise of the *κοινόν*, but all members of that *γένος*, men, women and children (if we are to trust Arrian), claimed the gift of prophecy. 'The city' mentioned so emphatically in line 7 is of course Halicarnassos, to which Telmissos was assigned by Alexander the Great (Pliny, *N.H.* v. 29). It was doubtless on account of the sacred character of the place that it was granted immunity from taxation (*ἀτέλεια*) by the sovereign city. But how sternly a sovereign city in those quarters could tax its tributaries is well known from the example of Rhodes and Stratonicea. And we may gather from our inscription that certain officials of Halicarnassos, whether commissioned by the city or not (observe the guarded language in lines 13, 17, *τινῶν*), had ventured in the first place to demand tax or tithe from certain lands at Telmissos, which the Telmissians averred to belong to Apollo (lines 12 foll.). This plea they urged with success. Next the Halicarnassian officials levied charges on lands belonging not to the god, but to natives of Telmissos, who at once plead *ἀτέλεια*, and again with success. It is probable that this exemption did not extend to persons outside of the sacred gens; so that a mistake or dispute (*διαμφισβητεῖν* line 13) would be the more easy. The way in which the delegate or

champion of the city (*ἐκδικος*, lines 14, 20, 23) urged his claim was probably by entering an action against the aggressors in the courts of Halicarnassos (line 22). Apparently this sufficed, and the aggressors dropped their claim before the action was tried. But as it was a question of the rights of one community as against another, it might have been necessary, had the Halicarnassian court decided against the *ἐκδικος* of Telmissos, for the Telmissians to demand a *ξενικὸν δικάστηριον* from an *ἐκκλητος πόλις* (line 23). Such an appeal would no doubt involve considerable trouble and expense; but the *ἐκδικος* was undeterred by any such fears, being doubtless a man of substance.

One word as to the name of the town. The text of Arrian and one inscription have *Τελμισσός*. Cicero and Pliny write *Telmessus*. In *I.B.M.* No. 896 we find *Τελεμησσός*, which is surely the same place.<sup>2</sup>

E. I. HICKS.

<sup>2</sup> The third century coins with the legend *ΤΕΛΜΗΣ* more probably belong to the Lycian Telmessos, but may be taken as evidence

as to the orthography of the name of either of them (v. Borrell, *Num. Chron.* x. 87).—J. L. M.



SELECTED VASE FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF  
ATHENS.—III.

## [PLATE X.]

I AM privileged to publish here a few very interesting fragments of Acropolis vases, the paintings of which are executed wholly or partially on a white ground. Naturally the number of these fragments is comparatively small, but they are of greater interest than those of black-figured or red-figured technique, as enlarging the somewhat meagre list of extant specimens of this class. When I last had the opportunity of examining the collection, before it had been removed from the Acropolis and undergone the systematic sorting so ably performed by Drs. Wolters and Graef, and subsequently by Dr. P. Hartwig, there were portions of fourteen vases, the majority of which were kyliks, a few having the white ground on both sides of the vase but most of them showing a combination of a plain varnished or a red-figured exterior with interior scenes painted on a white ground, or even a white slip outside and of work within.<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as the whole collection has now been worked over, it is not worth while to enumerate the total, as it appeared some years ago. In the case of the most interesting vase, which now appears for the first time (Plate X.), I have reason to believe that all extant fragments are included in the Plate, several additional drawings having been executed by M. Gilliéron, whose work, it is needless to say, is characterized by its usual admirable fidelity.

Much the most important of this class of the Acropolis vases is the Orpheus-kylix, published by Miss Harrison (*J.H.S.* vol. ix. Plate VI.). I succeeded in finding one small fragment of that work, which had been overlooked. It simply showed the other portion of the 'bipennis,' but did not in any way assist in the difficult question as to the arrangement of the lower fragments of the vase. Unfortunately this seems to be all that is preserved of this beautiful work. With respect to its attribution, archaeologists are fairly agreed with Miss Harrison in coupling it with the Berlin polychrome kylix as a work by the same master. It has however been made sufficiently clear that this was not Euphronios, even though he were the potter in this

<sup>1</sup> The Gotha kylix (*Mon.* x. 37) is no longer an isolated experiment, if it is, as Klein puts it, a 'Miesgriff' unworthy of Hiero. There is

certainly no reasonable ground for connecting it with that master.

as in the other case. With Hartwig's suggestion, that—*OMED*—of the Berlin vase is to be restored *Diomedon*, one is less inclined to agree. The position is not a likely one for the second signature on a kylix, and the old view of Jahn, that the name is *Diomedes* and that on the restored portion of the vase the name of *Achilles* was originally to be read, seems still to hold the field. We must await further discoveries, in the hope that they may yield the name of this truly great Attic artist. Miss Harrison's view, that—*ON* is to be completed as *Glaukon*, is fully confirmed by the occurrence of this love-name on *lekythoi* with white ground of almost equally fine execution.



FIG. 1.

Fig. 1 is, it appears, an isolated fragment, but I have no recent information on the point. It is a fragment of a kylix with a creamy-white ground on both sides. The black line on the rim of the outside is repeated on the inside, but thinner. On the interior there are only the two letters *PO*. Of the exterior scene there remains one exquisite fragment, tantalizing in its incompleteness, but in itself a gem. We see the back of the head and left shoulder, in all probability, of *Dionysos*. An ivy wreath encircles the head, the hair falling over the shoulder in long wavy tresses. One of the fastenings of the *chiton*-sleeve is to be seen, and over his shoulder the god carries a vine-branch, a similar one passing over his head. The branches, leaves, and tendrils are rendered in light yellowish-brown colour, and from the upper branch hangs a cluster of grapes in relief with the purple paint still largely preserved. I have never seen any representation of vegetable growth in Greek Art that surpasses the delicacy and fidelity of this little bit of work, which is quite enough to show that the kylix, of which it was part, was the work of no prentice hand. It was natural, on first seeing the letters of the interior, to restore the name as *Euphronios*, but I should have considerable hesitation now in suggesting that restoration, seeing that such a love-name as *Erothemis*—to choose that alone of these that are known to us—is just as probable, nor do I think that there is the slightest justification for any theory of the kind. We have not enough of the vase to put forward any conjecture as to its subject, though it seems very probably to have been *Dionysiac*.

Fig. 2. The reason for inserting this kylix here is that it was covered with





inscriptions are in red colour on the black ground. Just in such a position we might imagine Demosthenes and Nikias (Arist. *Knights*, 106); indeed the spear—surely an unusual accompaniment of a feast—suggests a soldiers' carouse.<sup>2</sup> It is clear from this vase that these two libations closely followed one another. The libation to the Agathos Daimon—the protecting genius of both individual and country, and especially of the increase of field and vineyard—which terminated the *δεῖπνον* proper, and after which the tables were removed, was one of unmixed wine, while that to Zeus Soter was of wine mixed with water in the usual way (Diod. Sic. iv. 3). It is clear from Schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 525, as well as from Nikostratos quoted by Athenaeus xv. p. 693, that the first was at the end of and not during the banquet, as might appear from the expressions *παρὰ δεῖπνον*, *ἐνι δεῖπνον*. All authorities agree that the second, the *σπονδαί* so often mentioned, along with the paean ushered in the symposion proper. This vase seems to show the two to be consecutive, as they can be introduced into one scene.<sup>3</sup> Klytaimnestra's grim jest refers to the *σπονδαί* which, in the Symposion proper, started the drinking of each freshly-mixed *κρατὴρ*, the first to the Olympian gods, the second to the heroes, the third again to the Saviour Zeus.

The new fragment of the vase is interesting, as the hairs on the chest and abdomen are very carefully rendered. The hand holding the skyphos is also carefully executed. As to the lost letters, I doubt whether they were parts of artists' names. The first three seem irregular, and perhaps are not accurately copied. As the last part of the invocation of the Agathos Daimon is written vertically, might there be here the first letter of Hygieia, and if the K is incorrect, *Ἀγαθῷ ῥύχ[η]*? With the view that this is a work of Brygos I am heartily in accord. If Brygos is the painter of the Vienna skyphos with the Ransom of Hektor, as I believe, one is bound to acknowledge a family likeness between this head and those of the chiefs on the reverse of that vase. If Fortwängler is right in supposing that Brygos painted the polychrome Maenad kylix in Munich (Baumeister, Plate 928), we see him here again adopting a similar technique. If finally the Berlin bronze-foundry vase is from Brygos' hand, we see a rendering of body-hair in at least one of the workmen. I have little doubt that if the whole of the himation of this seated figure were preserved, we should see the rows of dots and black edge so characteristic of this master.

III. The third vase (*see* Plate X.) here published is a large kylix, with interior scene on white ground, the outside being covered with dark varnish, added when the vase was on the wheel. It has been discoloured by fire and has thus lost a large portion of the accessories of colouring, so that there can be little doubt that it belongs to the pre-Persian period. The lower part of the plate contains four fragments joined together, to which the left foot of the female figure has been fitted. Of the other fragments, those two which show only foliage are not placed accurately, nor is it easy to place them, but the

<sup>2</sup> One can hardly see here a public sacrifice, as Beudorf suggests.

<sup>3</sup> Of course successive moments of an action

are often represented on a vase as if simultaneous, but not moments separated by a considerable interval of time.



other two have approximately the position they must have had in the complete vase.

Round the rim runs a brown-black line, and at the distance shown in the plate is another concentric circle of the same pigment, more lightly drawn so as to appear brown. The scene is bounded beneath by a kymation-border between double lines, which appears also in the Acropolis-kylix on white ground, with the contest of Herakles and Hippolyta (Benndorf, *G. u. S. V. B.* XI 3). From this rises a great tree-trunk, on which lines of shading are rendered in this colour, and from it extend branches with leaves indicated in dark colour, and fruits in relief, whose upper colouring has disappeared: one would imagine that they were gilded. In front of the tree is seen the coiling body of a huge snake. Its head is not preserved, but must have been reared to strike, facing right, and the tip of the tail must have been to left. The drawing of the scaly body is very accurate. Behind the snake stands a female figure with left foot seen full and right foot sideways. To left is the butt-end of a spear. The outline of the long chiton, and the lines representing the folds are rendered in brown-black, and the surface of the drapery is covered with thick white, through which these lines show (the tradition of the white 'engobe' of b.f. paintings on yellow ground seems here to survive). One upper fragment shows the spearhead, and the other satisfactorily identifies the figure as Athena, for on it we see the hair of the helmet-crest rendered in hatching of olive-brown colour, and the aegis on the shoulder with one snake-head, beyond which is a fruit in relief. A small portion of the sleeve is also visible, again covered with a white slip, over which the fine brown lines are here imposed. We have thus an Athena very similar to the goddess as she appears on the Theseus-kylix of Euphronios (*W. Vorl. Bl. V. 1*), with head turned to right, probably grasping the spear with upraised left hand near its head, and holding the owl as in that vase. Between two coils of the snakes hang down two objects, which are of unusual shape, but can hardly be anything except the ends of Athena's upper garment, or possibly her aegis. Finally, we have to the extreme right, a slender youth standing to left, dressed in a short chiton\* with right arm bent at the elbow and outstretched. Again, the parallel with the Theseus-kylix is strong. Both are slim youths of tender age, not even as yet ephobi.

It is unlikely that our vase contained any other figures, on ground of space, and yet it cannot be said that any explanation is certain. The presence of Athena on an Athenian kylix of this period is not particularly likely to prove a clue. The theory that the serpent is Kekrops or Erechtheus and the boy Erichthonios may be shortly dismissed. This snake cannot have ended in a human head (unless indeed one regards the Triton of b.f. vases with the struggle of Herakles as a parallel, and that one cannot admit), or have resembled the

\* The chiton is white, as is that of Athena, and on it are traces of red colour, but probably

these are not original but due to the damaged state of the vase.

ordinary vase-treatment of Kekrops; and whatever the tree may be, it certainly is not an olive. It may next be asked—Is the snake the *κηπουρός* Ladon, who guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides, and is this a youthful Herakles, who, under the protection of Athena as usual, holds out a sleeping-draught in a cup, or perhaps a poppy-head, to the dragon? The presence of Athena suits this explanation well enough; and the tree certainly seems to bear what the Greeks would have called *μῆλα* of one kind or another. Nor is there any difficulty in the absence of Atlas. That version of the story, in which Herakles himself seeks out and slays the dragon, is mentioned by Apollodoros, and appears long before the vases of Meidias and Assteas on coins of Kyrene of approximately this period; so that we need not require that the vase should fit the other version, wherein Atlas performs the theft for Herakles, as we get it in the *lekkythos* from Eretria recently published by Miss Sellers (*J.H.S.* vol. xiii. Plate III), and in the Olympian metope. The parallel of the Kyrenean coins is very tempting, when one thinks of such work as the well-known Naukratis kylix on white ground, explained by Studniczka in his work *Kyrene*, and of the great influence exercised by the Greek fabrics of North Africa on Attic Art of the early fifth century, to which Mr. E. Gardner was the first to draw attention, and which is rightly emphasized by Miss Sellers in her article. The great difficulty which prevents me from accepting this view is that Herakles is too juvenile. The 'second Herakles' might not inappropriately be thus represented by Euphronios; but in the cycle of Herakles' adventures I know of no more youthful representation of the hero than e.g. the ephebus of the Munich r.f. vase, representing the fight with the Nemean Lion (*Mon.* vi, 27A), and it is hard to believe that Herakles, in one of the adventures of his maturity, could have been represented as a boy on such a vase as this. Minor difficulties, such as the absence of a Hesperid, or the fact that in most of the monuments the snake winds round the tree, are inconclusive; but the first-mentioned difficulty seems to me to be insuperable. At the same time, it might any day be removed by a new discovery.

There remains for our consideration the story of Iason's theft of the fleece. The association of Iason with Athena<sup>5</sup> in his adventures is nothing new, witness the Caere kylix of the Museo Gregoriano (*Mon.* ii, 35), which represents Iason as being disgorged by the dragon through Athena's intervention.<sup>6</sup> Iason is here, it is true, bearded, but he is not always so on other works of art. The tree in Apollonios (*Arg.* iv, 124) is a *φηγός* or a *δρῦς* in the grove of Ares. In Pindar (*Pyth.* iv, 244) the fleece is simply concealed in a *λόχη*; and if it comes to a question of botany, what are we to say

<sup>5</sup> There was a temple of an Athena *Aria* at Ios in Iaconis (Paus. 9, 4, 25), and its association with Kolchis through the Dioskuri-legend proves an early connexion of Athens with the Argonautic cycle, long before Apollonios, and the vase above-mentioned shows this to be correct for the 5th century.

<sup>6</sup> The publication of this vase in the *Mon.*

*weari* is a bad one. I suspect the vase may have undergone some restoration. The bird carried by Athena is suspicious. It is usually called an owl (so Seeliger in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. *Iason*), but if so, what an owl for an Athenian painter of all people! If the bird is genuine, which I doubt, is it meant for an *iyux*?



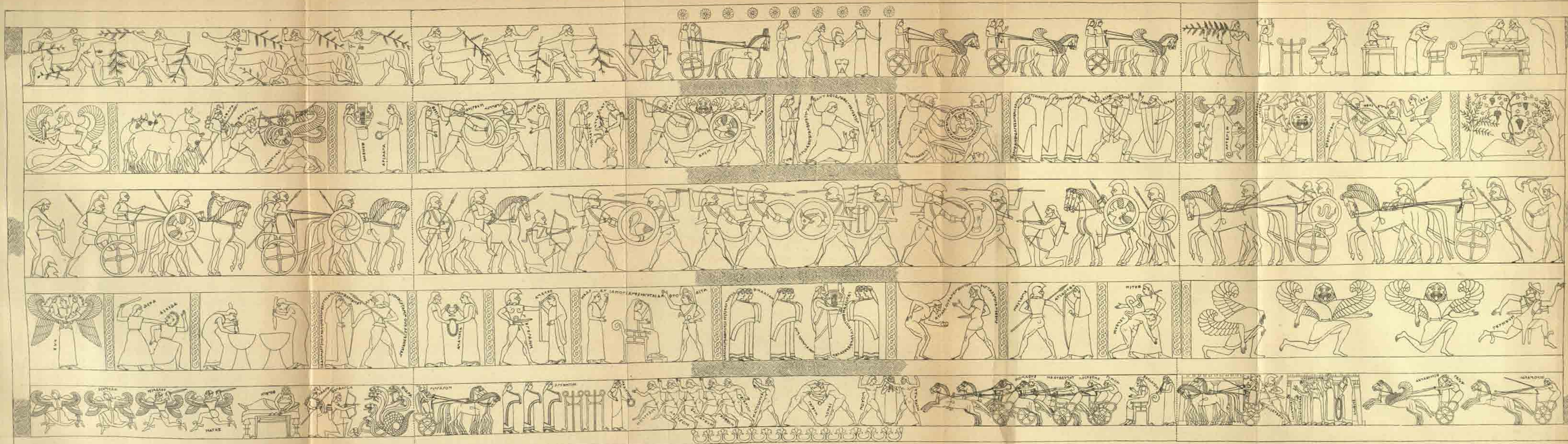
of the purely conventional production of the Museo Gregoriano kylix, the leaves of which look like ivy? The elaboration of this tree may be entirely set down to the artist's fancy. Nor do I feel that the absence of Medea causes any difficulty. No doubt she was prominent in the story as then current, and as Pindar told it; but if an Athenian kylix-painter, from considerations of space, had to choose between his patron goddess and Medea, a heroine associated with Corinth, and only dragged into Attic story by violence and with confusion, can we doubt as to his choice?

The treatment of Iason as a mere boy is again a difficulty which cannot be ignored, though it is preferable to making a similar assumption about Herakles. I do not, however, put forward this explanation with confidence, but as that which seems best to fit the conditions of the case. If it be correct, then no doubt on the upper branches of the tree, as Pindar puts it, the fleece *ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχετο λαβροτάτων γερύων*. In this case it is satisfactory to find another vase dealing with this subject; for surely one cannot measure by the number of extant monuments the interest felt by the early Athenian artist in the Argonautic legend.

G. C. RICHARDS.

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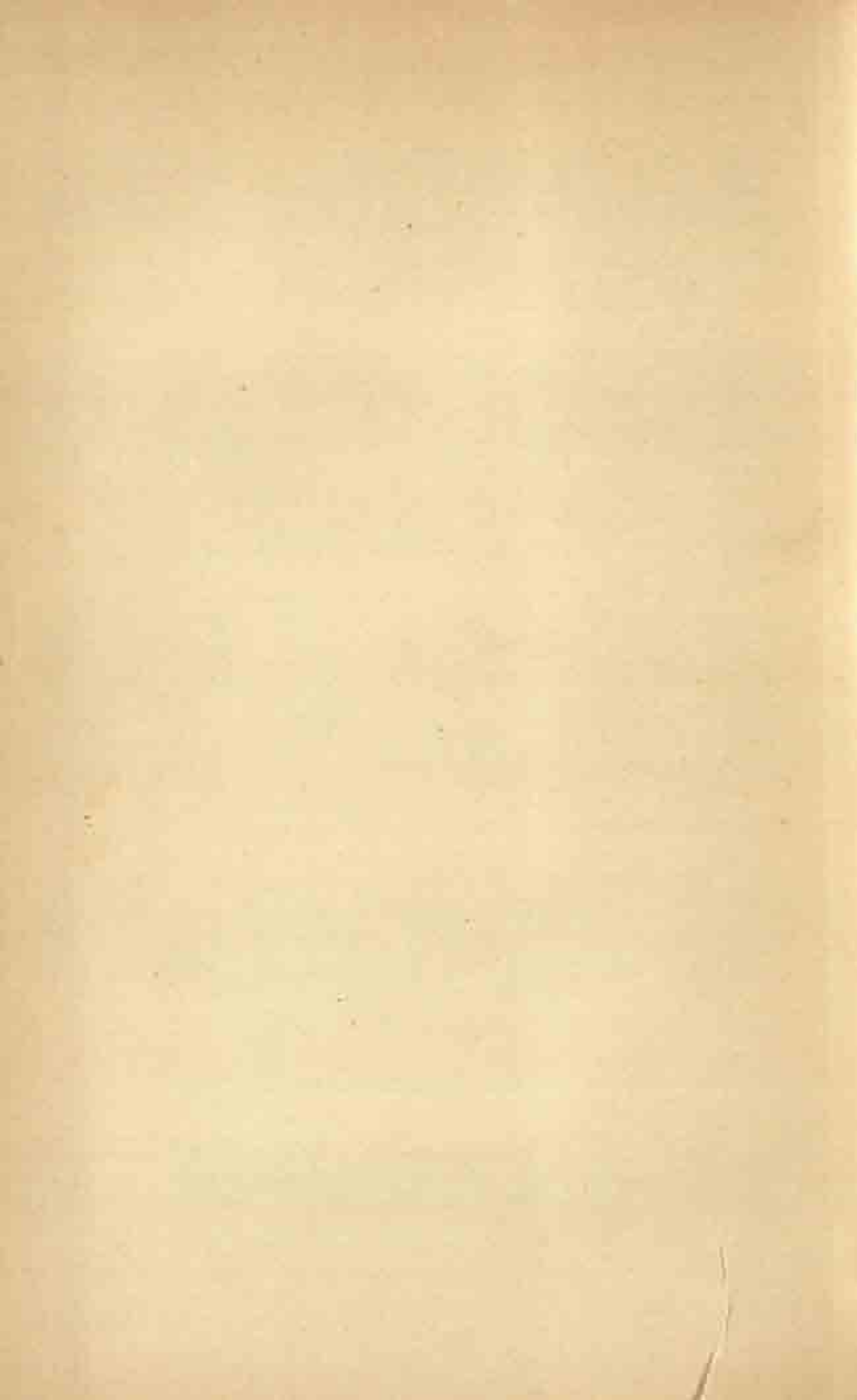


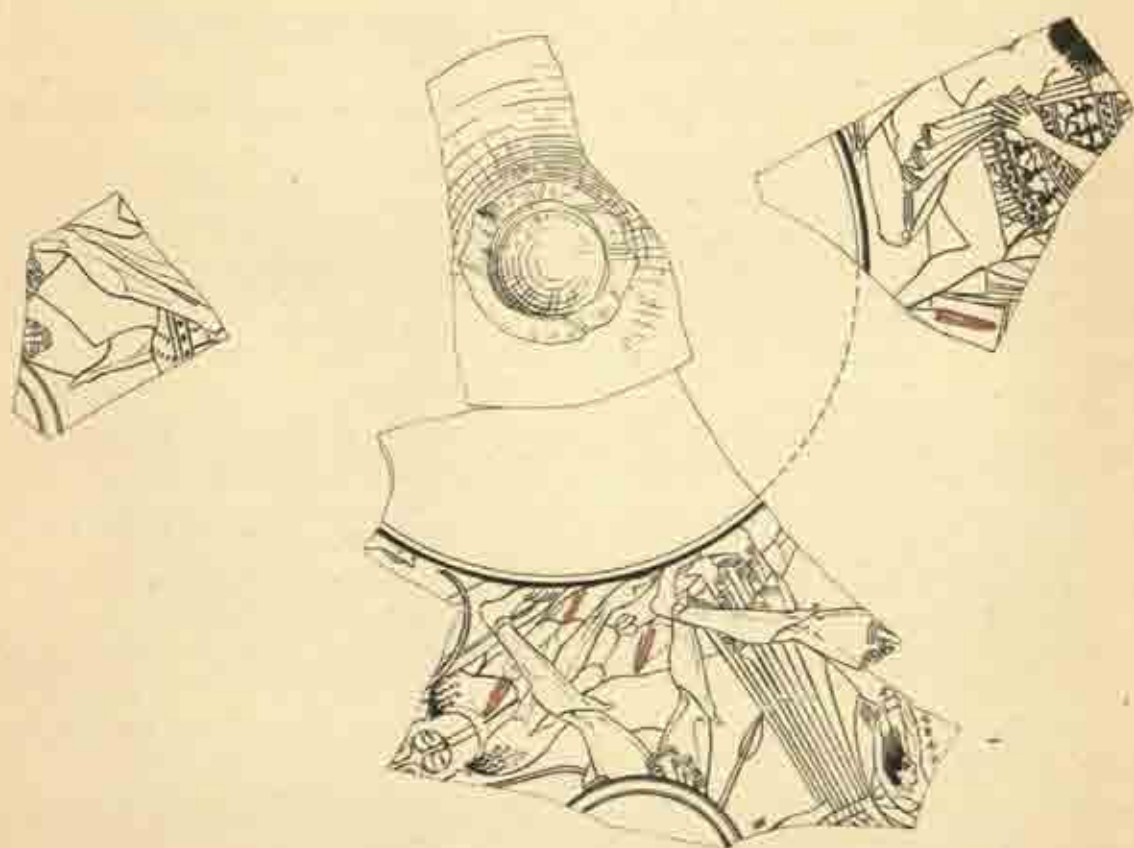
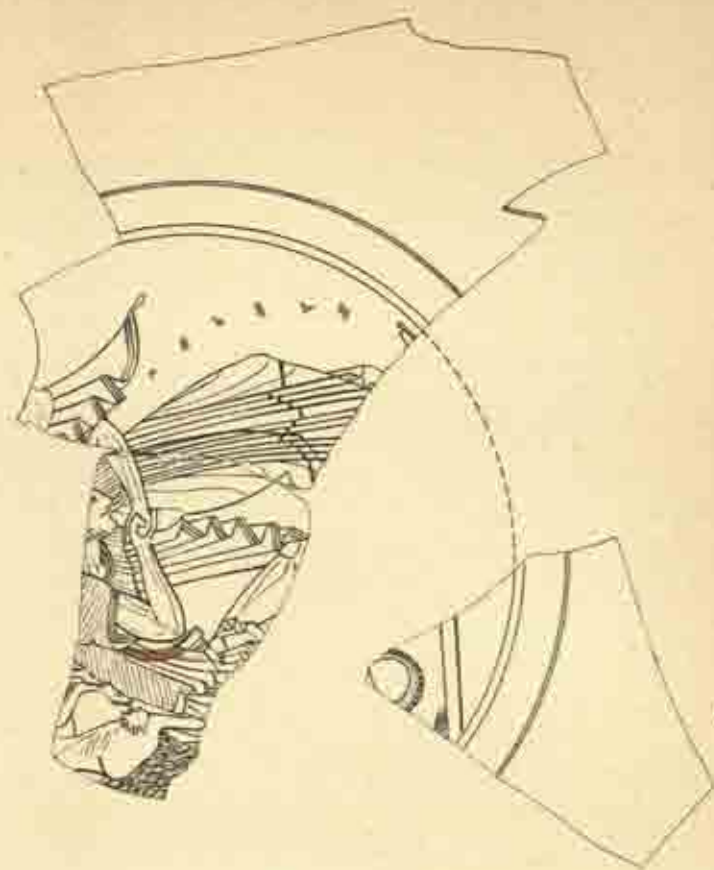
A RESTORATION OF THE CHEST OF KYPSELOS.



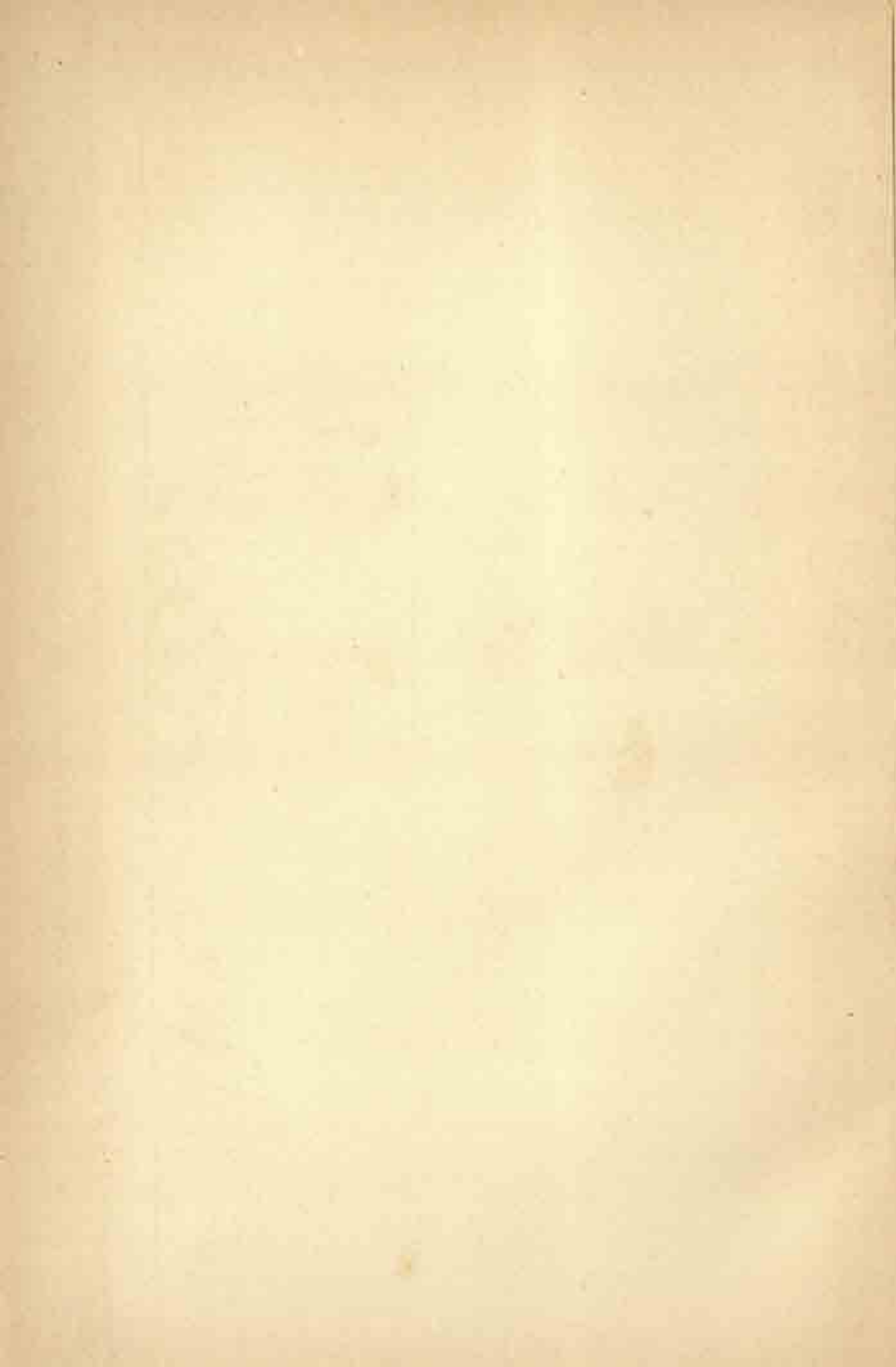


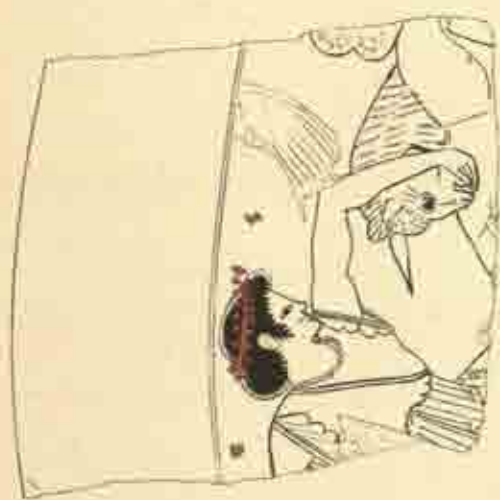












VASE FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. 2.







2.



3.



4.



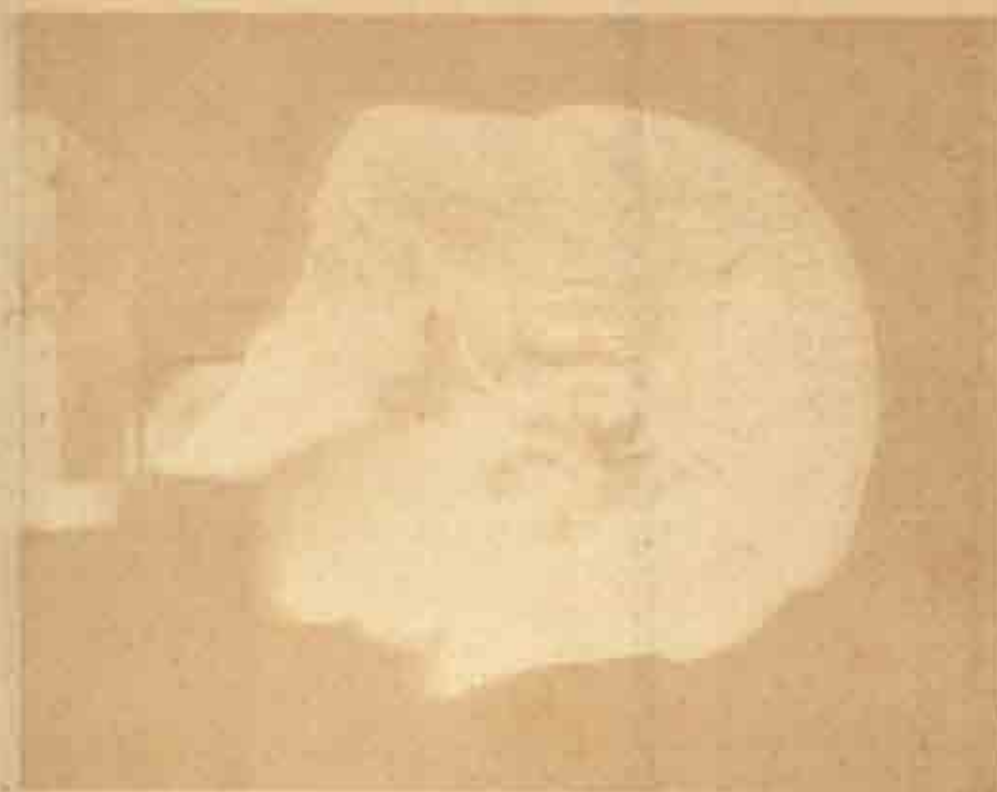


FIG. 1. HEAD OF THE GODDESS, METEORITE, METEORITE, METEORITE





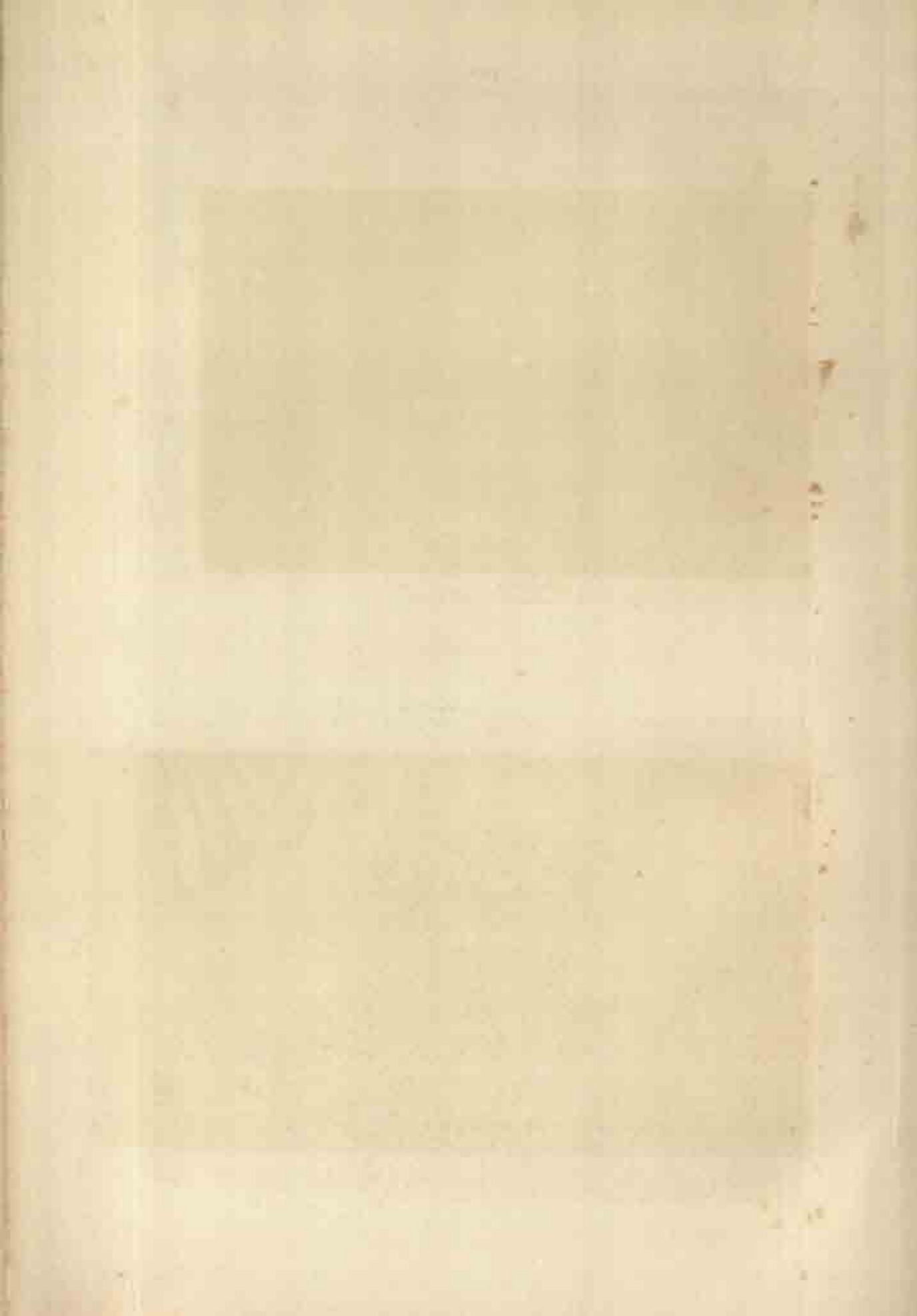




FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.







FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



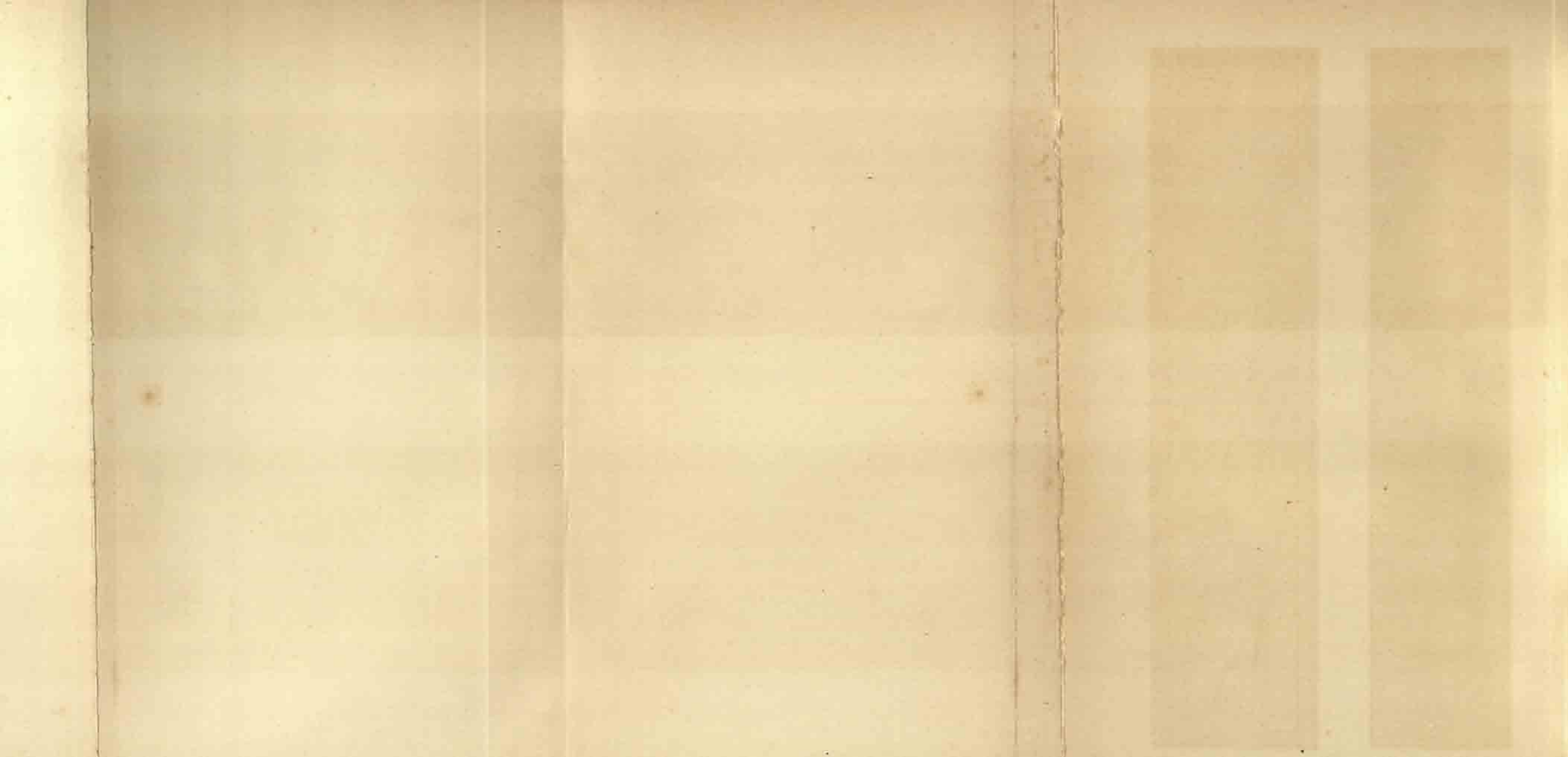








FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

RELIEFS FROM POLLEDRARA TOMB.



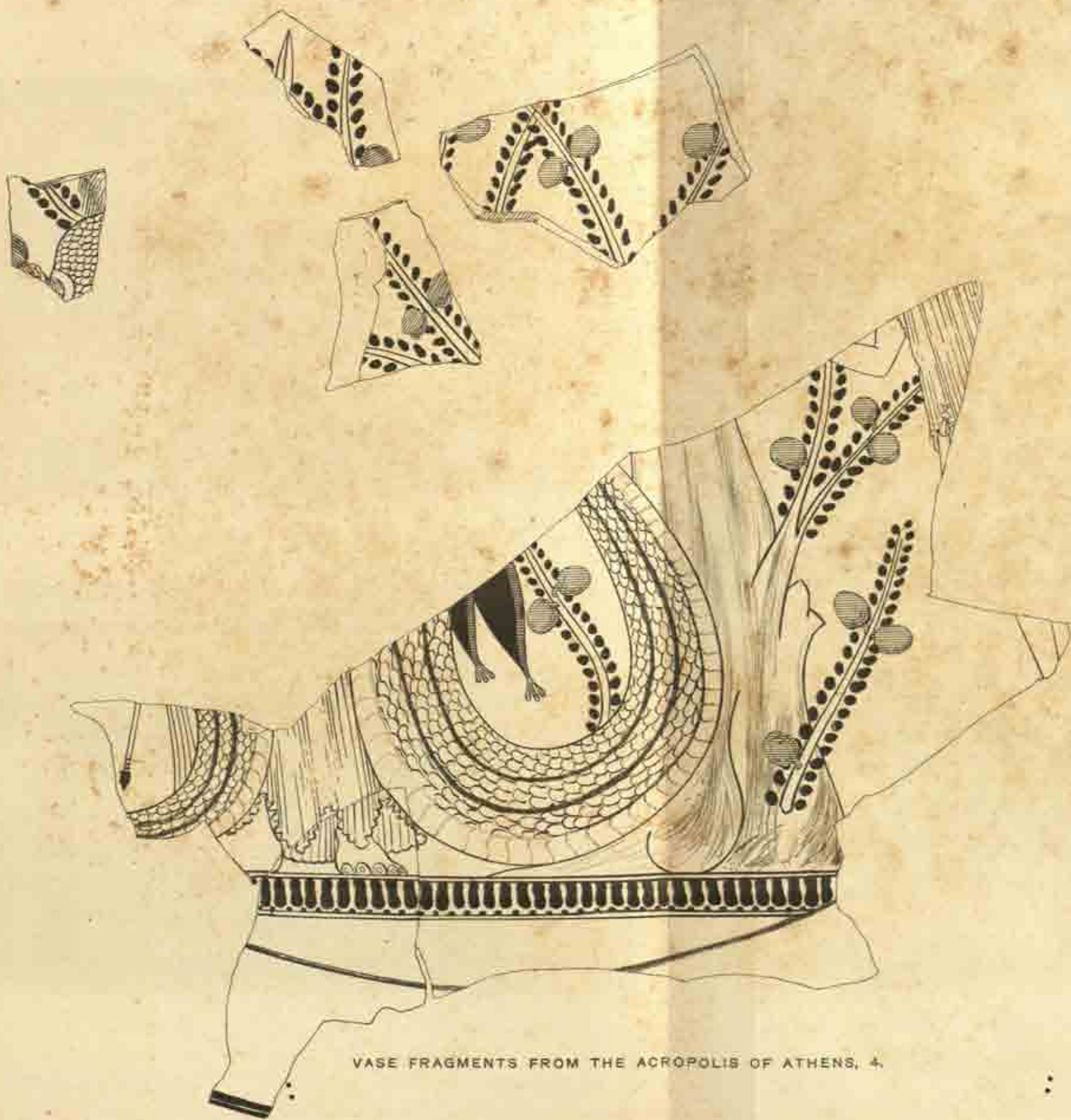




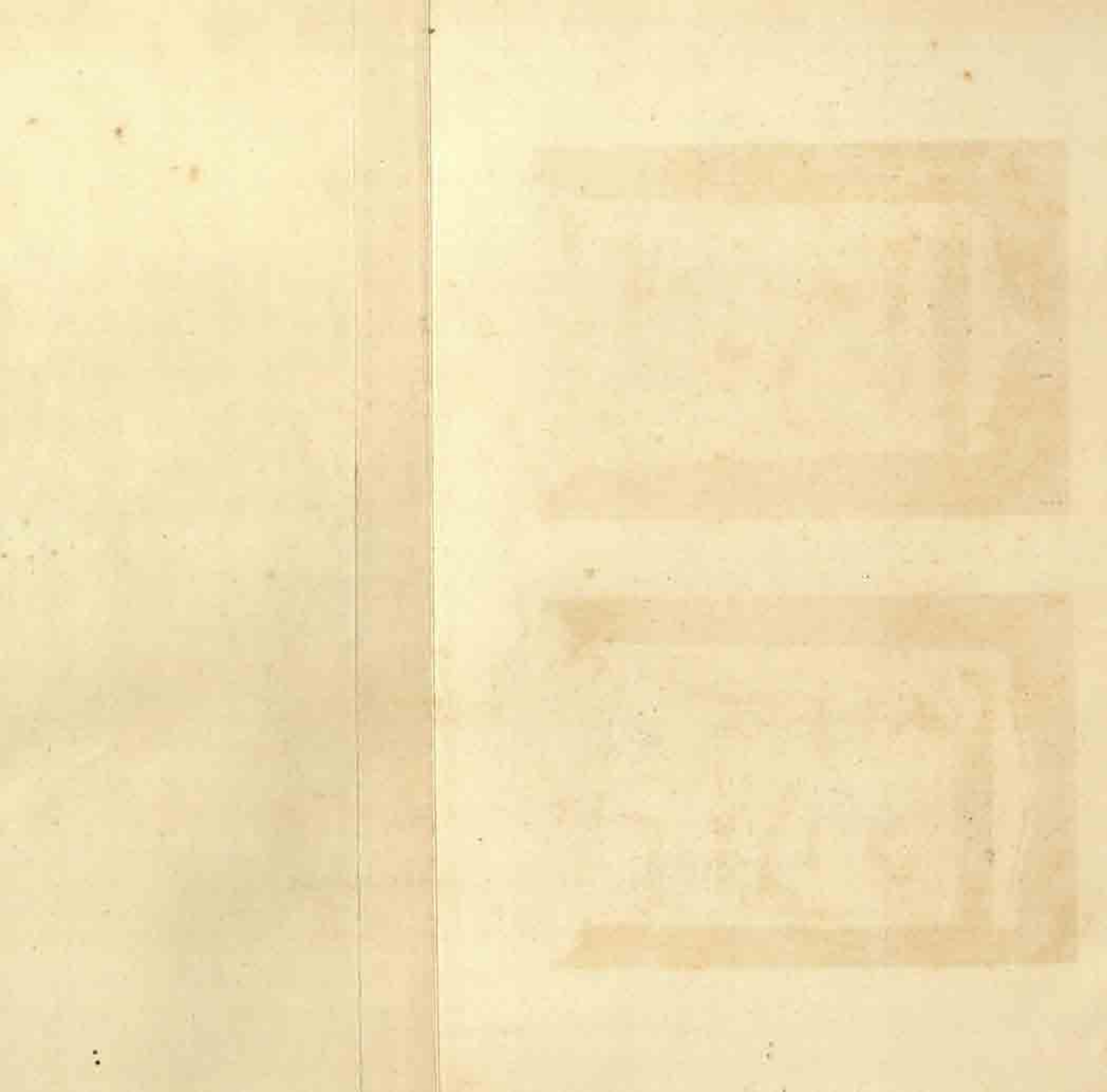
LECYTHUS FROM ERETRIA: DEATH OF PRIAM.







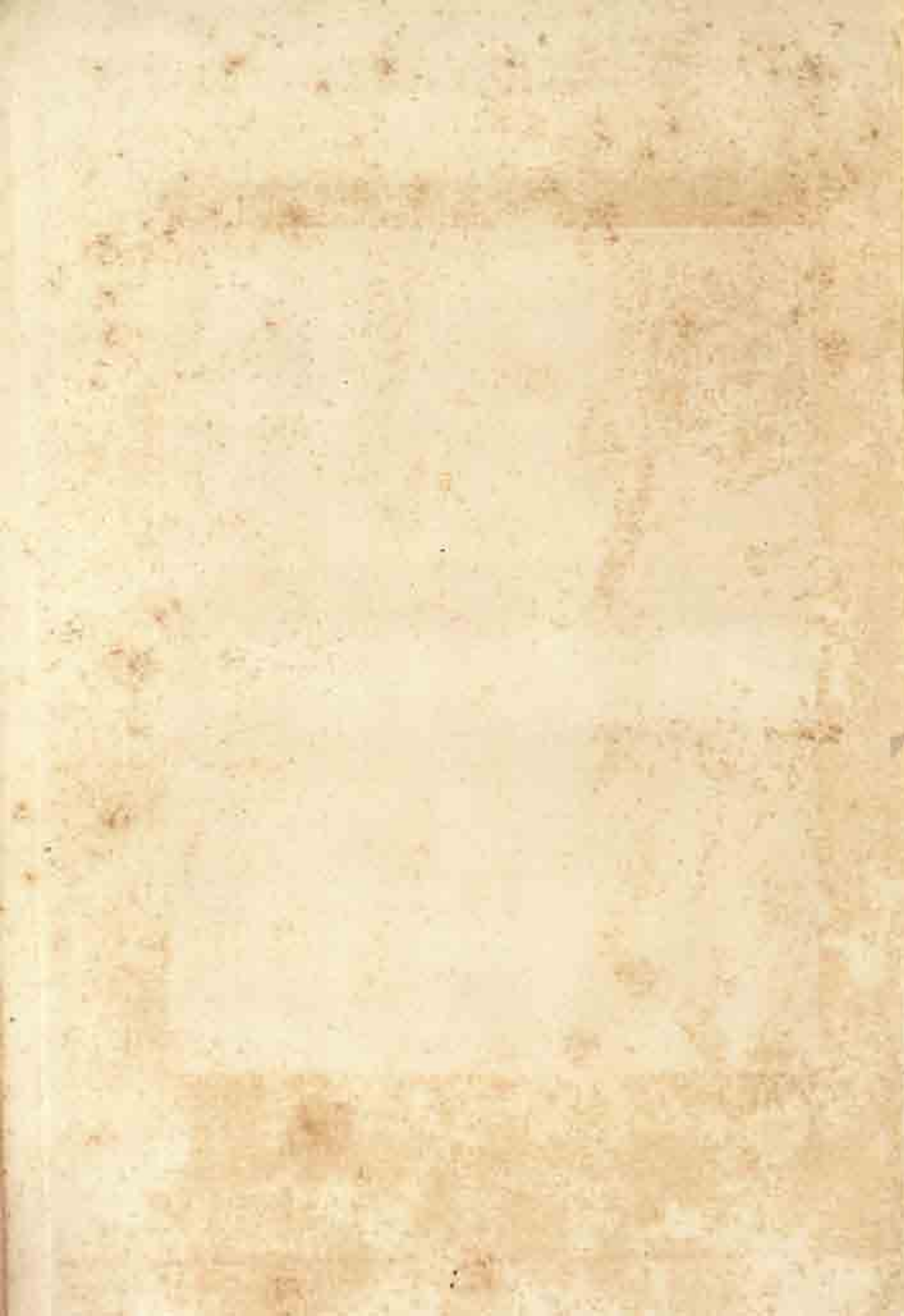
VASE FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS, 4.







TWO SEATED RELIEFS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.







RECONSTRUCTION OF MYCENAEAN CEILING DECORATION,  
FROM CRETAN GEM AND TEMPLATE SYMBOL.





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